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Language of the Voiceless: Traces of Taino Language, Food, and Culture in the Americas From 1492 to the Present

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Thesis

in the Field of Anthropology and Archeology

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Master of Liberal Arts Degree

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CHAPTER I | AN INTRODUCTION

I.

Title

"Language of the Voiceless: Traces of Taino Language, Food, and Culture in the Americas from 1492 to the Present"

II.

Research Problem

My thesis will demonstrate a broad impact of Taino language and culture on the languages of the Americas following the European invasion based on linguistic evidence from first-hand accounts of explorers, invaders, priests and indigenous scribes in the first fifty years after European contact. The extent of the contribution of the Taino to the general culture of the Americas will also be shown to extend from early in the subjugation of the Aztec empire in 1521 all the way to the present. For more than four hundred years it was believed that the Taino (the inhabitants of the Caribbean at the time of European arrival to the continent) had gone extinct. Chronicles such as the writings of Dominican missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas seem to place their disappearance within the first fifty years of the conquest[1]. However, the abundant evidence of the incorporation of Taino words in the language used by the Spanish who invaded Mexico overturns much of the traditional narrative and has compelled me to

[1] Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies: Original Title La Brevísima relación* (N.P.: Createspace Independent Publishers, 2013), 167.

ask a whole series of questions. What if the Taino did not disappear as commonly believed? What if the great army of Indians accompanying the *conquistadors* and depicted in the many codices such as the *Codex Azcatitlan*[2] where their descendants? What if instead of disappearing, they left food, language and culture as silent witness of their existence among the other conquered people of the continent such as the great Mayas, Aztecs and Incas? If so, historical accounts, sociolinguistic patterns, general culture analysis, and recent DNA findings could force us to reinterpret their place in history and help us reestablish their true importance in the conquest, thus challenging the Spanish accounts of their disappearance.

For generations, countries like Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica were ridiculed when stating their claim of Taino ancestry. It was not until a recent DNA study published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Science[3] that many of these countries' claims became confirmed. Nevertheless, DNA studies like this one done in the population of the countries of the Greater Antilles only reveal the Taino's biological survival. Their cultural presence across the continent represents a far greater challenge to establish. There had to be a cultural legacy, a reason for these countries to maintain a Taino presence despite the historical accounts challenging those beliefs. *Some 30% of all Native American words adopted by Spanish and other*

[2] Federico Navarrete Linares, "The Hidden Codes of Codex Azcatitlan," *Aesthetics and Anthropology* 45 (2004): 157.

[3] Hannes Schroeder, Martin Sikora, Shyam Gopalakrishnan, Lara M. Cassidy, Pierpaolo Maisano Delser, Marcela Sandoval Velasco, Joshua G. Schraiber, Simon Rasmussen, Julian R. Homburger, María C. Ávila-Arcos, Morten E. Allentoft, J. Víctor Moreno-Mayar, et al., "Origins and Genetic Legacies of the Caribbean Taino," *PNANS* (2018): 2346. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1716839115>.

European languages such as English and French are of Taino origin[4]. How did they cross the continent if they were already gone? In the words of historian Matthew Restall *"there were many invisible warriors, many native peoples alongside the Spaniards"*[5]. What if many of these *"native peoples"* described by Restall and mentioned across the many records of the conquest were the extinct Taino? What if their language and implied physical presence could establish that the Taino played a bigger role in the conquest of the continent than previously thought?

My hypothesis is that research will find that the Taino did not disappear as commonly believed and that their descendants were among the armies accompanying the Spanish during the conquest of the rest of the continent, thus leaving a linguistic and socio-cultural legacy in all the countries of the Americas today.

To test my hypothesis, I will use the Bernal Diaz del Castillo's True History of the Conquest of New Spain as central text for analysis. I will then use the primary sources of the chronicles of the conquest prior to this event to identify Taino culture, social structure, food, and language. These sources will be cited as they become relevant to the analysis of the word in question. Then, I will create a comprehensive outline of words, expressions, names, places, foods, and traditions mentioned in those accounts in order to find any resemblance or relation across the different countries of the Americas.

After that, these words identified as Taino will be cross referenced against the Spanish Academy of Language official dictionary and reference database to establish continuance of usage. By collecting all the evidence found in the primary sources of the

[4] (Granberry and S.)

[5] Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 51.

conquest and comparing it with the modern identifiable cultural and linguistic trends I seek to establish the level of Taino presence and influence during the transcontinental invasion of the continent from 1492 to today.

It is important to mention that this text was chosen because, a great deal of ink has been spilled debating the veracity or even the existence of Bernal Diaz del Castillo. For some, a soldier of fortune and *encomendero* trying to tell his feats in Darien and Guatemala, seeking to be granted land by the King of Spain. For others, it shows that it was a figment of Cortes' imagination to tell a version of history that places him as the rightful conqueror of New Spain. This sociolinguistics analysis doesn't try to debate the identity of the writer or writers of the chronicle. Instead, it uses Linguistics' Comparative Method to analyze words, customs, and general sociocultural patterns within the text that could be identified or argued to be Taino or of Taino origin. The text used for this research was the Spanish version of Real Academia Española *Aparato de Variantes,* edited and commented by Guillermo Serés in 1991[6]. This text compiles the three main variants of this primary source: The original work from 1552-1554 revised in 1563 and written in Guatemala as *Memorial de Guerra;* The *prínceps* edition of fray Alonso Remón published in Madrid in 1532 and the final version of the text called *Manuscrito Alegria* published in 1605 by Francisco Diaz del Castillo, son of Bernal Diaz del Castillo.

This primary source was selected as the central document for this research because (chronologically speaking and unlike very few other primary or secondary source of the history of the Spanish conquest) it is a historical narrative where for the

[6] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España | Aparato de Variantes, 2011)

first time the language and culture of the Caribbean Taino and the language and culture of the natives of the continental lands interacted with one another as separate distinct tongues. Prior to it, the narratives of Columbus, Fray Bartolome de Las Casas, Peter Martyr, Fernandez de Oviedo and Fray Ramon Pané, among others, describe the Taino and the inhabitants of the Caribbean within that geographic, historical and sociolinguistic context. After it, writers such as Bernardino de Sahagun, Francisco López de Gómara, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Garcilaso de la Vega, Guamán Poma, etc., refer to an already mestizo culture carrying the cultural weight of the Maya, Inca, Aztecs and the other conquered groups of the transcontinental cultural exchange or American conquest.

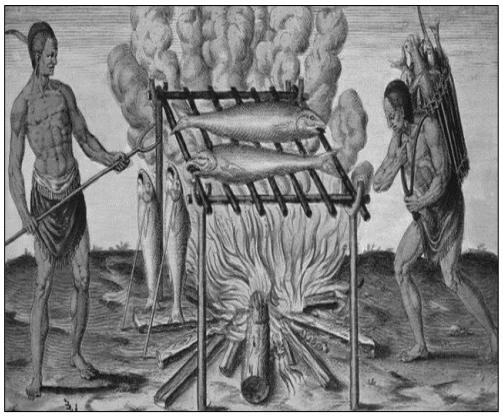
In this comparative analysis, the Díaz del Castillo text is going to be analyzed by pages and paragraphs that mention any element of language, culture or ethnography believed to be Taino or of Taino origin. Those elements are then going to be cross referenced against other primary or secondary source that could support or at least make the argument for the Taino connection or origin. Finally, they are going to be crossed reference against the Linguistics Database of the Real Academia Española or any other cultural or literary source for continuity or usage. Furthermore, the Taino elements are going to also be linked or associated with colloquial uses in the different countries where they could be identified in use today based on my own in-depth experience since childhood with the languages and its meanings and relevant linguistic studies.

III.

Definition of Terms

Let us begin with some familiar, in fact prominent, examples from their lexicon.

Barbecue: Originally pronounced *barbacoa*, this was a traditional form of Taino cooking which used honey or *mabe* (which fermented and mixed with *behuco* roots also gave origin to what is today known as root beer). Mentioned by Gonzalo Fernández De Oviedo y Valdés in a 1526 in his account of life in the Indies. Oviedo describes the *barbacoa* as a raised platform for storing grain and occasionally cooking food. He also described it as a method of cooking meat on that wooden device[7]. The image below is an artistic representation of the barbacoa described by Oviedo in his accounts.



Pic 1. *barbacoa*[8]

Boa (snake): This word had two different meanings in the Taino language. It was used as a noun to describe the reptile or constrictor snake endemic to the Caribbean and as a verb it means to squeeze. Although the term became the word

[7] Fernandez de Oviedo, Gonzalo. *Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar* (Madrid: Imprenta Real de La Historia, 1853), 630.

[8] Koko Abraham, "Por qué el taíno caribeño fue el idioma que mayor huella dejó en el español," https://acento.com.do/2019/bbcmundo/8647832-por-que-el-taino-caribeno-fue-el-idioma-que-mayor-huella-dejo-en-el-espanol/?fbclid=IwAR15W5cRNeAlhVsgNy2.

to describe constrictor snakes in English, the usage as a verb form only survived today in the Northern region of Dominican Republic in the word *anaiboa* which is an expression that means to squeeze the fruit like a snake: ***ana*** (fruit)-***i***-(like)-***boa*** (snake). The term *i (looks like)* in the word *anaiboa* can also be found in the word ***iguana*** *I (looks like) guana (palm leave-flexible).*

Canoe: This was a Taino word used to describe the smaller of two types of dugout or fire caved boats. The first was canoa (used for island hopping for more than ten passengers). The second, ***piragüa*** for one or few passengers, usually no more than four. This first word, ***canoe*** entered the English language in the mid-1500s. The first mention of this word can be found in Columbus's diary when he describes the way Taino approached his vessels off the coast of modern-day Haiti or Hispaniola[9].

Caribbean and *Cannibal*: These two terms, one used to describe the eastern island region of the Americas, the other to represent a man-eating individual living in that area, were a linguistic and evolutionary corruption of the same term *Caniba*. This term was employed by the Taino to describe the Kalinago, the fierce tribes that inhabited the other islands of the Easter Caribbean[10]. In other words, most of the Taino kingdoms were scattered along the Greater Antilles. The rest of the Caribbean (according to Taino descriptions to the Spanish) was populated by a series of raiders and marauders, that often-raided Taino villages and stole their

[9] Las Casas, *A Short Account*.

[10] Juan Bosh, *Indios, Apuntes Históricos y Leyendas* (Santo Dominigo: Editorial La Nación, 1935).

food and kidnaped their women[11]. However, this reality response to the rough reality of the region. The lack of big game, the dependence on specialized agricultural techniques and the inhospitality of the Lower Caribbean meant that any group trying to survive under such conditions, had to resort to either commerce (or exchange), or to martial conquest. It seems that the Carib chose the latter. This interaction between Taino and Carib was such that when Columbus adopted two Indians off the coast of the Bahamas, they were of Carib fathers and Taino mothers. This allowed them to become translators for Columbus and communicate with the two different groups.

However, the linguistic evolution of the term happened because different Taino dialects often interchanged *l*, *n*, and *r* sounds. Therefore, when Columbus heard the name of the Caribe in Cuba (belonging to the Western Taino or *Ciboney*), it possibly sounded like *"Caniba."* This fierce tribe was believed to eat human flesh and the word—later anglicized as *"cannibal"*—became generalized to mean man-eater.

Cay or Key (like the Florida Keys)**:** It was the word used by the Taino to refer to a low bank or reef of coral, rock, or large extension of sand. However, the modern meaning of *Key* is an artificial bank or landing stage, typically built of stone. This word entered Middle English from Anglo-Norman. Nonetheless the word is an adoption of the Spanish word *cayo* which came the Taino *kaya*.

[11] Manuel Cárdenas Ruiz, comp., trans., and annotator, *Crónicas Francesas de los Indios Caribes. Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe* (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2004).

Hammock: The Spanish colonists learned about hammocks from the Taino who slept in their suspended woven-bark beds[12] soaked in *manioc* yap and made from cotton and *henequén*. *Hamaka* was also the Taino word for "fish net." However, it is a composite word of two terms, the prefix *Ha* (everything that hangs) found again in words like *Habana*-Cuba (which means hanging basket) and the word *mako* (woven, intertwined, complex, big, extensive). In the late 16th century, the British Royal Navy fitted out the gun decks of their ships with hammocks, which allowed sleeping sailors to sway with the motion of the ship instead of being pitched out of stationary bunks[13].

Hurricane: Was an Eastern Taino word (mostly from the island of *Borinquen* or Puerto Rico and *Quisqueya* or eastern Hispaniola). Hurricane was a combination of two different terms: 1) *hurra* (powerful, strenuous, the way the gods should be praised; in some circles, it is believed to have been the origin of the English expression: *hurray!* although no concrete evidence for that has been found thus far), and; 2) *can* (eye, center, loud noise, destructive cry of the ocean, ceremonial screaming, party)[14]. In other words, for the Taino, *hurakán*, was the screaming of the ocean praising the angry gods for the Taino's transgressions, destroying and renovating the earth cyclically. The seasonality of the hurricanes in the Caribbean was a central part of Taino cosmovision and religion.

[12] Las Casas, *A Short Account*.

[13] (Peake)

[14] Ángel Rodríguez Álvarez, *Mitología Taína o Eyerí. Ramón Pané y la Relación sobre las Antigüedades de los indios: El primer tratado etnográfico hecho en América* (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Editorial Nuevo Mundo, 2012).

Maize (corn)**:** Originally pronounced *mahiz* or *mahís* by the Taino was a variety of the type of grain prized throughout the Americas. As a matter of fact, one of the greatest achievements of the Inca empire was to expand the elevation at which maize could be grown to very high altitudes, thus creating massive food surpluses that fueled an immense demographic and political expansion. This note is mentioned to illustrate the magnitude of the Taino cultural presence among the invaded people of the Americas. However, the appearance of this word in the early 1500 in Columbus's diary[15] represents an element of extreme importance when it comes to establishing a pre-Columbian exchange between the continental Americas and the Caribbean. The fact that Christopher Columbus mentions it as a Taino food almost fifty years prior to the discovery of Mexico by Cortez is a remarkable indication that there was a connection that brought that plant to the islands.

Manatee: This was the name given by the Taino to a sea mammal that represented a main part of their diet and one of their principal sources of protein. The lack of big game or other big mammals across the islands of the Caribbean meant that the Taino had to rely on the sea for survival. The manatee was often hunted and their meat, dried, marinated with *mabe* (honey) and smoked in the *barbacoa* (barbecue) stick ovens.

Pineapple (ananah) and *Guava* (guayaba)**:** Although the Taino name of the first fruit, *ananah* only survived in some isolated dialects of Spanish and French and in its scientific name (*ananas comosus*), its consumption was adopted around

[15] Las Casas, *A Short Account*.

the world and later brought to Hawaii where it became the national symbol of that state. This word, like many Taino words, is a combination of two words. The first is *ana* (found in surviving Spanish words such as *banana, guanabana, ananah, Anacaona*) which means fruit or flower. The literal meaning of this word is flower or fruit that is born from the stomach. The other word, *guava* derives from the Spanish *guayaba*, which comes (essentially unchanged) from the Arawak or Taino's closes cousin *wayaba*. Moreover, According to Fray Ramon Pané, "*the dead would turn into guayaba trees during the day and become alive at night"*[16].

Potato: The word potato was a corruption of the Taino word *batata* which refers only to sweet potatoes. Columbus introduced the plant to Spain in 1493. Later, Spanish explorers in the Andes encountered what we call potatoes which is a completely different tuber. The *batata* (sweet potato of the Caribbean) was a central part of Taino diet. Unfortunately for the Taino, as the expansion of the Spanish conquest reached Peru and the Inca empire the term became associated with the Spanish diet and borrowed by the Quechua speakers thinking it simply meant tuber. However, the Quechua had the word *papa* to describe what is today known as potato. The linguistic doubt in the pronunciation gave birth to the famous English expression "potaitoe-potato", one being closer to the Taino *batata*, the other, like the Quechua *papa*. Unlike English, the Spanish and the French allowed the survival of each term morphologically independent from one another. In English, confusion ensued and persisted.

[16] (Pane, 1498)

Savannah (as in Savannah Georgia or African Savannah): This was the Taino word used to describe a large extension or flat grassy land. In today's terms, the word "*savannah*" means exactly that, an open plain of long grass with scattered drought-resistant trees. This was adopted from the Taino into post-classical Latin in 1516 as *zauana* and into Spanish in 1519 as *çavana* (now *sabana*). In the late 1600s, *savannah* began to be used in the English colonies of North America to mean a marsh, bog, or other damp or low-lying ground.

Tobacco: There has been a small degree of controversy establishing the Taino origin of this word. According to *The American Heritage Dictionary* the Spanish may have been influenced by a similar Arabic word for a Mediterranean medicinal plant and used the term in the New World. However, some primary sources of the conquest seem to attribute the word to Taino ceremonial tradition in three different forms of smoking the plant. The first, *Tabaco-Cohiba* (employed in the Western Taino kingdoms of *Kuba*, *Xamaica* and *Bahamaa*) which according to Spanish historian Bartolomé de las Casas applied to a roll of dried leaves that was smoked like a cigar[17]. Second, according to Gonzales de Oviedo, the Spanish word *tabaco* derived from an Eastern Taino word used to describe the pipe used for smoking the *cohiba* leaves[18]. Third, 1552 Bartolomé de las Casas stated that the word applied to a roll of dried leaves that was smoked like a cigar by the Taino people of Haiti.

[17] Las Casas, *A Short Account*.

[18] Oviedo, *Historia general*.

Once again, these words were chosen because of their existence in the English language. The rest of the words will be introduced as they become relevant to the different linguistic, etymological and ethnological analysis of this study.

IV.

Background

The terms in the list above were chosen because of their widespread adoption in the English language and familiarity to all who speak it. However, the main contributions of the Taino language and culture can be found hidden within the Spanish lexicon and within the culture of the great continental empires like the Aztecs, Incas, Mayas and its descendants today. The language used by many Spaniards in their chronicles is full of Taino words, religious imagery and cultural reference. Moreover, many Taino words and traditions at times can be found among groups with no geographical or pre-Columbian evidence of contact, thus suggesting a Taino presence within the conquest.

During the early period of the transcontinental invasion, the Taino lexicon was so common that it substituted frequently used Aztec and Inca words. Words like *maguey* forced the Aztec *agabe* to change its meaning[19]; *aji* (hot pepper) coexisted and became part of the Aztec vocabulary along with their own word *chile*; *piragua* and *canoe* forced the word ***almadía*** out of the Spanish use, only

[19] Manuel Alvarez Nazario, *Arqueología lingüística: estudios modernos dirigidos al rescate y reconstruccion del Arahuaco Taino* (San Juan: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1996).

surviving as a special archaism rarely used today. Words like *ceiba*, *cacique, boa, iguana, loro, tea, manioc, yuca, bohio, conuco, buho, camaron, tuburon, buren, coa, guanabana, anon, ananah, maguey, juey, gibaro* among a great number of other words became part of the Spanish language and were taught as Spanish by the conquistadors. However, this mixture happened within the first fifty years of the conquest. It is truly remarkable to see the fusion between Spanish and Taino within this period of the conquest. It is as if the mestizos and zambos (the sons and daughters of the Spanish, Africans and Taino across the Caribbean) created a new type of conquistador. One that carried the history of their new reality (not only on their skin), but on the new fused language. They, in turn, took it to the rest of the continent.

Once again it is extraordinary that (for a language and a race believed extinct (at least according to the Spanish Chronicles)) it has given more to the vernacular Spanish than any other native language in the Americas. As a matter of fact, recent linguistic study[20] suggests that 30% of all Indian lexicon in the Spanish language is Taino[21]. I believe it to be a much higher percentage than that. Unfortunately, their significance and role in the general subjugation of the continent has seldom been studied, recognized and remains little understood. I contend (for this social anthropological study based of linguistic, cultural and historical data) that research will help fully establish the great extent of Taino contributions to the general culture and languages of the Americas.

[20] Abraham, "Por qué el taíno caribeño."

[21] (Granberry and S.)

V

Research Limitations

Some Social Science topics such as culture, social variance, traditions, religion, human general behavior, and political influence of one group over another are very challenging (if not impossible) to quantify. Without strong primary source evidence, most observation could be deemed purely "qualitative" at best, or speculation at worst, thus defeating the purpose of attempting to establish the true level of Taino spread and cultural/linguistic influence. Another challenge is the fact that although a great deal is known about the Taino having been the first indigenous New World people to be colonized and their land used as base for the invasion of the mainland, what is written about them is often biased and misinformed, molded by ethnocentric attempts of people describing things previously unknown to them, and influenced by the judging lens of religion and race.

To complicate the picture further, the Taino were a hunter gatherer society in the stone age. They had no cities like the Aztec and Incas or writing systems like the Mayans, Mixtec or Aztecs. Their contributions can mainly be found in their language, culinary behavior and general cultural elements of the *conquistadors* described in the Chronicles of the transcontinental invasion, and as mentioned before, if viewed uncritically these elements could be extremely challenging to quantify. So, the methodology employed here is a careful, comparative one based upon judicious use of the written sources from the early sixteenth century and beyond.

CHAPTER 2 | SOCIOCULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN.

Chapter I, page3

True History of the Conquest of New Spain

Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vecino e regidor de la muy leal cibdad de Santiago de Guatemala, uno de los primeros descubridores y conquistadores de la Nueva España y sus provincias, y Cabo de Honduras y ***Higüeras*** [22]

The first Taino word found in the text is the word ***Higüeras***. This word in conjunction with the Spanish plural (*s)* is used in the text to designate a place in Honduras, Central America where there seem to be a great amount of calabash trees (*Credential Cujete*).



Pic. 2 *Image of a Higuera or Jicaro tree*[23]

However, ***Higüera*** is a Taino word composed of two different phonemes. The first one is the prefix ***hi***, ***jí*** or ***xí*** meaning (wild or of the mountain) which can be found hidden in the words: ***jiba*** > 'mountain', ***cohiba*** > 'wild leaves', original name for the

[22] (p. 15)
[23] (Rosales, 2019)

cigar made out of the ***tobacco*** > 'verb to smoke', ***jicotea*** > 'wild turtle', ***jí-baro*** > 'mountain man' and in ***jí-caro*** (***s***) (which in some Spanish speaking countries is used to designate the entrails of dry fruits of dead trees. In the case of Mexico, the word ***jí-caro*** (***a***) is also used to name the ***higüera*** tree itself)[24]. The phoneme ***hi***, ***jí*** or ***xí*** can also be found as a stem in the words ***ají*** > 'wild pepper', ***gua-jí-ro*** >(Cuba) (a synonym of ***jíbaro***). Though, it is important to note that in the case of ***guajiro*** the term seems to have evolved by the addition of the prefix ***gua*** **>** 'spear', 'cacti', 'warrior' and with the omission of the term ***ba*** > 'peaceful as the forest', 'majestic', 'calm', e.g. ***cei-ba*** > 'majestic—sacred tree', ***cao-ba*** > 'majestic—golden tree'. Nonetheless, these modifications to the Cuban term ***jibaro*** hints to a possible linguistic evolution, corruption or phonetic variance of ***jibaro*** into the Cuban ***jiro.*** It is important to note that the word ***gua*** as a prefix to the word used in the Cuban version of the term seems to indicate a resistance or a warrior culture from the gua***jibaros*** of the mountain. Whereas in Puerto Rico and Hispaniola the term refers to a ***ji(ba)ro*** > 'shy mountain man', in Cuba it defines a ***guajiro*** > 'wild-warrior-mountain man'.

The suffix of the word mentioned in the text is the stem ***güera-s.*** This phoneme (without the Spanish plural) can be identified in the words: ***guiro*** > 'bump', 'inflated chick', ***güira*** > 'scratcher bump'. This word can also be found in the Wayuunaiki as ***wüirü*** > 'pumpkin', '*higüera*'. However, ***Güiro (a)*** is also used to designate the fruit of the tree. This fruit, was and it's still used in numerous Latin American countries in a great number of Taino artifacts such as: plates called *morros* (in many places of Central America the *morros* are also known by the marriage of the Taino word ***gua*** and the

[24] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632)

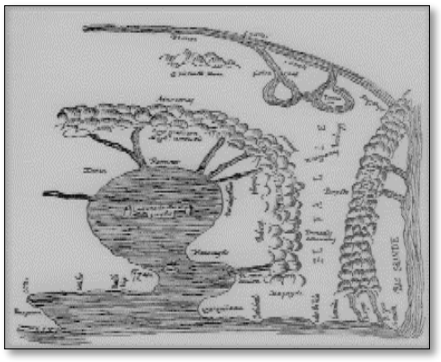
Nahuatl ending ***ctle*** as ***guacal*** (Honduras)). The ***güiro (a)*** was also used for water jugs called *calabazas* or ***jícaras*** and in the manufacturing of neckless, earrings, etc. Furthermore, in some Spanish speaking countries the term ***jícaro*** has also become an adjective (and in some cases) a substantive to refer to hollow things e.g. *coco* ***jícaro*** or dried-out coconut.

Nevertheless, when the ***güiro*** was dried out, hollowed and grooved the Taino produced two different musical instruments used in their ***areito*** and ***cohoba*** music and ceremonial dances: the ***maraca***s and the ***güira***. These two musical instruments were later adopted by the African slaves of the Americas and to this day are the main elements of many Caribbean rhythms such as merengue, cumbia, son, salsa, guaracha and cha-cha-cha. However, despite their adoption by the Afro-Americans, these instruments didn't seem to lose their Taino names, purpose and essence[25].

However, one important thing to observe regarding the etymology of the word ***maraca*** and the homolog colloquial use of the Spanish word *morro* > 'plates' is the possible lexicalization, confusion and interpellation of both terms given their phonetic similarities and their morphemic semantics. Even though the word *morro* existed in Spanish prior to the Americas to refer to a mountain or a prolonged protuberance[26], it should not be confused with the word ***maraca*** which also existed prior to the conquest to describe a musical instrument used by the Taino ***behike***[27] > 'shaman' during the ***cohoba*** ritual. As matter of fact, ***maraca*** comes from the Guaraní ***mbaracá***[28] which

[25] (Guitar, 2006-2007)
[26] (Anónimo, 1492-1493, p. 187)
[27] (Colón, 1571)
[28] (Española, 2019)

in the surviving cousin language of the Yukpas Irapa, ***maracaewa*** means > 'bone of the sacred ***maara*** tree that scares the bad spirits". Likewise, in some variances of the Southern Orinocan languages, ***iwo*** means rattle snake. Another variant of this word can be found in the ***Conquivacoa*** language meaning 'place where it rains a lot', which could explain its rich morphology of sounds and analogous meanings among all these related languages. However, this pre-Columbian voice can also be traced as far back as an XVI century drawing of Oviedo's descriptions of lake Maracaibo.



Pic 3. *Oviedo's map of lake Maracaibo*[29]

However, what becomes amazingly surprising about this word and its abstract symbolic meaning is that, in most of the surviving languages related to the Taino—Arawak, this word is often associated with sound or ceremonial bad spirit rejection. The closest living example of its ceremonial usage can be found in the Honduran Garifuna ***buyai*** ritual. In Garifuna (this includes all its Central American variances), the word ***maragali*** means 'rattle[30]' of the ***buyai*** > 'shaman'. Therefore, if we make a comparative phonetic analysis between the Taino ***behí+que*** and the Carib ***buyai*** it can be observed that the only difference between the words is the suffix ***k'*** related to ***cue***, ***ca***, ***ku'u*** > 'enlighten', 'sacred', 'friendly' and 'holly' in the Taino term. The rest of the

[29] (Myers & Scott, 2007, p. 245)
[30] (Suazo, 2011, p. 636)

word and the ceremonial use of a single ***maraca*** in the ritual by both groups is the same. As a matter of fact, this ritual use of a single ***maraca*** by the ***payé*** > 'shaman' was documented during the 1903—1905 archeological explorations of German archeologist Theodor Koch-Grünberg to the Rio Negro and Vepurá regions of Venezuela. In his research, Koch- Grünberg made recordings of the ***payé*** and his ritual dance, like that described in the Taino and Garifuna sources.

The images below are from different archeological sites across the Taino kingdoms of the Caribbean and from the archeological recordings of Koch- Grünberg to illustrate the ***maracas*** and ceremonial ***behike*** and ***areíto*** dances elements in the cosmovision of the Taino with regards to this word. Another important phonetic element to observe (given the Indo-European nature of Spanish, the lexicalization language) is the interchange of letters of the same organ[31] between the ***behi****+ ke*, the ***buyai*** and the ***payé*** e.g. *bp—eí* and its association with the morpheme *mrk-iwa* in three cultures that (although linguistically and culturally related) belong to different time and geographical contexts.

The images below are from different archeological sites across the Taino kingdoms of the Caribbean and from the archeological recordings of Koch- Grünberg to illustrate the ***maracas*** and ceremonial ***behike*** and ***areíto*** dances elements in the cosmovision of the Taino and its related cousin languages.

[31] (Burgess & Marsh, 1815, p. 27)



Pic.4 *Hoyo de Sanabe Cave*[32]



Pic.5 *Taino maraca*[33]



Pic.6 *Maraca del Payé*[34]



Pic.7 *Areyto and cohoba*[35]

Number of Mentions of the word *higüera* in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain: *24*

Other Primary Sources Mentions of the possible Taino origin of the word ***higüera****:*

> <u>*Note:*</u> Not all consulted sources mentioning the Taino words were cited. The ones considered were those most substantial given their importance in the historical record and their significance to our research.

a)—Mentions in Fernandez de Oviedo's Historia general y natural de las Indias:

> 1)__As a stomach medicine and tooth brushing remedy:
>
> Fructa es sana e de buena digestión, y en estas plazas de Sancto Domingo se vende harta della en el tiempo que la hay. La madera de este árbol es recia e buena para labrar, si la cortan en menguante e la dejan algunos meses curar, e que no se labre verde, segund dicen carpinteros e los maestros de tal arte. Una propriedad tienen las hojas deste árbol, muy singular, y es que aquella parte dellas que paresce seca (e no lo es), sino leonada, es algo vellosa, e a quien con aquella parte se acostumbrara a estregar los dientes, se los limpiará, e páralos muy blancos.[36]

[32] (Johnson)
[33] (León, 2000)
[34] (Kraus, Halbmayer, & Kummels, 2018, p. 149)
[35] (Guitar, 2006-2007)
[36] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557)

The above text from Fernandez de Oviedo's writings states that the Taino used the leaves of the ***higüera*** tree to brush and whiten their teeth. The text also mentions that the Taino sold the fruit of the tree in the markets and that the wood was used in construction after being cut and dried during the crescent moon which seems to indicate a possible religious symbolism associated with the moon and the tree harvesting process.

2)_ As a phonetic marker to prevent misinterpretation with the Spanish word for fig *(higuera)*:

> Del árbol llamado ***higüero***. El acento de la letra u ha de ser luengo, o de espacio dicho, de manera que no se pronuncien breve, ni juntamente estas tres letras gue, sino que se detenga poquita cosa entre la u y la e, e diga hi..gu..ero. Digo esto, porque el letor no entienda higuero, o higuera de higos.[37]

This paragraph in Oviedo's writing is very important because it is one of the very few examples of Taino phonetics being compare to a very well-known Spanish word. In this part of the text Fernandez de Oviedo gives us a phonetic and morphologic guideline of the way the Taino word ***higüera*** should be pronounced as (*jiUera)*. In the text Oviedo emphasizes that this word should not to be confused with the Spanish word *higuera* (*igEra*) which was already a commonly used word by the Spanish population of the period.

3)__As material for utensils and wood for building, carpentry and timber:

[37] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557)

> ***Higüera*** es árbol grande, como los morales de Castilla, e más e menos. La fructa que llevan son cierta manera de calabazas redondas, e algunas prolongadas; e las redondas son muy redondas, de las cuales los indios hacen tazas e otras vasijas para beber e otros servicios. El palo o madera deste árbol es recio e bueno para sillas de caderas y de las pequeñas, e para fustes de sillas jinetes e otras cosas. Es flexible o correoso, e fuerte, e paresce en el pelo, después de labrado, granado o espino. La hoja deste árbol es luenga y estrecha, e lo más ancho della es en el extremo o en la punta, e desde ella va[38]

In this paragraph Oviedo states that the Taino used the ***higüera*** as vessels and plates for water drinking and other general everyday applications. According to him the wood was later started to be used by the Spanish for horse chair making.

4)__As food:

> disminuyendo, para abajo, al pezón, donde está así asida como aquí la debujo. Comen los indios, habiendo nescesidad, esta fructa (digo lo de dentro della), lo cual es de la misma manera que la calabaza cuajada, cuando está verde. Curándolas y sacándoles lo de dentro, para hacer algún vaso de la higüera, le queda al tal[39]

In this part of the text Fernandez de Oviedo states that the Taino ate the entrails of the fruit and that once hollowed they used the hardened outer shell for utensil building.

b)—Mentions in Christopher Columbus' journal of the first voyager or Diario de Abordo:

<u>Note</u>: It is important to note that the Spanish word for ***higüera*** *prior to the European exchange was* ***calabaza****.*

[38] (p. 252)
[39] (p. 252)

1)__Cultural usage of the Taino carrying ***higüeras*** to greet Columbus' ships:

> Luego se echan todos a nadar y la enderezan y vacían con ***calabazas*** que traen ellos[40].

In the text above Columbus states that the Taino used the *calabazas* to empty the water from inside their canoes.

> y traía un poco de su pan, que sería tanto como el puño, y una calabaza de agua y un pedazo de tierra bermeja hecha en polvo y después amasada[41].

> le hice pedir agua, y ellos, después que fui en la nao, vinieron luego a la playa con sus calabazas llenas y folgaron mucho de dárnosla[42].

In these above paragraphs of the journal, Columbus illustrates that the Taino used the *calabazas* as water containers. As a matter of fact, this paragraph from Columbus' journal also gives us an example of Taino culinary culture defining the size of the portions, how the food was accompanied by water as drink, and how they used a seasoning in the preparation of the orange paste known today as ***bija*** (Taino) or *achiote* (Nahuatl).

> Subió una montaña arriba y después hallóla toda llana y sembrada de muchas cosas de la tierra y calabazas, que era gloria vella; y en medio de ella estaba una gran población.[43]

The paragraph above is of extreme significance because it stablishes the cultivation of ***higüera*** trees and other crops as part of Taino agriculture. The text also illustrates the arrangement of the fields in relationship with the houses and the town. The text states that the Taino placed their houses in the middle of their gardens.

[40] (Colombus, 1493, p. 11)
[41] (p. 14)
[42] (p. 18)
[43] (p. 37)

> y los otros de allá a nos traer pan que hacen de niames, a que ellos llaman ajes, que es muy blanco y bueno, y nos traían agua en calabazas y en cántaras de barro de la hechura de las de Castilla, y nos traían cuanto en el mundo tenían y sabían que el Almirante quería[44]

In this final mention of ***higüera*** in Columbus' journal the calabaza is used yet again for water storage in conjunction with clay pottery. However, this paragraph is very significant due to the strange usage of the Congo-Bantú word ***ñame*** prior to the mention of the Taino words ***ajes*** and the description of ***casaba*** >'bread' in the text which seem to hint to a previous connection between Africans and Europeans prior to their arrival to the Americas or a possible post edition of the original text by a different writer with the introduction of new words.

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True History of the Conquest of New Spain

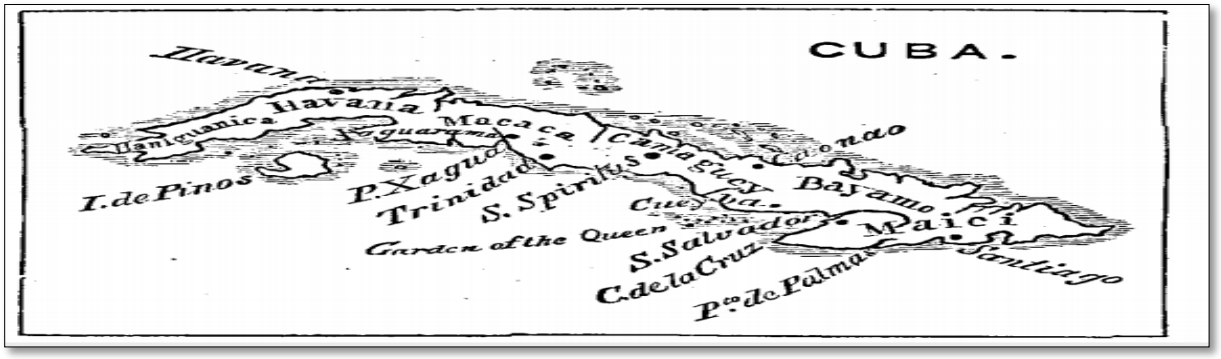
> *porque, como digo, no lo sé, salvo en las guerras y batallas y pacificaciones, como en ellas me hallé. Porque yo soy el que vine desde la isla de* ***Cuba*** *de los primeros, en compañía de un capitán que se decía Francisco Hernández de Córdoba[45].*

The next Taino word mentioned in Bernal Diaz del Castillo's text is the word ***Cuba.*** Used to designate the island of Cuba or the kingdom of ***cacique Hatuey***. This word it's believed to come from the original name of the ***Cubanacan*** region meaning

[44] (Colombus, 1493)
[45] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España | Aparato de Variantes, 2011)

central-hill-gathering or middle land. With regards to this word, lexicologist José Juan Arrom suggests that *"the word **cuba** joint with the word center > '**nacan**' could be referring to an island in the middle of the Caribbean since Cuba is geographically placed in the middle of the Antillean Archipelago.[46]"*

Furthermore, it is curious that the name of choice given by Columbus to ***Cuba*** was Juana. Phonetically speaking, *C**ubana**can* and *Juana* share most of the same linguistic effort. It seems that (like in previous descriptions like Khan, Cipango, etc.) Columbus could had been transliterating sounds based on his own linguistic registry. The map below is from early conquest Cuba depicting its regions, including ***Cubanacan***.



***Pic. 8** Map of Columbian Cuba[47]*

The first mentions of these two words ***Cuba*** and ***Cubanacan*** can be found in the writings of Fray Bartolome de Las Casas as a side note in the margins of Christopher Columbus' journal.

> porque aquella Cuba no era la isla toda, que así se llama, ni era ciudad, como Martin Alonso creía, sino una provincia que se llama **Cubanacan**, cuasi en medio de Cuba,

[46] (Arrom, 1980)
[47] (Helps, 1856, p. 417)

> porque ***nacan*** quiere decir, en la lengua destas islas, medio ó en medio, y así componian este nombre **Cubanacan**, de **Cuba** y **nacan**, tierra ó provincia que está en medio ó cuasi en medio de toda la isla de Cuba. Esta provincia, Cubanacan, era muy rica de minas de oro, como diremos (placiendo á Dios), y como vian los indios que tanto y tantas veces los cristianos nombraban el oro, y piaban por oro, señalábanles la provincia de Cubanacan, donde hallarian las minas de oro que deseaban, ellos entendíanlo muy al revés, y aplicaban lo que hablaban del Gran Khan[48]

By mentioning the origin of the word ***Cuba*** and by observing what Columbus' thought he heard from the Taino, in the above text, Fray Bartolome de Las Casas gives a unique window into Taino language, its phonetics and its syntactical structure. In the text, de Las Casas states that the name ***Cuba*** didn't include the whole island, but only the central region named ***Cubanacan*** and that Christopher Columbus believed they were telling him about the kingdom of the great Khan.

With this assertion, de Las Casas makes an important observation explaining the meaning of the ending of the word ***n-acan*** as center or middle. This explanation hints to a possible sectional language structure were (like in the Indo-European languages) words are the combination of reduced smaller morphemes joint as meaningful phonetic structures. Moreover, by stating that Columbus heard the word *khan* (as in the Asian kingdom) de Las Casas illustrates the comparative sound of the word to a listener with a different linguistic registry, thus describing the phonology of the Taino.

However, this ***acan, nacan*** and ***can*** endings can be found in different surviving Taino words such as ***hurr-acan*** > 'hurricane' or 'noisy wind with a center or eye'; in the word ***cibucan***[49] > 'elongated weaved cylinder to extract the ***yuca*** or ***manioc*** juice

[48] (de las Casas F. B., Historia de Las Indias, 1875)
[49] (Fernandez de Oviedo, 1853)

for ***casaba*** making'; and in the word ***guayacan*** > 'tree with a hard center'. Moreover, the essence of the word can also be found identifying round things e.g. ***can-ey***[50] > 'central house of the ***cacique***' and in the word ***mayohuac'n*** or ***bayohabao*** > 'round drum used in the ***areyto*** ceremonial dances'. On the other hand, this Taino ***acan, nacan*** and ***can*** root has a Mayan-Nahuatl cousin in the words *Teotihuacán* or central place where the gods were created and *Culiacan* from the Nahuatl *Col-hua-can* or place of those who praise the god *Coltzin*. In the Mayan case, there are similar phonetic markers that can be comparatively identified referring to round elongated things such as *kan* or snake e.g. *Kukulkan*. It is important to note that the Taino-Arawak ***xibucán***[51] looks like an elongated interlaced tube or snake were the shredded ***yuca*** is introduced and squeezed to extract the juices from the pulp.



Pic. 9 Image of a ***xibucán***[52]

Furthermore, the evolution of the word has also survived in the vernacular Spanish of the island of Hispaniola or ***Haiti*** as ***can***, meaning a raucous gathering of people or loud party[53].

However, the true importance of the morphology of the word ***Cuba-nacan*** it's its possible suggestion to a pre-Columbian connection between the Taino and the people

[50] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557)
[51] (Fernandez de Oviedo, Cronistas de Indias, 1950)
[52] (León, 2000)
[53] (Perez, 2000)

of the mainland such as the Maya and the Aztecs. The first hint can be found in the prefix of the word ***cu*** which in the surviving identified Taino words means hill, enlighten, friendly, good or sacred place. This prefix can be found in the words ***cŭaba*** or pinewood from the hills to make fire. The possible linguistic corruption or evolution from the Eastern Taino word ***cŭaba*** (translated as center pinewoods or *pinal central*) could have turned in the Western Taino word ***Cuba*** > 'majestic', 'enlighten', 'sacred', 'pine hill'. But whether these terms evolved from one another it is not as pertinent to this study as it is the meaning of **cu**, ***ku'***, ***cuea*** itself in the word ***Cuba***. This word is important because the phonetic prefix **cu**, ***ku'***, ***cuea*** can also be found in common Taino words such as ***cuyo*** > 'light' e.g. ***cocuyo*** > 'firefly", in the word ***ku'*** ceremonial hill for ***areyto*** and in the word ***cuey***[54] > 'sacred object'. It is important to note that as illustrated in the paragraphs above when mentioning the ending of the word ***can-ey*** or central house of the ***cacique***, the ***ey*** seems to be associated with important or great things e.g. ***batey*** > 'main field in town', ***magüey*** > '*agabe* (Nahuatl)' or 'mother-cactus', ***carey*** > 'immense sea turtle', ***Atabey*** > 'god of earth and water'.

Yet, what becomes truly remarkable about the prefix **cu**, ***ku'***, ***cuea*** is that later in Bernal Diaz del Castillo's text this word finds its Mayan cousin ***kue***, ***cue*** or god's sacred hill, being mentioned by the Yucatan Indians trying to sacrifice the Spanish *conquistadores* during the battles. This morphophonemic parallel between the Taino **cu**, ***ku'***, ***cuea*** and the Mayan ***kú*** or ***kue*** forced the chronicle to variate the spelling, the pronunciation and (to a certain stent) the ceremonial usage of the word ***cue*** later in the text, thus giving a window to a possible phonetic alteration in the pronunciation of these

[54] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557)

words similar to the way related languages achieve phonetic variances. Such was the case of the Romance languages like Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and French where they were linked by a common Latin language, but later became enriched with specific phonetic markers that made them independent from one another. The same can be argued about the Taino and their continental cousins. This include the Central, South and Northern American.

This Nahuatl-Taino-Mayan parallel is going to be analyzed farther in this research when these words appear in the sequence of Bernal Diaz' text and when the DNA studies of the Taino origin become analyze in chapter two of this research.

Number of Mentions of the word *Cuba* **in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:** *370 Other Primary Sources Mentions of the possible Taino origin of the word* ***Cuba***:

*a)—Mentions in Christopher Columbus' journal of the first voyager or Diario de Abordo***:**

> Martes 23 de octubre.
> - «Quisiera hoy partir para la isla de ***Cuba***, que creo que debe ser Cipango, según las señas que dan esta gente de la grandeza de ella y riqueza, y no me deterné más aquí ni [...][55]

The citation above is the first mention of the word ***Cuba*** in all the Chronicles of the new world. This word was cited by Columbus and written by de Las Casas to

[55] (Colombus, 1493, p. 19)

describe the name of the island they believe to be *Cipango* or Japan or some other kingdom in Asia.

> Miércoles 24 de octubre.
> - «Esta noche a media noche levanté las anclas de la isla Isabela del cabo del Isleo, que es de la parte del Norte, adonde yo estaba posado para ir a la isla de ***Cuba***, adonde oí de esta gente que era muy grande y de gran trato y había en ella oro y especerías y naos grandes y mercaderes, y me amostró que al Ouesudueste iría a ella; y yo así lo tengo, porque creo que sí es así, como por señas que me hicieron todos los indios de estas islas y aquellos que llevo yo en los navíos[56]

In the citation above de Las Casas states that the island of ***Cuba*** was a very important pre-Columbian maritime trade center for the Taino. When transcribing Columbus' thoughts, de Las Casas made an important observation about the sizes of the ships, the people and their type of trade such as gold and spices. The text also illustrates the Spanish practice of transporting kidnaped Indians in their ships for translation purposes. They called these captive Indians *lenguas* or Spanish for tong. As a matter of fact, the name of a very important *lengua* named Diego Colón (one of the first Indians kidnaped in ***Guanahaní*** during Columbus first voyage comes to mind). This Indian was taken to Spain and later returned as Columbus' godson. According to the de Las Casas *"he continued talking and sharing with them as a good, devoted Christian"*.

However, going back to our Taino Cuba word we see it time and time again mentioned in the diary.

> Martes, 30 de octubre
> Salió del río de Mares28 al noroeste, y vio un cabo lleno de palmas y púsole [nombre] Cabo de Palmas, después de haber andado 15 leguas. Los indios que iban en la carabela

[56] (De Las Casa, 1526)

> Pinta dijeron que detrás de aquel cabo había un río, y del río a ***Cuba*** había cuatro jornadas; y dijo el capitán de la Pinta que entendía que esta ***Cuba*** era ciudad, y que aquella tierra era Tierra Firme muy grande que va mucho al norte, y que el rey de aquella tierra tenía guerra con el Gran *Can*, al cual ellos llamaban **Cami,** y a su tierra o ciudad ***Faba*** y otros muchos nombres.

The above citation of Columbus's Journal is the third mention of the word ***Cuba*** in the Columbus-de Las Casas' text. This paragraph is of extreme importance because for the first time in the Chronicles of the new world the Taino words for god or ***xemí*** and ***haba***, ***xaba*** or ***fgaba*** or place or thing that hangs are associated in relation to a city, a place, commerce and war. The word ***haba***, ***xaba*** or ***fgaba*** can be found in the surviving word for the capital of ***Cuba*** or ***Habana***. This prefix is also found in many surviving Taino words such as ***hamaca*** > 'hammock or hanging bed', ***jaquima*** > 'horse leash', ***jaquimeyes*** > 'liana', 'hanging vine' or 'ivy', and in the word ***Häití*** > 'land of high and steep picks'. It is important to note that among surviving Taino words the ending ***tí*** or ***tití*** in the word ***Häití*** is often associated with intense, steep, sharp e.g. ***ajititi*** > '***Jamaican*** hot pepper'. This phonetic construction happens because ***aií*** means teeth in surviving genetically related languages such as the Carib[57]. This could transliterate the Taino perception of 'intense hot' with 'biting hot'.

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Year 1514

[57] (Breton, 1665)

> *[…] el gobernador della, que se decía Diego Velázquez, deudo mío, me prometió que me daría indios de los primeros que vacasen, y no quise aguardar a que me los diesen.*

The next element in Bernal Diaz' text is not a linguistic term *per se* but a common sociocultural practice of slave labor by the Spanish government during the early period of the Spanish colonial structure of the Caribbean called *repartimientos* or *encomiendas*. These assignments (later revived in the continental lands of the Spanish Crown) were part of a system that awarded a certain number of Indians to a Spanish landowner or individual with certain social status as payment for service to the Spanish Crown. According to de Las Casas, *"each encomendero got assigned around three hundred Indians*[58]*"*. It is important to note that the Indians assigned to the *encomendero* were (like in most slave systems) considered private property and often traveled (as transport help or general servant labor) with their *encomenderos* as new lands became available in the continent. However, these Indians seldom appeared directly mentioned in the Spanish accounts and their presence in Diaz del Castillo text is often indirect, ambiguous and obscure. This observation is made to illustrate the possibility of Indian people traveling along with the Spanish to what is now Mexico, for the purpose of the conquest of New Spain, which at that point were the Taino.

The text below is one the first fragments of the primary sources of the Spanish conquest were the *encomienda* system is described.

> Como los pueblos que tenían eran todos una muy graciosa huerta cada uno, como se dijo, aposentáronse en ellos los cristianos, cada uno en el pueblo que le repartían (o, como dicen ellos, le **encomendaban**), y hacía en él sus labranzas, manteniéndose de las

[58] (p. 36)

> comidas pobres de los indios, e así les tomaron sus particulares tierras y heredades de que se mantenían. Por manera que tenían los españoles dentro de sus mesmas casas todos los indios señores viejos, mujeres e niños, e a todos hacen que les sirvan noches y días, sin holganza; hasta los niños, cuan presto pueden tenerse en los pies, los ocupaban en lo que cada uno puede hacer e más de lo que puede, y así los han consumido y consumen hoy los pocos que han restado, no teniendo ni dejándoles tener casa ni cosa propia; en lo cual aun exceden a las injusticias en este género que en la Española se hacían[59].

Here, de Las Casas states that whole towns of Indians of all ages and genders became assigned to toil at the service of their new masters. However, it is important to note that later in Bernal Diaz's text these Indians were no longer being *encomendados* or assigned, but kidnaped, purchased and forced to travel along the Spanish as slave labor in their conquest.

In the two quotes below, Diaz del Castillo makes emphasis in the necessity of obtaining a great number of Indians as slaves for their trip. He also mentions the place where they could be captured, purchased and exchanged as payment.

> *y concertamos con un hidalgo que se decía Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, que ya le he nombrado otra vez y era hombre rico y tenía pueblo de indios en aquella isla, para que fuese nuestro capitán, porque era suficiente para ello, para ir a nuestra ventura a buscar y descobrir tierras nuevas para en ellas emplear nuestras personas*[60].

[59] (de las Casas F. B., Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias, 1552, p. 6)
[60] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632)

> *[…] nos habíamos de obligar que habíamos de ir con aquellos tres navíos a unas isletas que estaban entre la isla de Cuba y Honduras, que agora se llaman las islas de los* ***Guanaxes****; y que habíamos de ir de guerra y cargar los navíos de indios de aquellas islas para pagar con indios el barco, para servirse de ellos por esclavos*[61]

These two above quotes from Diaz del Castillo seem to hint to a forced Taino presence among the Spanish. In the text, it is stated that they will go to war to capture Indians to use them as payment to cover the cost of the ships and to be used as slaves which seems to indicate a prevalent and large scale enslaving cultural practice by the Spanish. As a matter of fact, these servants or slaves traveling among the Spanish will later be mentioned in Diaz del Castillo's text by their Taino designation as ***naboria*** or servant (this word is going to be analyzed later in the sequence of BDC's text). Yet, the quote in the sequence of the text above not only illustrates the Taino presence as slave labor in the Spanish ships, but it also gives us another opening into Taino phonetics and syntaxis with the mention of the word "*isla de los* ***Guanaxex****"*. This sentence is of extreme importance because it uses a pleonastic expression of the Spanish *"de los"* (of the) along the Taino synonym ***ex*** (which means, it looks like or it belongs to or as if or the adverb like). The ***í, íx, íz, ís*** or ***ex*** can be found as a modifying suffix in surviving words such as ***Guacanagaríx*** (***gua*** > 'warrior' + ***cana*** >'royal palm tree" + ***ga***- meaning unknown-could mean tall + ***r*** > 'place' and ***íx*** > 'adverb like' = 'the warrior that looks as tall as a royal palm tree'); in the name ***Guabancex*** > 'spirit of the supreme storm' e.g. ***guaba'n*** > 'spider or tarantula' + ***xex*** > 'looks like' or ('Spirit that looks like

[61] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632)

a spider'); and in the words ***Macoríx*** or ***Marorís*** (name given by Fray Ramon Pané to the ***ciguayo*** people)[62] meaning ***maco*** > 'frog or strange creature' + ***r*** > 'place' + ***íx*** > 'adverb' = 'strange place that looks like a frog'. Another meaning of the term ***macorix*** or ***macorís*** could be associated with foreigner or stranger e.g. (***ma*** > 'not' + ***ku*** > 'friend(ly)', 'sacred', 'enlighten' + ***r*** people + ***íx*** > 'looks like, belongs, is as, etc.' = 'unfriendly, unholy, alien, strange, unlighted'. As a matter of fact, according to Granberry & Vecelius, *"the lexical form* ***maku****- occurs in many Arawakan languages in the Guianas meaning strange or foreigner and is used to designate non-Arawakan, potentially unfriendly peoples"*. They state that "e*ven the Arawakan Chané of far southeastern Bolivia use the term* ***maku*** *to refer to their non-Arawakan Mataco neighbors across the border in Paraguay"*[63]. The suffix ***ix*** is also found in the word ***Guarionex***.

Nonetheless, this ***í, íx, íz, ís*** or ***ex*** term is also found as a prefix and as a modifying stem in the word ***íguana*** (or flexible like ***guano*** or weave) and in ***ana-i-boa*** (surviving Dominican expression that means fruit pulp. In the case of ***anaiboa*** this is a figurative combination of the word ***ana*** (fruit or flower e.g. ***ananá*** (pineapple), ***guanabana*** (soursop), ***Anacahona*** (golden flower or fruit), the adverbial ***í*** (like or as if it was like) and ***boa*** (Taino name for constrictor snakes). This expression could be translated as squeeze the fruit like a snake.

Therefore, when Diaz del Castillo states the name "*isla <u>de los</u>* ***Guanax<u>ex</u>***" he was possibly using the Taino grammar combined with the Spanish words to refer to the same thing: the name of what is today known as ***Guana*** Island or island of the iguanas or

[62] (Pane, 1498)
[63] (Granberry, 2003)

island of the guano of the British Virgin Islands. This ***guana (o)*** word should not be confused with the commonly used word ***guano*** (which comes from the Quechua *wánu*) meaning fertilizer. The phonetic similarities between these two words are due to the South America-Orinocan origins of both Quechan and Taino-Arawak languages. However, in the case of the Taino ***guano (a)*** word, when found within other surviving Taino expressions, is often associated with the morphology of flexible things such as the *palma* ***cana*** (*sabal yapa*) leaves for weaving and, as mentioned above, in the word ***i-guana***.

An example of the modern use of the word ***guano*** can be found in the Greater Caribbean tradition of chair, hat and ***macuto*** bags making called *silla de* ***guano***, *sombrero de* ***guano*** and ***macuto*** which means bag, sack or purse respectively. It is important to note that the ***guano*** weaved ***macuto*** word can also be found hidden in the Haitian Creole of today, meaning the same thing in the expression: ***le macoute*** > 'the bag'. Although this word also survived in the Spanish side of Hispaniola having a synonym-syntactical meaning for the peasants of the Dominican side. However, in the case of Haiti, the word took a completely different connotation during the decades conformed between the early fifties and late seventies with the creation of the dictatorial suppressive guard called *les tontons macoutes* or uncles with bags. Nevertheless, this cultural inclusion of the Taino ***macoute*** expression into the Haitian tradition came about due to the perception of the Haitians toward the figure of a Santa Clause look like white man carrying a bag to steal black children during the night. It is unknown whether this word was inherited directly from the maroons that escaped to the Taino ***Xaragua*** kingdom of Western Hispaniola, modern day Haiti, during the sixteen century rebellion of Sebastian Lemba (first emancipated slave in the continent and creator of the

maroons) or whether it was a borrowing from the Spanish speaking peasants on the other side of the island. What is important is the linguistic and cultural Taino usage of a ***guano*** artifact surviving in modern day culture in two societies with different official languages. This seems to hint to a possible common cultural ancestry of both nations with strong Taino influence.

Number of Mentions of the word *guano (a), guanexex* ***or its derivatives*** **in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:** 8

Other Primary Sources Mentions of the possible Taino origin of the word guano (a), guanexex or its derivatives: None found with the same exact phonetic. None Found.

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> *[…] y desque nos vimos con tres navíos y matalotaje de pan* ***cazabe****, que se hace de unas raíces, y compramos puercos, que costaban a tres pesos, porque en aquella sazón no había en la isla de Cuba vacas ni carneros, porque entonces se comenzaba a poblar, y con otros mantenimientos de aceite, y compramos cuentas y cosas de rescate de poca valía*

Continuing with the sequential analysis of the True History of the Conquest of New Spain we come across the next Taino word, ***cazabe***. This word, as mentioned in the paragraph above and preceded by the Spanish word for *pan* is of extreme

significance because it illustrates that the ***cazabe*** was a type of Taino bread made from a root adopted by the Spanish in their diet. The quote strictly specifies that they filled three ships with a *matalotaje*[64] of ***casaba*** bread which was the equivalent of a full ship hold as provisions for their expedition. This seems to indicate an early dietary adoption of the Taino bread given its long storage life and its possible dietary benefits.

A reaffirmation of this practice as Taino seafaring cultural usage can be traced back to a document from Oviedo describing its benefits and properties during Taino island travel:

> Este pan de ***cazabe*** se sostiene un año y más, y lo llevan de unas partes a otras muy lejos, sin se corromper ni dañar, y aun también por la mar es buen mantenimiento, y se navega con él por todas aquellas partes y islas y Tierra Firme, sin que se dañe si no se moja[65].

In the quote, Oviedo states that, unless it gets wet, the ***cazabe*** could last a year or more without becoming stale or losing its alimentary properties. The quote also specifies that it was used in seafaring ventures across the islands and the mainland.

However, in spite this gastronomic implementation of ***cazabe*** in the Spanish diet of the early conquest, it is worth to note that the grammatical use of the word ***cazabe*** as an adjective in Diaz del Castillo's text represents a linguistic effort from the writer to structure the sentence using the Spanish word *de pan* as substantive and ***cazabe*** serving an adjectival function. This syntactical structuration illustrates the necessity of the writer to specify or convey the need for clarity in the text as if writing for a group that did not know about ***cazabe*** or as if, for him, ***cazabe*** was the correct type

[64] (Varela Merino, 2009, p. 1575)
[65] (Fernandez de Oviedo, Cronistas de Indias, 1950, p. 97)

of food for that specific purpose. In most Indo-European languages (including the Spanish used by Diaz del Castillo), the correct linguistic tendency is to use a generic term given the high amount of linguistic capital needed to use detail when referring to things considered unimportant[66]. Therefore, the extra effort by Diaz del Castillo to mention both words the Spanish and the Taino side by side in the text, appears to hint to a mental observation or a note of importance by the writer.

Number of Mentions of the word *cazabe* **in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:** 18

Other Primary Sources Mentions of the possible Taino origin of the word ***cazabe***:

a)—In Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas Apologética Historia Sumaria:

> *Tornando al pan que llamaron los indios* ***cazabi****, la penúltima luenga, este es el mejor pan que creo yo haber en el mundo después del de trigo, porque es muy sano y muy fácil de hacer, y pocas personas y en pocos díaspueden aparejar cantidad para provisión de mucha gente, y sostiénese mucho tiempo.*[67]

In the paragraph above, de Las Casas describes the ***cazabi*** as a very healthy and easy to make bread. He also makes note that the bread had a very long-lasting storage life and that it could be made in great quantities to feed a large group of people with very little effort. These unique alimentary and storage characteristics of ***cazabe*** as food could represent a very reasonable explanation for its adoption by the Spanish as part of their sea faring expeditions. It is important to note that de Las Casas also makes a very vital observation regarding the correct pronunciation of the word ***cazabi***. In the

[66] (Crowley, 1997, p. 24)
[67] (De las Casas, 1566, p. 145)

paragraph, de Las Casas states that the word should have a phonetic effort in the second syllable and be pronounced as ***ca-ssaá-be***. This observation by de Las Casas it is yet another great example of the determination of the writer to convey Taino phonetics in his work and yet another window to a language long considered extinct.

b)—Mentions in José de Acosta Historia natural y moral de las Indias:

> *En algunas partes de Indias usan un género de pan que llaman **cazavi**, el cual se hace de cierta raíz que se llama yuca. Es la yuca raíz grande y gruesa, la cual cortan en partes menudas y la rallan, y como en prensa la exprimen; y lo que queda es una como torta delgada, muy grande y ancha casi como una adarga. Esta así es el pan que comen; es cosa sin gusto y desabrida, pero sana y de sustento; por eso decíamos, estando en la Española, que era propia comida para contra la gula porque se podía comer sin escrúpulo de que el apetito causase exceso.*[68]

The above paragraph from José de Acostas' writings seem to hint to a ***cazabe*** consumption tradition among the early people of the Americas. In the text, de Acosta supports what was previously established by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas about the healthiness and lightness of the bread. He also states that this was the main food source among some of the peoples of Española which at the time of the source were the Taino.

Although from 1590, this source was quoted to illustrate the association of ***cazabe*** with Taino in spite the food from the rest of the invaded lands already being known by the Spanish.

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[68] (de Acosta, 1589, p. 146)

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> *[…] Y después que nos hobimos recogido todos nuestros soldados, fuimos a un puerto que se dice e nombra en lengua de indios* ***Axaruco****, en la banda del norte, y estaba ocho leguas de una villa que entonces tenían poblada, que se decía San Cristóbal, que dende ha dos años la pasaron adonde agora está poblada La* ***Habana****.*

Following our analysis of Bernal Diaz del Castillo's text we are presented with two new Taino words in the sequence: ***Axaruco*** and ***Habana***. Although the term ***axaruco*** could well be a possible phonetic corruption of ***Aráuco*** o ***Arahuaco***[69], the meaning or origin of this word has not yet been clearly identified in any other primary sources that could support its Taino origin. However, if we continue to employ the Comparative Method of language to evaluate Taino phonetic association of this word with other known Taino ones, we can establish that the prefix ***ax*** can be recognized in surviving Taino words such as ***Axua***[70], ***Axuey***[71] and ***axí***[72]or ***ají***. On the same token, the ending of the term, ***ruco,*** can also be found in other Taino words meaning rocky or harsh terrain. This ending is present in words such as ***Bahoruco*** (name of the ***Xaragua*** kingdom of Española, meaning great river of rough rocks. As a matter of fact, ***Bahoruco*** was the place of the first Taino revolt under ***cacique*** Enriquillo[73]). The Taino origin of this word can be linked to a report letter to the Spanish crown of August

[69] Term used to describe the Taino language family.
[70] City of Española founded by Hernan Cortez prior to its trips to Cuba and Mexico.
[71] Name of a salt lake in modern day Haiti.
[72] Wild peper.
[73] (de Barrionuevo, 1533)

23, 1533 were the *encomendero* Francisco Barrionuevo states that ***Baoruco*** was the place were Indians and slaves were scaping from the Spanish in Española during the early period of the conquest as early as 1505:

> Siendo hombres podrian alzarse con esta isla ansi con indios como con negros porque en este camino del ***Baoruco*** he hallado dos mestizos, uno con Enrique y otro con veinte indios en la punta del ***Tiburón*** alzados y estos tales si se llevasen a esos reynos podrian ser buenos cristianos.

The text above describes two different places with Taino names were the mestizos and maroons were revolting against the Spanish led by the ***cacique*** Enrique: ***Baoruco*** and ***Tiburón*** > 'shark'. As a note, it is important to mention that the term ***tiburón*** in turn is composed of the prefix ***tí*** previously identified as meaning high or intense e.g. ***hai-tí***, ***aji-ti-tí*** and the ending ***ua-ron*** is often associated with swimming or fish like qualities e.g. ***camarón*** > 'shrimp'. Yet, what is important about this primary source quotation is the identification of the term ***Bahoruco*** with an ending phonetically comparable to that of the ***axaruco*** described in Diaz's text. Furthermore, this ***ruco*** ending can also be found in the word ***cibaoruco*** (name of the central region of Española, meaning terrain of river of rough rocks). Therefore, given the observations above, with regards to the term ***Axaruco***, it could be argued that due to its commonality with other surviving Taino voices, plus the fact that Diaz del Castillo was referring to a place in Cuba prior to his expedition to Mexico, this word should must likely belong to the Taino language family.

It is also important to note that according the dictionary of the Real Academia Española the ***ruco***[74] ending of the term is used in modern day Central America to refer

[74] (Española, 2019)

to a very wrinkled old man and that in many Spanish speaking places of the Caribbean the term used to describe something rough of abrasive or someone with low intelligence is ***seboruco***[75].

The term ***axaruco*** or ***ajaruco*** is only mentioned one more time in the sequence of True History of the Conquest of New Spain to refer to a seaport.

The next Taino word in the Diaz del Castillo's paragraph examined above is ***Habana***. This word is more prevalent within the body of the text. It means hanging basket. Its Taino meaning can be found in the section below of the other primary sources that mention the word prior to its use by Bernal Diaz del Castillo.

Number of Mentions of the word *Habana* **in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:** (89). Within the body of the main text: (41)

Other Primary Sources Mentions of the possible Taino origin of the word Habana:

a)—Mentions in Fernandez de Oviedo's Historia general y natural de las Indias:

> En ésta vuelta se hallaron en el campo é por donde tornamos alguna ropa de mantas é ***hamacas*** é siete mili pessos de oró ó más, en diversas piecas, labrado, escondido entre las malas en cinco ó seys partes, puesto en sus ***havas*** ó cestas[76].

In the text above, Fernandez de Oviedo mentions the Taino name ***havas*** which means basket. However, the use of the Spanish disjunctive correlative conjunction *ó* > 'or' to provide mutually exclusive meaning to the Spanish word *cestas* seems to indicate

[75] (Española, 2019)
[76] (Fernandez de Oviedo, 1853, p. 51)

certain familiarity and commonality of use of both terms by the writer of the quote. This hints to a possible idiomatic mixture between Spanish and Taino as early as the 1500s.

b)—Mentions in Christopher Columbus' journal of the first voyager or Diario de Abordo:

> aquella tierra era Tierra Firme muy grande que va mucho al norte, y que el rey de aquella tierra tenía guerra con el Gran Can, al cual ellos llamaban **Cami,** y a su tierra o ciudad ***Faba*** y otros muchos nombres.

As previously mentioned in page fifteen, the above citation of Columbus's Journal is of extreme importance because for the first time in the Chronicles of the new world the Taino words for god or ***xemí*** and ***haba***, ***xaba*** or ***fgaba*** or place or things that hang are mentioned in a text. This prefix ***ha*** can be found in many surviving Taino terms such as ***hamaca*** > 'hammock or hanging bed' (also mentioned in the quote above). Also, in the words ***jaquima*** > 'horse leash', ***jaquimeyes*** > 'liana', 'hanging vine', or 'ivy', and in the word ***Häití*** > 'land of high steep picks'. However, one thing not mentioned in the cited page is that Columbus mistakenly uses the Latin term *faba* to describe the Taino word ***hava***. The etymon *faba* (phonetically employed by Columbus) is the derivative of the Spanish word *haba* which is a voice used to name a type of bean very common in pre-Columbian diet and very popular in the diet of most Latin-American countries today.

The true importance of this phonetic confusion by Columbus in the text is the fact that he uses known terms to describe what is being understood based on his own linguistic registry. In the text, he confuses the Taino word for center or ***can*** with the Asian word for the great *Khan* and mislabels ***hava*** or ***hava-na*** or place of hanging

baskets with the Latin *faba* or Spanish *haba*. This confusion in the phonetic similarity between *haba* and ***hava*** still prevalent among the Spanish speaking countries today were (unlike the European Spanish) there is no difference in the pronunciation of the *v* and *b*. As a matter of fact, it could be argued that, except for very few regions of Colombia, most Spanish speaking countries use the Taino ***b*** as vernacular when presented with the letter *v* in any word. The pronunciation of this letter is like that of surviving Taino voices such as ***batata***, ***batey***, ***batea***, ***barbacoa***, ***ceiba, cahoba, batú***, ***bana***, among others, were the linguistic effort falls on the beginning of the sound forcing an elongation of the following vowel. E.g. *ben* in lieu of *ven, bano* in lieu of *vano*, *bago* in lieu of of *vago, carníboro* in lieu of *carnívoro*, etc.

Chapter II, page 10

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> *y en doce días doblamos la punta de Santo Antón, que por otro nombre en la isla de Cuba se llama Tierra de los* ***Guanahataveyes****, que son unos indios como salvajes.*

In the next part of the sequence of Diaz del Castillo's text, we come yet across with another term, ***Guanahataveyes***. This term is often associated with a different group of Indians (at times argued as non-Arawak speaking) living in the western part of Cuba and very close to the Yucatan peninsula. However, given the phonetic analysis of this word, its meaning seems to indicate a common Taino-Arawak root sharing its morphemes with surviving Taino words, such as: ***guana*** > 'flexible or weave', ***ha*** >

'hanging' and ***atabey*** > 'Taino goddess of earth and water'[77]. It is important to note that the letter (s) at the end of this word seems to be the utilization of the Spanish plural construction by the writer to create a morphologic meaning of "many" based on his own linguistic registry of quantity. This argument is made because the Taino lacked the (*s)* sound in their alphabet. As a matter of fact, the very few surviving Taino words that contain an (s) kind of sound in their pronunciation are often accidental with an alveolo-palatal fricative effect in their enunciations e.g ***Axua***, ***xSabana***, ***xCemí***, ***xCibucan,*** ***Quixqueya***.

Moreover, if we refer to the Lokono-Arawak languages which are the cousin languages of the Taino still in use today in the Orinocan region of South America in countries like Guyana, Surinam, French Guiana and Venezuela[78] we can observe that the construction of the Taino plural is irregular in its form by the use of ***no*** and ***bí, be***.

Like in Taino, in Lokono, the plural is constructed by the suffix ***no*** as a modifier to the substantive e.g. ***Tai*** > 'singular for goodhearted or noble'+ ***no*** = ***Taino*** > 'noble people', ***Loko*** > 'person' + ***no*** = ***Lokono*** > 'the people', ***hiaro*** > 'woman' + ***no*** = ***hiarono*** > 'women'. In addition, another cousin language of the Taino that is still in use today and that shares the same plural formation with the Arawak is the Honduran-Carib-Garifuna. In some cases of this language, the plural is constructed by the suffix ***nu***, often pronounced ***ñu*** e.g. ***hiñaru*** > 'woman' + ***ñu*** = ***hiñaruñu*** > 'women'.

However, another irregular form of Taino plural shared by these surviving languages is the suffix ***be*** e.g. ***manatee*** + ***be*** = ***manateebe*** > 'an aggregation of manatees', ***ada*** > 'tree' + ***be*** = ***adabe*** > 'forest', 'many trees', 'byproduct of the forest',

[77] (Pane, 1498, p. 21)
[78] (Stuart Olson, 1991, p. 211)

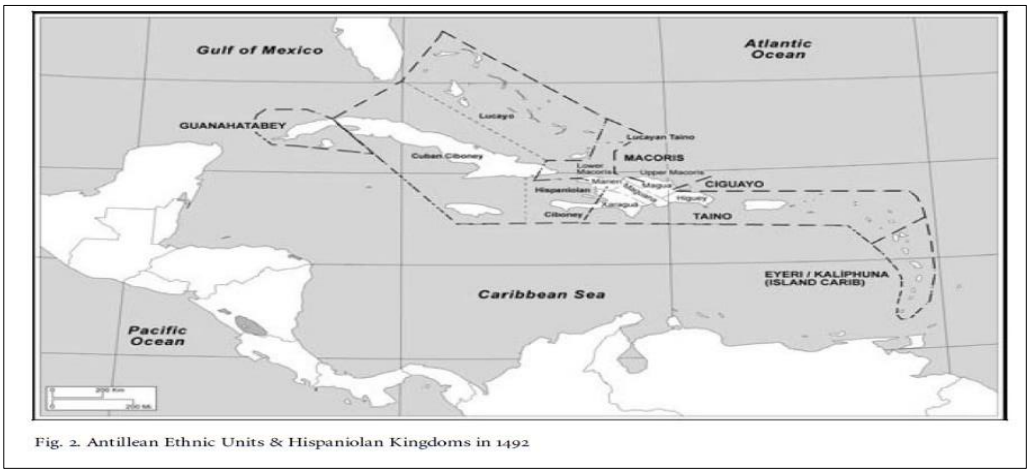
maca > 'fish bone' + ***bi*** = ***macabí*** > 'very bony fish'. It is important to mention that in some instances of the Garifuna language we are encountered with the repetition of the plural ***bu***, ***be***, ***bí*** within words, but (given the dialectal nature of the Garifuna in all the Central American groups) these words have completely lost their original meaning. This linguistic evolution is common in many creole and dialectal languages were sounds are adopted as morphological blocks during the linguistic transitional process from pidgin to dialect to creole to language[79]. An example of this is found in the Garifuna word ***idibu*** > 'tree' which sounds just like the Lokono plural ***adabe*** > 'forest', yet the word for forest in Garifuna is ***árabu***. It seems that both, the singular and plural in Garifuna carry the suffix ***bui*** as modifier, but (in the case of the singular) it serves no modifying function losing its plural morphology and just becoming a general cognate-word detached from its root. This illustrates the etymon-derivative-cognate relation between the Taino-Arawak and the Garifuna, with the second being a pidgin-dialect of the first.

Therefore, it would be safe to argue that this comparative analysis of these surviving cousin languages of the Taino shed some light into the formation of the Taino plural as ***no***, ***be*** and ***bui***, thus sustaining that the use of the (s) in the text is a grammatical Spanish adaptation used by the writer for linguistic registry or dialectic assurance purpose. It could also signal the possible birth of a proto-pidgin language based on the speaker's own reality as if the language employed by the writer was suffering its own transformations as well.

Nonetheless, given its geographical location, this ***Guanahataveys*** region of ***Cuba*** was instrumental to the conquest of the continent. The map below is an outline of

[79] (Crowley, 1997, p. 274)

the different Arawak linguistic groups that inhabited the Caribbean during the European's arrival. In the map, the ***Guanahataveyes*** are depicted as a separate group like the Lukayos, Macorís, ciguayos, ciboneyes, and Caribs. However, de Las Casas states that they were part of a common linguistic cluster who understood one another using the Taino as a sort of *Lingua Franca*[80], thus rendering the word ***Guanahataveyes*** (if not Taino) at least interrelated culturally and geographically to them.

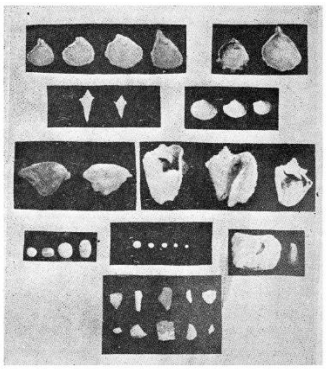


Pic. 9 *Pre-Columbian Linguistic map of the Caribbean*[81]

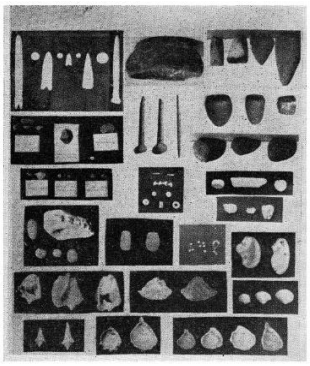
It is important to note that according to Sebastian Robiou Lamarche, this ***Guanahatavey*** group was part of an earlier migratory archaic Soladoid cluster that populated the Caribbean prior to the Tainan domination of the region. This group was in part related to the Lucayos, Macoris and Ciguayos that lived scattered in the northern part of the Caribbean[82] and (as stated by Fray Ramon Pané[83]) were subjects and lived along the Taino kingdoms.

[80] (de Las Casas, 1875)
[81] (Granberry, 2003, p. 8)
[82] (Robiou Lamarche, 2003, p. 33)
[83] (Pane, 1498, p. 8)

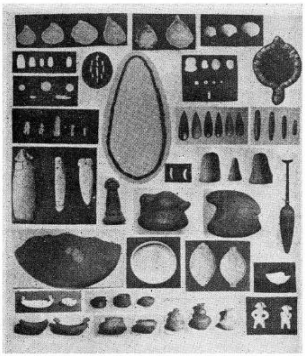
The pictures below are examples of Guanahatabey, Ciboney and Taino archeological objects from different excavations in the island of Cuba[84].



Pic. 10 *Guanahatabey*



Pic. 11 *Ciboney*



Pic. 12 *Taino*

As observed in the pictures, there seem to be some shared artisanal elements between the Guanahatabey and the Ciboney specially when it comes to the implementation of shells as the main source for artifact construction. The Taino, on the other hand, show distinctive manufactured objects and have more elaborate pottery and figurines. The presence of elaborate elements is not too common among ***Guanahaní*** or ***Guanahatabe*** archeology. However, what is important for this study is that the word ***Guanahatabey*** was used by Bernal Diaz in his text prior to the continental exchange as a non-Mayan, non-Nahuatl group of conquered people among the Spanish.

Number of Mentions of the word *Guanahataveyes* in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts: 1

Other Primary Sources Mentions of the possible origin of the word Guanahataveyes:

[84] (ÁLVAREZ CONDE, 2010, p. 93)

a)—Mentions in a 1514 letter from the governor of Cuba Diego Velazquez de Cuellar to the Spanish monarch Ferdinand II:

> é la otra los ***Guanahatabibes***, que son los postreros indios dellas; y que la vivienda destos ***guanatabibes*** es á ma nera de salvajes, porque no tienen casas, ni asientos, ni pueblos, ni labranzas, ni comen otra cosa sino las carnes que toman por les montes, y tortugas y pescado; y que así venidos, los tornó á enviar á la dicha provincia de la Habana.[85]

The above quote from Velazquez de Cuellar seems to depict the Spanish bias towards these Indians labeling them as a wild and savage group predecessor of the Taino with no agriculture, houses or towns. This quote is important for two main reasons: first, because it agrees with Bernal Diaz's portrayal of the same group in his text when he states that *"these Indians were like savages[86]"* and second, because in his manuscript Velazquez de Cuellar uses the Taino plural formation ***bu***, ***be***, ***bí*** (although never losing the Spanish ***s*** at the end of the word) to name the group. Another important dialectic element to note about the quote is that, whether intentionally or by pure distraction, Velazquez mistakenly omits the term ***ha*** in the second sentence of the original text which could indicate either an elision in the voiceless glottal transition of the fricative sound *h* (common in many Indo-European languages speakers) or a possible dual source for the pronunciation of the word. This assertion could explain Bernal Diaz's spelling of the word as ***Guanahataveyes*** employing the ***v*** and the ***ey*** as a phonetical plural or a possibly phonetic interpretation of an unknown language learned from sources with different linguistic backgrounds.

[85] (Velázquez de Cuéllar, 1864-1884)
[86] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632)

However, in this case Bernal Diaz's spelling, the way it is worded seems to imitate the Taino pluralization of the word. This is said because, in the two quotes below from Columbus and de Las Casas we come across with a bilingual formation of the adverbial-plural using the ***í*** or ***íx*** to refer to the same word.

> Amainaron todas las velas y quedaron con el treo, que es la vela grande, sin bonetas, y pusiéronse a la corda, temporizando hasta el día viernes, que llegaron a una isleta de los ***Lucayos*** que se llamaba en lengua de indios ***Guanahaní***[87]

This mention by Columbus of the ***Guanahaní*** is the first mention of this word in all the Chronicles of the conquest. However, he also introduced another very important word repeated by de Las Casas in the following quote, ***lucayos***:

> Esta tierra era y es una isla de 15 leguas de luengo, poco más ó ménos, toda baja sin montaña alguna, como una huerta llena de arboleda verde y fresquísima, como son todas las de los ***lucayos*** que hay por allí, cerca desta Española, y se extienden por luengo de Cuba muchas, la cual se llamaba en lengua desta isla Española, y dellas, porque cuasi toda es una lengua y manera de hablar, ***Guanahaní***, la última sílaba luenga y aguda[88].

As previously stated, what is of extreme importance in the quotes above is that when we find the ***Guanaha*** people naming themselves to Columbus and de Las Casas in 1492 the plural of choice is the adverbial ***í*** or ***íx*** e.g. ***Guanahaní*** as if they were employing the ethnonym instead of the qualifier. Whereas, when named by writers 20 and 60 years later in the conquest (as it is the case of Velazquez de Cuellar in 1514 and

[87] (Colombus, 1493)
[88] (Las Casas, 1875)

Diaz del Castillo in 1552) they are identified with the Taino plural ***bi***, ***vey***, ***bides***, ***bey*** in conjunction with the Spanish (s) ending e.g. ***Guanahatabeyes*** as if the language of choice of the Chronicles was the Taino and this language had already suffered a *mestizisation* process of its own by assigning qualifiers to general terms.

In linguistics time 20 years is a very long time, not to mention 60 as it was the case of Diaz del Castillo. Therefore, by the time of Diaz del Castillo's writings of the events we seem to be presented with a Spanish language intertwined with the Taino. This is said because at the beginning of the True History of the Conquest of New Spain, page 7 to be precise, this group of ***Lucayo*** Indians is presented as *guanexex* phonetically spelled with the Spanish *x* which at the time was pronounced like the *j* e.g. *Ximénez — Giménez*, *tixera —tijera*, *Xavier—Javier* and with the adverbial ***ix*** imitating the ***guanaha*** people's pronunciation of the word as depicted in the Columbus—de Las Casas' texts, quoted earlier. This transition in Diaz del Castillo's text could mean the presence of bilingualism, a transition in time between the event and the narrative or the possibility of different writers or sources for the published text.

However, as we continue with the sequence of Diaz's text, this word ***lucayos*** was omitted from the final version of the *Aparato de Variantes* but is in turn mentioned in the two other versions of the text, the *prínceps* and the *Manuscrito Alegría*. The text in the margins of the other two texts reads as follows:

> se conquistase, dio al través un navío en aquella costa: estuviese de paz dio al través por la costa del norte un navío que había ido desde la isla de Santo Domingo a buscar indios, que llamaban los ***lucayos***, a unas islas que están entre Cuba y el canal de ***Bahama***, que se llaman las islas de los ***Lucayos***, y con mal tiempo dio al través en aquella costa.[89]

[89] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632)

Once again, (and as stated in the quote above) we come across with a secondary subservient group to the Taino which appears to be the group of choice for slave labor and kidnapping. Nonetheless, the true importance of the word ***Lucayos*** (in spite its omission from the final version of the text) is that its suffix ***cayo*** gave birth to the Spanish-French-English word for ***cayo, cay, quay*** or ***key*** to refer to a shallow sand bank along the coastline or a small island in the middle of shallow waters. However, this word in the Taino sense is a possible corruption of ***yucayu*** or as stated by Fray Ramón Pané, the goddess of the Taino-Ciguayo myth of creation.

> inmortal, y que nadie puede verlo, y que tiene madre, más no tiene principio," ya éste llaman ***Yúcahu*** Bagua Maórocotí," y a su madre llaman ***Atabey***, Yermao, Guacar, Apito y Zuimaco, que son cinco nombres," Éstos de los que escribo son de la isla Española; porque de las otras islas no sé cosa alguna por no haberlas visto jamás

It is truly remarkable that based on the archeological and anthropological data this ***Guanahatabeyes*** group is depicted as an earlier migratory group and that their creation myths regarding ***Yúcayu*** and ***Atabey*** (at least as stated by Pané) are the religious myth about creation and how the indigenous people populated the Caribbean and Hispaniola shared by the Taino. It is, as if the Taino drew from the earlier migratory groups for their mythology and became a cohesive pre-Columbian society. Therefore, when chronicles such as Diaz del Castillo and Velazquez de Cuellar categorize this group as savage and less developed, they unintentionally are supporting the claim of different migratory groups to the Caribbean intertwined with the Taino.

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> *Y una mañana, que fueron cuatro de marzo, vimos venir diez **canoas** muy grandes, que se dicen **piraguas**, llenas de indios naturales de aquella poblazón, y venían a remo y vela. Son canoas hechas a manera de artesas, y son grandes y de maderos gruesos y cavados, de arte que están huecos; y todas son de un madero, y hay muchas dellas en que caben cuarenta indios.*

In the above quote we come across the next Taino words in our analysis of the text: ***canoas*** and ***piraguas***. However, it is very remarkable that Diaz or the possible writer of the text used the Taino word ***canoa*** to describe its Carib cousin ***piragua***. In the text, the chronicle states that "*these types of **canoes** are called **piraguas***". It is curious, that the writer never used any of the Spanish synonyms of the time such as *almadía*, *balsa, bote, navío*, *barco*, or *bergantin* to name the boats. Instead, the word of choice was ***canoe*** as if this word was part of the writer's intrinsic vocabulary and used by pure linguistic default. As a matter of fact, it is not until later in the text (page 40 to be exact) that some of these Spanish synonyms are introduced to name ships and such, but always associated with the *conquistadors*. The instances any boats used by Indians appeared in the text, they were often called by their Taino-Carib names ***canoa*** and ***piragua***.

However, regarding the etymology of these two words, ***canoa*** it's believed to comes from the Arawak ***can*** (and as stated before) at times associated with center, eye or hollow. Furthermore, in Lokono, ***Kanóa*** also means vessel. However, what is truly remarkable about all these words is the visual-symbolic similarities among them.



Pic. 13 *Canoa*



Pic. 14 *Canarí*



Pic. 15 *macana*



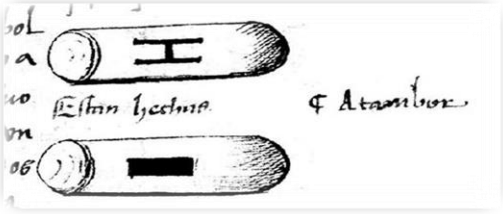
Pic. 16 *cana*

If we use the symbolic comparative method to analyze their morphology it can be observed that ***canoa*** is a fusion of ***can*** > 'center' and the suffix ***oa*** > 'to dig', 'foundation', 'hole', 'stuck', and possibly, 'town' e.g ***coa*** > 'tool for farming', ***ocoa*** > 'great hole', ***Harabacoa*** > 'town (Hisp.)', ***Guanabacoa*** > 'town (Cuba)', ***barbacoa*** > 'wooden grill' used to smoke and cook fish and meats (mostly sea mammals). The word ***canarí***[90] is a combination of ***can*** and the suffixes ***r*** > 'place' and the adverbial ***íx*** > 'it looks like', which could be translated as 'thing that looks like a ***canoa*** fixed at a place'. The word ***macana*** is the amalgamation of the negative auxiliary prefix ***ma*** > 'not' + ***cana*** = 'it's not a palm tree'. In addition, the word ***cana*** means 'palm tree'.

However, it is important to note that this combination of ***can*** and the repetitive use of the negative auxiliary verb form to describe an object contrary to its logical appearance seems to be a common element in Taino phonology. Examples of this linguistic tendency can be found in very important elements of Taino culture and cosmovision such as ***mayohuacan*** > '***areyto*** drum'. This word is the fusion of ***ma*** >

[90] (Coll y Toste, 1897)

'not' + ***guayacan*** > 'hard centered tree' = ***mayohuac'n***[91] > 'it is not a ***guayacan*** tree'.



Pic. 17 *Oviedo*: *atambor*[92]

The same structure can be identified in the word ***maco*** > 'frog', composed of ***ma*** > 'not' + ***ku*** > 'friend(ly), sacred, enlighten' = 'unfriendly, unholy'. Lastly, in the word ***Maguana*** (cacique kingdom of Hispaniola) > ***ma*** > 'not' + ***guana*** > 'flexible'. This word could also mean the '***guanaha***' people. Therefore, it could be transliterated as 'not flexible' or 'we are not ***guanaha***'. Moreover, the same structure, but with an opposite adverbial function is found in the word ***iguana*** > 'looks like guano' or 'it's flexible'.

Particularly, it is crucial to mention that in some instances, depending on its colocation and the surrounding words, the morpheme ***ma*** could also mean 'big', 'great' or 'vast' e.g. ***Managua*** > 'great loincloth', ***caguama*** > 'great sea turtle', ***mamey*** > 'very sweet fruit', ***manatí*** > 'big mammal'+ ***í*** > 'intense'. This very marked difference between ***ma*** as a negative and ***ma*** as an adjective could represent the possibility of the existence of two completely independent Taino phonemes victims of the Spanish lexicalization of the writings, thus turning them into an analogous grapheme or allograph known as ***ma***. Speculatively, one of them might well have had a nonpulmonic

[91] (Pane, 1498)
[92] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557)

ejective consonant prior to the phoneme like ʔ'***ma*** or laryngeal-glottal stop like ɡkʼ***ma*** all lost during the post-lexicalization process of the Spanish chronicles.

However, continuing with the sequential analysis of the BDC's text, the next term, ***piraúara***, is a Carib word used by the Taino to designate the smaller type of canoe. This word comes from the Guaraní word ***pira*** > 'fish' e.g. ***piranha*** > 'tooth fish' and ***pira'ya*** > 'scissor fish'. Therefore, ***pira*** in combination with the suffix ***huara,*** which could be a possible corruption of the Carib found in the Honduran Garifuna ***úara***[93] > 'to join', 'to accompany by or with', should consequently be transliterated as 'to accompany the fish' or 'fish companion'.

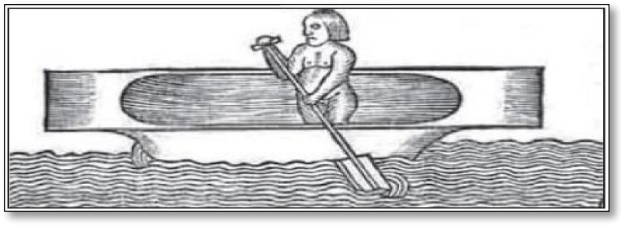
Number of Mentions of the words *canoa* **and** *piragua* **in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:**

canoa: 342 & *piragua:* 31

Other Primary Sources Mentions of the possible origin of the word canoa and piragua:

a) —Mentions in Fernandez de Oviedo's Historia general y natural de las Indias:

y al pié de las *palmas* > ***cana*** tienen sus ***canoas***, con que salen á pescar.



Pic. 18 *Fernández de Oviedo: canoa* [94]

[93] (Suazo, 2011)
[94] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557)

The above quote and illustration from Fernandez de Oviedo's accounts of the Indians of Española is of extreme importance because it places the word ***canoa*** in the Taino context. It also associates the palm trees with Taino life. As previously discussed, ***cana*** > 'palm tree' is a very prevalent voice among the surviving Taino lexicon. Correspondingly, it is worth to remark that ***canoa*** was the first Indian word to be mentioned in Antonio de Nebrija's Spanish-Latin Dictionary[95] of 1495 and one of the first words ever published in Europe in a February 1493 latter from Christopher Columbus to Luis de Santángel.

> Ellos tienen en todas las islas muy muchas ***canoas***, de manera de fustas de remo: dellas mayores, dellas menores, y algunas y muchas son mayores que una fusta de diez y ocho bancos: non son tan anchas, porque son de un solo madero; mas una fusta no terná con ellas al releo, porque van que no es cosa de creer, y con estas navegan todas aquellas islas, que son innumerables, y traen sus mercaderías. Algunas destas ***canoas*** he visto sesenta y ochenta hombres en ella, y cada uno con su remo…[96]

This fragment of the letter describes the size, shape and number of passengers in the different types of canoes and the way they were used as commercial and seafaring vessels among the different islands Columbus encountered. However, what is important to note about Columbus' note is the linguistic capital employed to make the statement that "*each man had a paddle even on those canoes with sixty or eighty men on board*". The observation by Columbus could indicate (at least during navigation) a possible cooperative culture of equally shared labor. This is said because as an experienced sailor and skilled captain Columbus could have been comparing the structure of labor between

[95] (Nebrija, 1495)
[96] (Colon, 1892)

his caravels and the Taino canoes, if not, why the reflection about that element on a short letter.

However, concerning the other word, ***piragua*** it is imperative to mention that this word doesn't appear in any of the Columbus early chronicles. Instead, this word seems to show up in the chronicles after the discovery of the continental lands and often accompanied by its association with its Taino homolog, ***canoa***. This seems to indicate a possible subsequent adoption or linguistic borrowing from a different language, the Caribs to be precise. As a matter of fact, the first mention of ***piragua*** in any of these texts doesn't appear until chapter CLIX of de Las Casas' *Historia de las Indias* after the Spanish arrival to a small island of the coast of Venezuela called ***Cubagua***. In his writings, de Las Casas states:

> toman luego una piragua –que es una ***canoa*** de otra arte hecha y muy ligera…[97]

Amazingly, even de Las Casas uses ***piragua*** and ***canoa*** in the comparative verb form. The text translates as follows: *"later they took a pirogue which is a type of lighter canoe made in a different way"*. This description has the same comparative construction used by Diaz del Castillo in the quote cited in page 38 where he states that *"they are canoes made out of artesian wood, very big and crafted with a single wooden log"*. This grammatical use seems to indicate a word integration in the case of both chronicles as if the language used had already experienced an incorporation process with some Taino words, in this case, canoe.

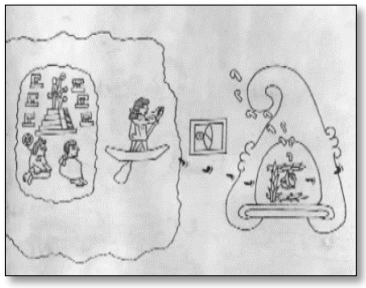
The images below are examples of the ***canoes*** prior to Bernal Diaz's text with their original names. It is important to mention that, except for ***piragua***, the other

[97] (Las Casas, 1875)

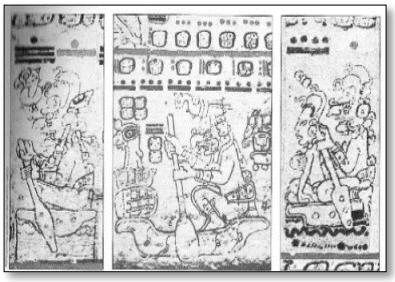
words did not make it to the vernacular Spanish lexicon. They were in most cases displaced by the adoption of ***canoe*** into their respective languages and dialects.



Pic 19 *Piragua (Carib)*[98]



Pic 20 *Acalli/Acaltontli (Nahuatl)*



Pic 21 *Chem (Itza-Maya)*

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> *y cubiertas sus vergüenzas con unas mantas angostas, que entre ellos llaman masteles. Y tuvímoslos por hombres de más razón que a los indios de Cuba, porque andaban los de* ***Cuba*** *con las vergüienzas de fuera, eceto las mujeres, que traían hasta los muslos unas ropas de algodón, que llaman* ***naguas***.

The next word in the sequence of the text is ***nagua*** > 'taparrabo (Spa.)' > 'loincloth'. This word is of extreme significance, because like its counterpart ***canoa*** it quickly became integrated and adopted by the people of the continental lands in their languages and dialects. To this day, ***nagua*** or ***enagua*** is used as a synonym of skirt[99] across most Spanish speaking countries.

However, a significant element to observe in Diaz del Castillo's note is the use of the word *masteles* to make a comparative reflection between the Indians of the

[98] (Benzoni, 1519-1572)
[99] (Española, 2019)

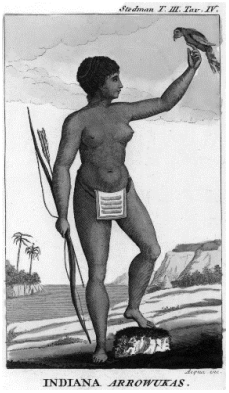
mainland and those he had previously encountered in Cuba wearing ***naguas*** made of cotton.

The use of the Nahuatl word *masteles* to refer to the Yucatan Indian attire at that moment of the chronology of the text seems to be out of context. The words to describe this item at that time of the narrative should have sounded like: *eex* > 'underwear', *nook'* > 'garments', *búuk* > 'clothes' in Mayan. Instead, he employs a corruption of the Nahuatl *maxtlatl* > 'loincloth' to make his comparison to the Taino ***nagua***. This could indicate a possible subsequent dictation of the text or a text written by memory after a transition of experience by the source. This observation is made because prior to his introduction of these words in the text, Diaz states that *"they made hand signs so the Indians could come and speak to them because at the time they did not have anyone who could understand Yucatec or Mexican*[100]*"*. Here, Diaz is referring by name to two groups he is yet to know.

On the other hand, when it comes to the word ***nagua*** (altered in its current form by the Spanish transcriptions, interpretations, and transliterations) we are presented with a very diverge series of possible interpretations for its etymology. Phonetically speaking, this word is composed by the prefix ***ɡnaá*** > 'small[101]' and the suffix ***wa***. However, this suffix ***wa*** could have many different connotations based on its place in the original word. It could mean 'this', 'place', 'our', 'we', '*wa* + ***ra***' > *'surprise*'. It could also be used to express adverbs and abstract adjectives like the English '—ly' and '—ive' and as a stative and intransitive verb. This construal is drawn from its Lokono cousin ***naáwa*** > 'loincloth' and from the its suffix ***gua*** phonetically found in Garifuna with

[100] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632, p. 11)
[101] (Granberry, 2003)

other words meaning 'bundle', 'basket', and 'oneself'. On the other hand, in a phonological study by Colombian lexicologist Nicolas del Castillo Matheus the term appears to have a relationship with the Lokono ira terms ***íu*** > 'hair', ***itu*** > 'thorn' e.g. ***nágu íu*** > 'my eyelash' and ***nágu igi*** > 'the pupils of my eyes 'which are contained in the word ***iiírngii*** (Arawak ***iórorokp***, Guajiro ***ayiíliikti*** menaing 'pubic hair') [102].



Pic 22[103] *Arawak woman wearing a* ***naawa*** *with* ***loro*** *or* ***higuaca,*** *bow and arrows.*

Furthermore, it is possible that this word might have suffered a pre-Columbian alteration in Hispaniola by the addition of ***y***, ***e*** and ***i*** as an adverbial prefix, thus explaining its spelling variance in the different texts across the Americas between ***nagua***, ***enagua*** and ***inagua***[104]. This dialectal alteration could have been a Spanish lexicalization, or it could have originated due to the ethnolinguistic distribution and geographical connection between the Lucayans and the Taino kingdom of ***Marién*** and central ***Haití—Maguá*** (Ciguayos and Macoríes) becoming ***enagua***, ***ynagua*** and ***ínagua*** respectably. This is said, because the first mention of this word happened to be in a reference to a letter by Columbus referring to a series of islands of the Lucayan Indians island chain. The text reads as follows:

[102] (del Castillo Matheu, 1977)
[103] (Stedman, 1813)
[104] (Herriquez Ureña, 1940)

> y anombraron por su nombre más de ciento. Por ende yo miré por la más grande, y aquella determiné andar, y así hago y será lejos desta de San Salvador, cinco leguas y las otras dellas más, dellas menos.[105]

These Arawak islands Columbus is referring to are the Turks and Caicos ***Ynagua*** and ***Abanagua*** and (like Columbus stated in Spanish) their names are associated with sizes and place e.g. ***Ynagua*** (***í*** > 'looks like' + ***na*** > 'small' + ***wa*** > 'place' = 'looks like a small place'). The next island, called the "bigger one" in the text is named ***Abanagua***, (***A*** > 'it is' agentive noun function + ***ba*** > 'big' + ***wa*** > 'place' = 'it is a bigger place'). Another possible explanation for the addition of the prefix ***e***, ***y*** or ***í*** in the Hispaniola's version could be related to the Guanahaní-Carib grammatical construction depicted by father Raymond Bretton in his comparative studies between the Carib and the French languages in Martinique.

Number of Mentions of the word *nagua* in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts: 2

Note: Remarkably, this word doesn't appear again in the text until page 478 when a common soldier, wounded and betrayed it's believed to have taken some Indian women as concubines: "*y que agora el pobre soldado que había echado los bofes y estaba lleno de heridas por haber una buena india, y les habían dado* ***naguas*** *y camisas, habían tomado y escondido las tales indias*". The text states that the soldier gave ***naguas*** and shirts to the women. It is imperative to note that the ***naguas*** were a

[105] (Colon, 1892)

common item to give and trade among the Taino. Therefore, to find a foot soldier that far in the chronology of the narrative using a Taino custom of exchange and courtship seems to hint to a possible familiarity of Taino practices among the lower ranks of the Spanish army. As a matter of fact, this type of ***naguas*** or ***e-maguas*** as a traditional gift can be traced back to a gift from ***cacique Anacahona*** to Bartolome Colón. According to de Las Casas:

> Presentó esta señora á D. Bartolomé muchas sillas, las más hermosas, que eran todas negras y bruñidas como si fueran de azabache; de todas las otras cosas para servicio de mesa, y ***naguas*** de algodón (que eran unas como faldillas que traían las mujeres desde la cinta hasta media pierna, tejidas y con labor es del mismo algodon) blanco á maravilla, cuantas quiso llevar y que más le agradaban. Dióle cuatro ovillos de algodón hilado que apenas un hombre podía uno levantar[106].

The symbolism behind the details of this gift is of extreme cultural importance when it comes to Taino traditions and culture. The fact that ***Anacahona*** gave ***duho*** chairs, ***naguas*** and cotton bundles to Bartolomé Colón 26 years prior to the events recorded by Bernal Diaz del Castillo seems to place these items in the Taino cultural context prior to the discovery of the mainland. Moreover, only chiefs could sit in ***duho*** chairs. Therefore, giving them in the same symbolic context that ***naguas***, illustrates the importance of this item among the Taino.

Other Primary Sources Mentions of the possible Taino origin of the word *nagua*:

a) _ Fernández de Oviedo's Historia general y natural de las Indias:

[106] (Las Casas, Historia de Las Indias, 1527 | 1986 Edition from origial publication)

> á este propóssíto digo que las ***naguas*** son una manta de algodón que las mugeres desta isla, por cobrir sus partes vergoncosas, se ponían desde la cinta hasta media pierna, revueltas al cuerpo; é las mugeres principales hasta los tovillos: las doncellas vírgínes, como he dicho en otras partes, ninguna cosa se ponían ó traían delante de sus partes vergongosas, ni tampoco los hombres se ponían cosa alguna[107].

Here Oviedo describes the ***naguas*** as some sort of cotton blanket worn by married women from the waist down to half leg length. The men and pre-pubescent virgins did not wear anything. Furthermore, as illustrated in the quote below, Oviedo goes as far as to describe a type of sport ***nagua*** worn during ***batey*** > 'ball game' playing:

> Pero porque las cacicas é mugeres principales casadas traen estas naguas ó mantas desde la cinta hasta en tierra, delgadás é muy blancas é gentiles, sí son mugeres mocas é quieren jugar al ***batey***, dexan aquellas mantas luengas é pónense otras cortas, á medio muslo[108].

In this quote Oviedo states that "the women exchanged the longer ***naguas*** for shorter ones before playing ***batey***". Further in the same chronicle, Oviedo makes a unique observation about Taino incorporation of European dress norms and transcultural adaptation after the Spanish conquest of Hispaniola with the knitting of cotton shirts.

> porque solamente colgaba aquel trapillo , presso en lo alto y suelto en las otras partes, hasta que despues fueron mas entendiendo ellos y ellas, cubriéndosse con camisas que hacían de algodon muy buenas. Y al presente son pocos que hay, todos andan vestidos ó con camisas, en especial los que están en poder de chripstianos; y si algunos no lo hacen

[107] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557)
[108] Ibid. 167

> assi, es entre las reliquias que han quedado destas gentes del cacique don Enrique, del qual se hizo mencion en el libro precedente[109].

What becomes truly remarkable about this event in Oviedo's writings is the statement that *"the Indians started to understand and began to knit shirts out of cotton. The only ones who kept the* ***naguas*** *as relics and traditional dress were those taught by the rebellious cacique Enrique"*. The event Oviedo is referring to, started in 1519, about 26 years after the foundation of the first European town in the continent called La Isabela (1493) and 23 years after the foundation of Santo Domingo, the first European city in the Americas (1496). Therefore, based on the quote, the Taino began to abandon traditional dress code as early as the 1500s and it is possible that reasons behind the ***Bahoruco*** rebellion could have been a call to return to traditional Taino life.

However, it is de Las Casas whom places the ***naguas*** in the religious ceremonial *milieu* when associating them with the traditional Taino dance.

> Anacaona, cantando sus cantares y haciendo sus bailes, que llamaban ***areitos***, cosa mucho alegre y agradable par a ver, cuando se ayuntaban muchos en número especialmente; salieron delante mujeres, las que tenía por mujeres el rey ***Behechío***, todas desnudas en cueros, sólo cubiertas sus vergüenzas con unas medias faldillas de algodón, blancas y muy labradas, en la tejedura dellas, que llamaban ***naguas***

Here de Las Casas describes how the dance was executed by women only wearing ***naguas***. It is important to note that this event described by de Las Casas happened during a visit from Bartolomé Colón to cacique ***Bohechío***. Only chiefs or very

[109] Ibid. 168

important visitors were honored with ***areito*** dances and gifts. Hence, attributing a very significant ritualistic value to this attire.

b) _ Other sources that illustrate the quick idiomatic adaptation of this word across the early colonial colloquial Spanish of the Americas.

This word can be found in a 1554 copy of *México en 1554. Tres diálogos latinos de Francisco de Salazar* which was the first texts ever published about the University of Mexico by the first book-printer of New Spain, Juan Pablos. The text reads as follows:

> ***Enaguas*** y *huípiles*, ropas de las indias, y mantas que los hombres usan por capas. La mayor parte son de algodón, porque las más ordinarias se hacen de ***nequén***, ó hilo de ***maguey***[110].

In this text we are presented with an early colonial Spanish full of Taino lexicon with words becoming part of literature and art. One Nahuatl word (*huípiles)* accompanied by three Taino ones (***naguas***, ***henequén*** and ***maguey***). The importance of this source is imperative, because (unlike historical sources) literature carries elements of culture and language often not present in the official records.

Finally, one last example of the transcendence of the word ***naguas*** in the colloquial Spanish of the Americas is its presence in the 1608 publication of *Espejo de la paciencia* considered the first epic poem written in Cuba by Silvestre de Balboa.

> Bajaron de los árboles en ***naguas***
> Las bellas hamadriades hermosas

[110] (Cevantes Salazar, 1554, p. 151)

Con frutas de ***siguapas*** y ***macaguas***
Y muchas ***pitajayas*** olorosas[111];

In the poem above we are yet again presented with an early colonial Spanish intertwined with Taino words, traditions and ritualistic symbolism. Words like ***naguas***, ***siguapas***, ***pitahayas*** and ***macaguas*** seem to be part of a new bicultural tradition in process of development.

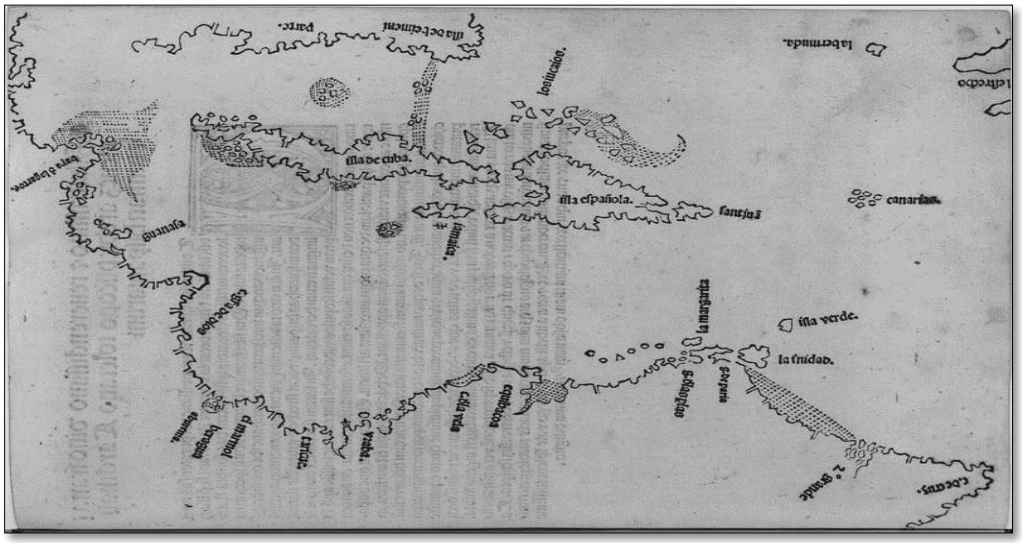
CHAPTER 3 | THE *TIERRA FIRME* OR MAINLAND

From this point of Diaz del Castillo's narrative we encounter the new cultural and linguistic reality of the people of the continental lands. Prior to this moment, most descriptions about the native cultures of the Americas were related to the Taino and their relatives along the Caribbean, Darién, and other scattered kingdoms in Central America. However, it is the invasion of New Spain that will mark the cusp of the Spanish empire and solidify its grasp over the rest of the continent. The Taino words encountered in this section of the text (given the significance of this event) were part of the beginning of a new mestizo culture that became the dominant culture of the Americas. It is important to note that this happened in large measure because 90% of the indigenous population of the Americas was wiped out by disease in the first century after European contact. However, what happened in New Spain did not stay there. It went across the whole continent and beyond. In this chapter we are going to continue with our main task of identifying Taino words and Taino related elements of culture,

[111] (Balboa, 1608)

customs and cosmovision in the language of the Conquerors and the peoples they conquered. However, this mission is going to be more challenging given the cultural parallelism of the peoples of the mainland which, as stated before, seem to have a very old pre-Columbian connection with the Taino. Therefore, we are going to shift our focus from primary source as the base of Taino connection in *lieu* of the etymological Comparative Method in order to better differentiate Taino terms from the other languages of the text such as the Nahuatl, Mayan, Yucatec, etc.

Below is one of the very first maps from 1511 of the continental mainland in relation to the already conquered Caribbean by Peter Martyr.



PIC. 23[112]

Chapter II, page 11

True History of the Conquest of New Spain

Y estuvieron mirando por un buen rato los navíos. Y el más principal dellos, que era

[112] (Martyris Ab Angleria, 1457-1526)

***cacique**, dijo por señas que se querían tornar en sus **canoas** y irse a su pueblo; que para otro día volverían y traerían más canoas en que saltásemos en tierra*

The next Taino word in the sequence is ***cacique*** or ***cacixke*** translated as chief, king, monarch, ruler, etc. However, this word was one of those words that (like ***canoa*** and ***maguey***) rapidly became part of the Spanish vernacular that colonized the Aztec, Inca and Maya kingdoms of the mainland. From Tierra del Fuego in the southernmost part of the continent to the shores of Puerto Valdez, in Alaska, time and time again we are presented with chronicles, letters and general bureaucratic documents with this word incorporated into the language of soldiers and government officials alike. It is as if ***cacique*** was the word of choice to designate—as stated by the Academia Española—any chief or Indian leader.

However, regarding the etymology of ***cacique*** we are presented with a unique window into Taino phonology. The suffix ***ique*** or ***ike***, is found hidden within another surviving Taino word, ***behíque***. This word, as previously defined in pages above, is related to the Garifuna ***buyai*** and the Vaipurá ***payé*** used to designate a shaman, a sage or wise man or a healer, and at times, all of them combined. It is striking that both the ***cacique*** and the ***behique***, which according to de Las Casas, represented the highest status positions within Taino society related to decision making, guidance and leadership share the same ending. While the ***cacique*** was the chiefdom's sociopolitical leader, the ***behique*** was the spiritual one. However, it is in Lokono where we find a comparable term for this ending in the word ***isic*** > 'head', which could hint to a possible association of the Taino suffix ***ike*** with 'guidance', 'leadership', or like in its Lokono

cousin, 'head'. Nevertheless, it is the prefix ***ca*** of ***cacique*** that places the chief as the position of the highest power of Taino society and gives us a singular view of Taino cosmovision. This is argued because when we find the morpheme ***K'*** in Taino and Arawak related languages, the term is often related to light ***cucuyo*** > 'firefligh', ***cuaba*** > 'fire starter wood', ***k'ue*** > 'sacred', 'enlighten', 'friendly', 'holly'. Additionally, if we take Breton's definition of the prefix ***K'*** as a possessive pronoun[113] as reference, it can be observed that in his analysis of Carib lexicology he defines this prefix as the equivalent of 'mine', 'my' and 'ours' which could possibly transliterate ***cacique*** as ***k'a*** > 'my enlighten' + ***ix*** > 'similar to' + ***ike*** > 'head' or 'leader' = 'my sacred, enlighten head'. Yet, what is truly remarkable about the position of the ***cacique*** as the highest authority of Taino social structure is the fact that the word ***behique***, which is the term for the shaman who communed with the spiritual world, does not have any phonemes related to the sacred or holy. Instead, it is defined by the prefix ***ebe'*** > 'medicine'[114], which according to Breton (1665) is related to the Carib ***ebénnetou*** > 'sorcerer'. In turn, ***cacique*** shares some of its morphology with the Carib ***cáchi*** > 'the sun'[115]. Furthermore, it is also relevant to mention that this prefix ***k'*** is often found defining other Taino words such as: ***caona*** > 'gold', ***ca-za-be*** > 'my good breads', ***caicu*** > 'northern reef' which gave birth to ***Caicos*** and possibly to ***Lucayos*** and ***yucayu*** from which corruption we got the English word ***cay*** or ***keys*** > 'sand bank'.

However, in the insular Carib, this term, with its possible variants ***kå***, ***kâ*** and ***ca*** became associated with 'top', 'northernmost', 'uppermost' and island ***kaya*** (***ka*** >

[113] (Breton, 1665, p. 322)
[114] (del Castillo Matheu, 1977)
[115] (Breton, 1665)

'uppermost' + ***ya*** > 'distance', 'land' or 'place')[116]. Therefore, if we compare the symbolism of all these related words, we can perceive an uppermost, personal, sun like, friendly, sacred figure, and an island of salvation in an archipelago behind the definition of ***cacique***, thus illustrating its unique importance within the social structure and a possible association with a sun religion or tradition of ruler succession appointed as and by the highest power.

Number of Mentions of the word *cacique* **in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:** 597

Other Primary Sources Mentions of the possible origin of the word cacique:

a)—In Christopher Columbus' journal of the first voyager or Diario de Abordo:

> Lunes 17 de diciembre.
>
> Tornó a enviar ciertos cristianos a la población, y a truque de contezuelas de vidrio rescataron algunos pedazos de oro labrado en hoja delgada. Vieron a uno que tuvo el Almirante por gobernador de aquella provincia, que llamaban ***cacique***, un pedazo tan grande como la mano de aquella hoja de oro, y parecía que lo quería resgatar; el cual se fue a su casa y los otros quedaron en la plaza. Y él hacía hacer pedazuelos de aquella pieza, y trayendo cada vez un pedazuelo resgatábalo[117]…

This quote is the first mention of the word ***cacique*** in all the chronicles of the conquest. However, what becomes truly important within the framework of this study (besides being the first primary source to place this word in the Taino context) is that Columbus assumes this person to be some sort of governor named ***cacique***. Another

[116] (Granberry, 2003, p. 82)
[117] (Colombus, 1493)

important element is its description of a gold emblem leaf, the size of a hand palm, which according to Columbus, the ***cacique*** would break into smaller pieces and bring one to him each time they met. This symbolism regarding the size and shape, the sharing, and the fact that only the cacique was wearing such item, could hint to a possible culture of exchange initiated by the Taino leader with strangers. Moreover, this emblem worn by the cacique which Columbus is referring to would later be known as ***guanin***[118], which was the emblem worn by the cacique in ***areyto*** dances and special ceremonies.

b)— In Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas' Historia de Indias:

> acompañáronles gran número de indios, llevándoles á cuestas todas las cosas quel Rey y los demas les habian dado, hasta las barcas, que estaban en la boca de un rio. Hasta aquí, no habia podido entender el Almirante, si este nombre ***Cacique*** significaba Rey ó Gobernador, y otro nombre que llamaban ***Nitayno***, si queria decir Grande, ó por hidalgo ó Gobernador; y la verdad es, que ***Cacique*** era nombre de Rey, y ***Nitayno*** era nombre de caballero y señor principal, como despues se verá, placiendo á Dios.[119]

However, it is de Las Casas in the quote above that makes the first European definition of the term *per se*. In his descriptions, de Las Casas states that Columbus was not sure whether ***cacique*** meant king or governor. This confusion by Columbus is of extreme importance, because up to that point, Columbus' linguistic registry of kingdoms was the European monarchy and its structure. Therefore, based on the size of the crowds that greeted them as describe in the chronicles, Columbus could have been making a comparison based on his own experience. It is also important to note that in subsequent narratives of the event de Las Casas then goes so far as to make a

[118] (García Bidó, 2010)
[119] (de Las Casas, Historia de las Indias (vol 1 de 5), 2015, p. 211)

differentiation of the term ***cacique*** and introduces the word ***nytaino*** to define the real nobles and governing class among Taino society.

Nevertheless, this mention of ***nytaino*** by de Las Casas is the first mention of the word that contains the suffix by which the ***Taino*** are going to be known in all the chronicles of the conquest. Composed of the prefix ***ní*** > 'important' and 'the', this term is a fascinating window into the Taino social perception. It seems that by identifying the noble class as ***nitayní*** > 'the important Tainí' they were making a differentiation of status between them and the rest of the population such as the ***behique*** and the ***naboria***, which is going to be analyzed further in the sequence of the text.

Historically speaking, the word ***cacique*** was one of the first Taino words to be lexicalized in a text written in Latin as it was the case of Peter Martyr's 1511 *De Orbe Novo*:

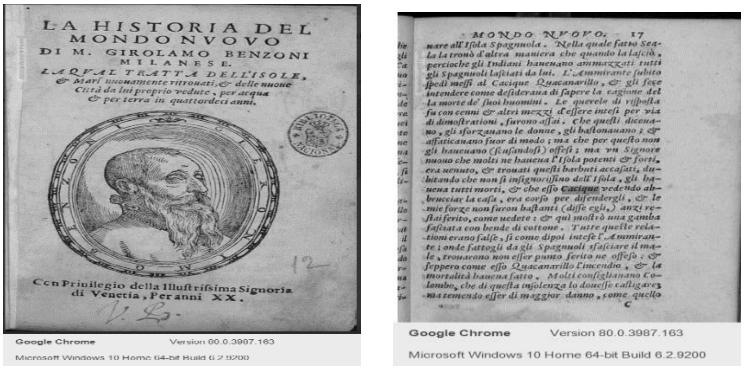
> vti ***Cacichum*** Hispaniola in ***Chebí*** vltima acuta appellant vectis per sinum vno bergantino & Monoxilis prouincialibus quibusdam, quas diximus ***Canóas*** ab insularibus Hispaniolis appellari, ab Vrabensibus Vrú[120].

In this description of the original text we come across three Taino words used as part of a new culture that could no longer deny its mixture and evolution. In the text, we can observe the use of the declension of the Latin accusative singular *-icum* added as modifying suffix to the Taino ***cacique***. It is also crucial to note that in this quote Peter Martyr is referring to a link between the cacique and the ***xCemí*** > 'deity', which seem to support the argument for a possible ceremonial connection between the ***cacique*** and the gods. However, a vital element to note about this Latin lexicalization, is the fact that

[120] (Martyris Ab Angleria, 1457-1526, p. 89)

in language theory, the tendency to modify words is relative to the speaker's familiarity with the terms. The writer of this secondary source could have easily done what the primary source did with respect to this event and transliterate the word without alteration. Yet, the writer elected to incorporate the term, adding gender, nominal syntagma, grammatical category, which seem to hint at a stereotype or to the familiarity of the writer with an already established perception about the term as far back as 1511.

Lastly, this word can also be found in one of the first Italian descriptions of the continent subsequent to Amerigo Vespucci's accounts in his 1505 *Mundus Novus*. In this 1565 publication of Girolamo Benzoni's *La historia del mondo nuouo*, we are presented with a publication rich in images, descriptions and details about Taino life, culture and social structure. The cacique is no exception.



Pic.24 - Images of original 1565 book by Girolamo Benzoni[121]

The English translation of the original Italian text reads as follows:

> Columbus, seeing so many Indians in the caravels that they could hardly hold them, landed, accompanied by many great Spaniards, and was benignantly received by the

[121] (Benzoni, 1519-1572)

> chief of that place, who in their language is called cacique or general. His name was Guacanarillo, and, to bind their friendship, they mutually made each other presents.

Although a secondary source of the event, this description is consistent with the description about the ***cacique*** in our primary sources' quotations. The fact that the writer chose to use the term "benignantly received" seems to match what Columbus and de Las Casas wrote about similar events which appear to hint a ceremonial greeting of strangers and a centralized social structure around the ***cacique***. Another important note is that in this text the writer employed the Italian disjunctive conjunction '*o*' to give equal linguistic value to ***cacique*** and general which seems to indicate that the ***cacique*** was the element of Taino society who directed war and battle.

However, to understand the Taino sense and possible cosmovision of this term it is necessary to analyze how its original meaning could have shaped its current characterization in the Spanish language. According to the Real Academia of the Spanish language a ***cacique*** is, besides an Indian leader: *1)—a person who exercises an excessive amount of power over a community*; 2)— *a person who has an extreme amount of political influence over a certain community or group*. It is truly remarkable that "extreme and excessive power" were the qualities associated with the definition of this word in Spanish speaking countries today. It seems that the sun-head-upper-island kind of figure, found hidden in its etymology became what I will take the liberty to call the abstract—sensorial definition of the term at the current time.

Nonetheless, this term was so powerful, so inclusive, so morphologically rich during colonial times that it became the substitute for the Azteks *tlahtoani* and *tecutli*; the Mayan *halach uinik* and the Inca-Quechuan *curac*. These were synonymic words

used to describe the same social rank in those respective empires and cultures, but overtaken by the Taino term.

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y habría desde el pueblo a donde desembarcamos obra de una legua. Y allí junto había unos pozos y ***maizales*** *y caserías de cal y canto; llámase este pueblo Potonchán.*

The next Taino word in the sequence of BDC's text is very controversial because it describes one of the most important crops in human history and the central element in the diet of most native cultures of our continent: ***maize*** > 'corn' *(Zea mays)*. Although its agricultural and genetic origins can be traced as far back as 7000 to 15000 years ago to a central Mexican grass plant called teosinte[122], for some very strange reason, the etymology of the word does not appear related to any synonymic voices of the continental lands such as the Mayan *tz'ite*[123](phonetically closer to the name of the original plant), Yucatec *ixi' im*, Totonac-Veracruz *Cux'I* or the Nahuatl *elotl*. Instead, the etymology of this term seems closer to the Arawak and many of its South American language families. As a matter of fact, the prefix of this word can be found hidden within what Breton defines as the Carib words ***mái-ma*** > 'garden' and ***ni-mäi-nalí*** > 'my own garden'[124]. Moreover, if we analyze the Honduran Garifuna, we come across similar meanings within the words ***maina*** > 'corn field or *milpa*' and ***mainabu*** > 'vegetable

[122] (Beadle, 1980)
[123] (Vuh, 1947)
[124] (Breton, 1665, p. 173)

garden'. It is correspondingly important to note that the Garifuna word ***awasi*** means 'corncob'. Therefore, it seems that the Taino variants ***maize***, ***maicí, maix, mahis***, ***maíz***, recorded by the Spanish chronicles could have come from the combination of both Arawakan terms ***mai*** > 'garden' + ***awasi*** > 'corncob' = ***maiawasi*** > 'corncob garden'.

Moreover, comparable terms can be found in two different variables of the Arawakan of Suriname ***marisi*** > 'corn' and ***malhisi*** > 'corn'[125]. Even further, deep within the Brazilian amazon jungle, the Yanomami tribes use the term ***mo sisi*** > 'corn husk', ***yõno mosi*** > 'corn plant'[126]. These two final languages, cousins of the Taino, were chosen as comparative references because of their geographical location and isolation with respect to the conquest and the events described in BDC's text and because of the archeological finds of carbonized kernels in the Amazonia, dating as far back as 500 B.C.[127]

However, one of the closest approximations of a possible phonology of the original Taino sound of this word in comparison with the current sound and the quoted surviving languages can be found in the lexicalization of the pre-Columbian region of Cuba named ***Maisí*** or ***Maíci***, depicted in the map below to describe the Southeast part of the island in what is today known as Santiago de Cuba.

[125] (Pet, 2011)
[126] (Lizot, 2004)
[127] (Rooseveb, 1980)



Pic.25 *Map of Columbian Cuba*[128]

As can be observed, the name ***Maici*** sounds phonetically similar to the other surviving terms: ***maiawasi, malhisi, marisi, mosi***, which etymologically places this word in the Taino context and not in the Mayan-Nahuatl realm. As a side note, it is crucial to mention that this region, populated by the Classical Taino, has one of the oldest pre-Tainan iron artifacts ever recorded in Caribbean Archeology. As a matter of fact, in a 1921 excavation recorded by the Museum of the American Indian and the Heye Foundation, it was found that the depth and refuse deposit, along with the type of archaic pottery seemed to give the site an earlier pre-Tainan origin in comparison with other similar sites in the region. What was striking about this site was the presence of an iron spear not corresponding to the Taino context. However, some of the bodies did resemble typical Taino front-occipital cranial modification and traditional Taino body burial position. The images below are from the Maisi site and from a traditional Taino burial from Hispaniola in conjunction with images from a 1996 cave burial excavation at Manantial de la Aleta, Dominican Republic, as comparison.

[128] (Helps, 1856)



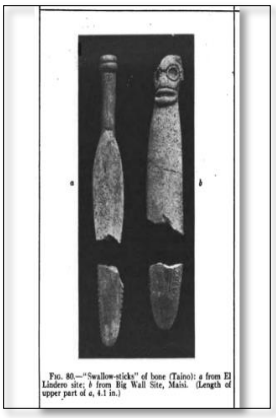
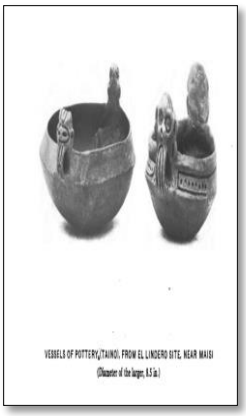


Fig. 80.—"Swallow-sticks" of bone (Taino): a from El Lindero site; b from Big Wall Site, Maisi. (Length of upper part of a, 4.1 in.)



VESSELS OF POTTERY(TAINO), FROM EL LINDERO SITE, NEAR MAISI

(Diameter of the larger, 4.5 in.)



TAINO BURIAL, "BIG WALL SITE," SAN LUCAS, MAISI

Pic.25 ***Pic.26*** ***Pic.27*** ***Pic.28.*** *All images are from Taino burial "Big*.

Taino burial "Big Wall site" San Lucas, Maisi, Cuba[129].



Pic.29 *Taino burial*

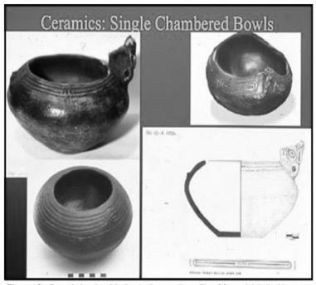


Figure 15. Ceramic bowls with simple (incurved) profiles, Manantial de la Aleta. Scales in cm.



Figure 14. Vomiting spatula, Manantial de la Aleta. Scale in cm.

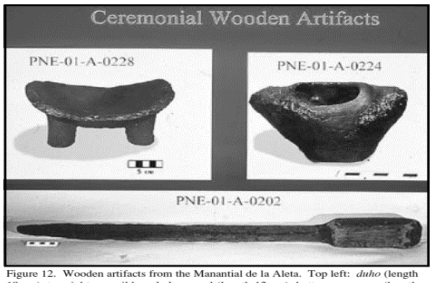


Figure 12. Wooden artifacts from the Manantial de la Aleta. Top left: *duho* (length 19 cm); top right: possible *cohoba* vessel (length 13 cm); bottom: *macana* (length 79 cm).

Pics. 30,31,32 *Excavation site Manatial de la Aleta*

It is remarkable that both burial sites, the Maisi and the Manantial de la Aleta, share similar symbolic objects such as vessels, vomiting spatulas and a weapon. The

[129] (Harrington & M., 1921)

only difference between these two sites is the presence of a pre-Tainan iron weapon in one versus a wooden ***macana*** at the other. However, another important note about a possible Taino- pre-Columbian ***maize*** connection and how this plant could have gotten to the Caribbean from the mainland is from another pre-Tainan excavation at a site named ***Maíta***. In this site, there seem to be an individual with different cranial modification, more related to the Mayas of the mainland among the remains[130]. It is astounding that both sites, ***Maísi*** and ***Maíta***, with such unusual archaeologies share the same ***maí*** > 'garden" prefix in their names. Moreover, both names are toponymic in nature, which could be related to events or specific characteristic conditions of the area to which they give the name.

However, going back to our analysis of BDC's text, it is unique that the term ***maíz*** is employed, not only as a lexicalized term in all the variants of the text, but as common pluralized Spanish word, ***maizales***. It seems that for some reason the writer did not choose to use the Nahuatl term *milpa* to refer to the plantation, but instead, he used the lexicalized Taino term as if writing for an audience familiarized with this word.

Number of Mentions of the word *maíz* **in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:** 176

Other Primary Sources Mentions of the possible origin of the word maíz:

a)— In Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas Historia de Indias Volumen I:

[130] (Duijvenbode, 2012)

> y en esta Española, y en todas las de los alrededores y aún lejanas, ó la mayor parte del año, ó al menos dos veces, se sembraba y cogía el grano del maíz que aquí el Almirante llama panizo[131].

In the above quote, de Las Casas describes the cultivation period of Maíz as an agricultural tradition in the Island of Hispaniola and in all the surrounding islands of the known Caribbean of the time. This is important regarding our study because it places corn in the Taino context prior to BCD's events.

b)—In Christopher Columbus' journal of the first voyager or Diario de Abordo:

> Animales de cuatro patas no vieron alguno, excepto perros que no ladraban. Había muchas simienzas de aquellas raíces, como también de habichuelas, de cierta especie de habas, y de otro grano, como panizo, llamado por ellos maíz, que cocido es de buenísimo sabor, o tostado y molido en puchas[132].

This quote from Christopher Columbus, like that of de Las Casas, also places corn in the Taino cultural context. However, it also describes a complex root and grain diet and the domestication of animals such as dogs as part of Taino farming and agricultural tradition. The quote also describes that the Taino toasted and grinded the maize for consumption, thus hinting to a possible complementary diet of corn, which does not appear to be the main source of Taino gastronomy. Yet, it is Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in the quote below who makes such differentiation with regards to corn consumption between the Hispaniola and the mainland:

[131] (Casas, 2015)
[132] (Colombus, 1493)

c)—Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo Sumario de la Historia Natural de las Indias:

> Cogido este pan y puesto en casa, se come de esta manera: en las islas comíanlo en grano tostado, o estando tierno casi en leche; y después que los cristianos allí poblaron, dase a los caballos y bestias de que se sirven, y esles muy grande mantenimiento; pero en Tierra-Firme tienen otro uso de este pan los indios, y es de esta manera: las indias especialmente lo muelen en una piedra algo concavada, con otra redonda que en las manos traen, a fuerza de brazos, como suelen los pintores moler las colores.

In this quote, Oviedo states that *"in the islands the grain was toasted and eaten tender, while in the mainland it was milled with round and concave stones, the way painters grinded colors pigments"*.

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> *Cotoche, que se decían Melchorejo y Julianillo, y sacaron el arquilla con las diademas y anadejos y pescadillos y otras pecezuelas de oro, y también muchos ídolos; soblimábanlo de arte que en todas las islas, así de Santo Domingo y en* ***Jamaica*** *y aun en Castilla, hobo gran fama dello; y decían que otras tierras en el mundo no se habían descubierto mejores. Y como vieron los ídolos de barro y de tantas maneras de figuras, decían que eran de los gentiles.*

The next Taino word in the sequence of BDC's text is the name of the island of ***Jamaica***. Given the toponymic nature of this name, we are not going to go too deeply

into its etymology. However, it is important to note that this name could have been a possible corruption of an Arawak word that could have sounded like ***Xaymaicay***, ***ixaimaikhan***. Unfortunately, due to the intense lexicalization process experienced by this term in both English and Spanish, and due to the Western Taino variant spoken by the Taino of Jamaica, it would be very difficult to arrive at a concrete transliteration of its meaning. Despite these challenges, we are going to use two methods of comparison.

If we compare this word to Classical Taino phonology, this term shares its prefix ***hay, häi*** or ***xay*** > 'mountain' or 'steep pick' with the word ***Häití*** > 'very high steep land'. This term also shares two other possible morphemes with similar known Classical Taino words ***mai*** > 'garden' or 'land' and ***ka—i*** > 'upper', 'island', which could be transliterated as 'island of high cultivable mountains'. On the other hand, if we analyze the word from the Western Taino perspective, which shares its phonology with Cuba and the Lucayan islands, this word could be composed of the prefixes ***xa*** > 'water', 'pool' or 'pond' or the prefix ***xama*** > 'bay', 'gulf' or 'inlet'. As can be observed, both prefixes ***xa*** and ***xama*** seem to be associated with water. Moreover, this ***xa*** prefix can also be identified in the Taino word ***xaragua*** > 'lake', which indicates a possible connection to a land surrounded by water of the prefix or possibly a land by the water. Lastly, the suffix of the word is ***ka*** > 'upper' or 'island', thus hinting to a possible transliteration of 'island of fresh water'.

Nevertheless, it seems that, given its geographical location and since Jamaica has over 120 rivers, there is a very likely possibility that the Western Taino variant of this toponym could have been closer to the original meaning than the Classical Taino interpretation to this polysemy.

Number of mentions of the word *Jamaica* in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts: 41

Other Primary Sources mentions of the possible origin of the word Jamaica:

a)— In Hernando Colón's Historia del Almirante:

> Cómo el Almirante descubrió la isla de Jamaica
> Sábado, a 3 de Mayo, resolvió el Almirante ir desde Cuba a ***Jamaica***, por no dejarla atrás sin saber si era verdadera la fama del mucho oro que, en todas las otras islas, se afirmaba haber en aquélla; y con buen tiempo, estando a la mitad del camino, la divisó el domingo siguiente.
>
> […] por las costas de Santo Domingo en el verano de 1502! ¡O la escena de Jamaica aprovechando un eclipse de luna para intimidar a los indios y tenerlos sumisos![133]

These two above quotes from Ferdinand Columbus' text give us some of the first ever mentions of this word and place this term in the Taino context as early as 1502. In these quotes, the second son of Columbus states that, during the second voyage, the admiral went from Cuba to ***Jamaica*** on May 3rd and that, taking advantage of an eclipse in the summer of 1502, he used the event to impress and intimidate the Indians into submission.

Nonetheless, it is necessary to make another crucial observation with regard to the geographical description of Ferdinand Columbus' quotes about *Cuba* and ***Jamaica***

[133] (Colón, 1571)

and a paragraph in Chapter VII of BDC's text about the language of the island of Cozumel. This is perhaps one of the most solid pieces of evidence about the linguistic knowledge and familiarity of the Spanish crew with the Taino languages and their variants. The text reads as follow:

> *Pues estándoles aguardando, vino una india moza, de buen parecer, y comenzó de hablar en la lengua de la de **Jamaica**, y dijo que todos los indios e indias de aquel pueblo se habían ido huyendo a los montes de miedo. Y como muchos de nuestros soldados e yo entendimos muy bien aquella lengua, que es como la propia de Cuba, nos admiramos de vella y le preguntamos que cómo estaba allí; y dijo que habría dos años que dio al través con una canoa grande, en que iban a pescar desde la isla de Jamaica a unas isletas diez indios **jamaicanos**, y que las corrientes les echó en aquella tierra…*[134]

In the quote, BDC states that on the island of Cozumel they found a beautiful young Indian woman that spoke the language of Jamaica. However, what is truly impressive about this paragraph of the narrative, is his annotation that the language of ***Jamaica*** was like that of ***Cuba*** and that he and many of his soldiers spoke it very well. It is of extreme importance to note that the writer of the text not only admits that he speaks the Taino language, but he uses the emphatic expression "very well" to describe how much it is spoken. Another element to note is that the writer chose to employ the quantitative indefinite pronoun "many" instead of using "some, about, roughly, or a specific number". Therefore, this combination of "many + very well" used by the writer to describe the extent of Taino speakers seems to hint to a prevalence of bilingualism among the crew that reached the mainland along with Cortés and Diaz del Castillo. Also, we cannot ignore that both Columbus and Diaz del Castillo, appear to be referring to a

[134] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632)

maritime or geographical connection between ***Cuba*** and ***Jamaica***. Because for some reason, except for Columbus' canoe trip from Jamaica to Hispaniola after his disastrous fourth trip, most accounts of exploration were usually done from ***Cuba***. However, it is in the capture of Melchorejo and Julianillo at Cape Catoche, quoted at the introduction of this word on page 71 that we can observe that the islands of the Caribbean and many of the islands close to the continent such as Cozumel and Cape Catoche at least had some interaction with the Taino.

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> *[…] ansimismo les mostraban los montones donde ponen las plantas de cuyas raíces se hace el pan cazabe. y llámase en la isla de Cuba "**yuca**"; y los indios decían que las había en su tierra, y decían "tlati" por la tierra en que las plantaban; por manera que yuca con tlati quiere decir Yucatán. Y para decir esto, decíanles los españoles que estaban con el Velázquez, hablando juntamente con los indios: "Señor, dicen estos indios que su tierra se dice **Yucatlán**." lengua no se dice ansí. Y ansí se quedó con este nombre, que en su lengua no se dice ansí.*

The next Taino word in the sequence of BDC's text is ***yuca*** *(Manihot esculenta)*. Although this word can be currently found in used in many of the Arawakan language family today meaning the same thing, this word seems to have experienced a great deal of variance when it comes to its phonology. Etymologically speaking, this term appears to have started a rapid evolutionary process as it arched its way from the Amazonian jungle through the islands of the Caribbean to the tip of Yucatan and northern Bahamas. Consequently, if we analyze the Tipi-Guaraní languages of the Amazon, spoken close to

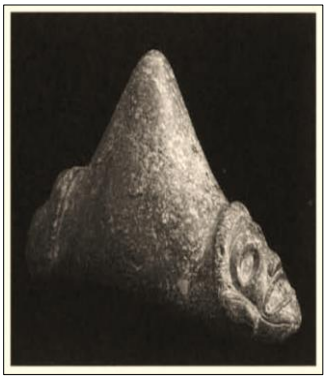
the place where this tuber is believed to have originated[135], we can find voicings like ***manioc***, ***mandióg***, and ***mandioc aipim*** > 'yucca'. Although, possibly lexicalized by the Portuguese, in the word ***mainioc***, we could find a possible link with the prefix ***mai*** previously identified as 'garden', 'milpa' or 'maize field', present in the word ***maihrici*** > 'corn'. However, as the term traveled from South America to the Caribbean it seemed to have evolved into different terms. For example, the term lost its prefix ***main***, in the phonology of the southern islands of the Caribbean possibly becoming ***ioc ai***, which is the combination of ***ioc*** > 'yucca' + ***ai***, ***aje, ahri*** or ***ahí*** > 'root', 'teeth', 'wild', 'tuber'. Puzzlingly, the Wayuu people of the *Guiajíra* peninsula of Colombia and Venezuela use the same ***iucca*** and ***ai*** terms, but as two different words to refer to the yucca root and to the plant as different syntactical blocks. This differentiation of terms could explain its transformation in the Caribbean as different migratory groups made their way to the region during different times. It is important to note that the ***iók*** stem can be identify in use today in words such as ***tap-ioca*** > 'yucca pudding'. Moreover, the phoneme ***k'*** > 'good', 'friendly', 'sacred', hidden within the suffix ***oKa***, due to its back—dorsal to ejective voiceless velar stop, produces an involuntary open vowel enunciation identified in the Carib word, ***khali*** > 'cassava'. It is enthralling that this term is part of the name of two different Caribbean groups that identify themselves as ***cassava—manioc*** eaters: the Kalinago and the Arawak.

As a matter of fact, if we use Cramberry & Vescelius analysis of the etymology of the first term, ***Kalinago,*** from which corruption we get the terms Carib, Garifuna and cannibal, we are presented with the following morphemic structure: ***,khali*** > 'cassava'

[135] (Beadle, 1980)

(also found in Lokono Arawak) + ***'na*** > 'plural formation' + ***,go*** > 'inclusive honorary term'[136], which could be transliterated as 'the honorable people of the cassava'. On the other hand, Arawak is possibly related to the inversion of the order of the term from ***ioca arhi*** to ***aro iok*** to refer to the same thing as in the Amazonian variant. My interpretation is that, because in Lokono the term ***harhu*** < ***aro*** > 'yucca' and the term ***iouk*** also means 'cassava yucca', it is possible that the term ***Arawak*** or ***arahuac***, which is composed of the term ***aro- iouk***, could be interrelated to refer to 'the people of the yucca root'.

However, the greatest relation to this Carib—Taino ***yucca*** connection can be traced back to one of the most iconic symbols of Taino religious artefacts and one of the fundamental pieces of Taino archeology and religion, the three-pointed or trigonolith zemi. The images below are examples of this traditional Taino zemi from the island of Hispaniola, Borinquen and Cuba.







[136] (Granberry, 2003)

Pic.33, 34 *Taino trigonolith zemi, Cuba*[137]. ***Pic.35*** *Trigonolith zemi, Borinquen*[138]

Yet, to understand the importance of the yucca and its relation to this item in Taino-Carib cosmology, it is necessary to go back to Ramón Pané's description of the Taino myth of creation in a document written as early as 1498 at the request by Christopher Columbus. Pané's text reads as follows:

> […] los cuales tienen forma de un nabo grueso, con las hojas extendidas por tierra y largas como las de las alcaparras; las cuales hojas lo general, se parecen a las del olmo; otros tienen tres puntas, y creen que hacen nacer la yuca.[139].

In the quote, Pané describes that "some of the idols had three points and they were believed to help yucca grow". Later, as the manuscript develops, Pané describes this zemi as ***Yúcahu Bagua Maórocoti*** considered the god of yucca and the central figure of the Taino pantheon[140]. It is of extreme importance to note that later in the writing there is an incident were some Taino people steal Catholic imagery and bury it in a ***conuco*** > 'plantation' the same way they used to bury the yucca zemí[141]. However, what is striking is that, in the same primary source, Pané explains that these Indians he was studying were a Macoris group who were subjects of the Taino[142]. It is of vital importance to understand that this Macrorix or Ciguayo group Pané is referring to is linguistically closer to the Carib and Lucayan than to the Taino. Hitherto, they share the same creation myth and the same central deity called ***Yúcahu Bagua Maórocoti***

[137] (Cassa, 1974)
[138] (Oliver, 2009)
[139] (Pane, 1498, p. 43)
[140] Ibid. p.116
[141] (Pane, 1498)
[142] Ibid. p.5

with three different names, but eventually being mostly identified with the first name in subsequent texts. Yet again, what is extremely striking is that in the same text by Pané, the first ***Yúcahu*** term is identified by the name ***Yúcahuguamá*** when describing a ceremony by a Taino man. In fact, this term is phonetically composed of voicings shared by both groups and some that are exclusively Taino as if shared by people who spoke both tongues. For example, ***yuca*** > 'manioc' and ***hu*** > 'lord' is found in both variant languages. Surprisingly, the term ***guamá*** meaning the same thing, 'lord' or 'sir', is found only in Taino. It is as if the Taino and the *Cigüayo—Macoríx* had similar religious traditions with regards to yucca, and this commonality was reflected in the names of their deities around this tuber.

Furthermore, in an analysis of the ***yócahu*** term, scholar Juan José Arrom enumerates the primary sources lexicalized variants of the term in the following manner:

Pane-Ulloa —*locahu*
Mártir —*loca'u*
Las Casas, —*Yocahu*
Pané-Ulloa, —*Gioca'u*
Las Casas, —*Yocahu*

Although I disagree with Arron's interpretation of the meaning of the term as 'people of the higher waters', this classification sheds some unique phonetic facts about Taino and Carib possible phraseology of the word. Those writers who were in contact with the ***Macorí*** such as Pané and Ulloa, lexicalize the term as two different sounds ***ioca*** + ***hú***. Those in contact with a Taino speaking population, such as de Las Casas, use the term as one single phonetic block, ***Yocahu***. On the other hand, those sources

describing the term from the secondary source perspective, such as Peter Martyr, seem to combine the term with both primary sources' phonology. What makes me disagree with Arron's interpretation is, that symbolically speaking, the Carib term for island is ***cai*** or ***kaya*** which is phonetically closer to the original Amazonian term ***ioc+ai*** described above to refer to little mountains of dirt under which we find the root called yuca. Moreover, the Taino trigonoliths all look like a mountain or the way an island is perceived from the ocean. This lets me to believe that there is a very strong connection between all these ocean migratory groups and the ***ioca*** as common symbol of origin. This is said, because the second part of the deity's name ***Yúcahu Bagua Maórocoti*** is translated as ***bagua*** > 'ocean', as if an ***iocai*** —dirt mountain in an ocean.

However, after establishing this term as a central Taino word based on its etymology and primary source context, our continuation of BDC's text gives us one of the first primary sources that places yuca, a Taino Pre-Columbian term and primary food source, in the context and practive of Nahuatl agriculture. Also, this paragraph of BDC's text illustrates how the peninsula of Yucatan was named from the corruption of the Nahuatl *itzotl* > 'yucca' into "tlati" and from the lexicalization of the Spanish accompanying BDC, who joined both terms into Yucatlati, later becoming Yucatan. Even Diaz del Castillo at the end of the paragraph makes the observation that *"the name Yucatan did not exist in the mainland language, but that the name stuck"*[143].

Number of mentions of the word *yucca* in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts: 13

[143] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632)

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[…] y el Pedro de Ávila y unos indios de La Habana, muy buenos remeros, que traíamos alquilados, hobimos de dar al través entre unos ***seborucos****, que los hay muy grandes en aquel paraje. Por manera que se nos quebró la canoa y el Ávila perdió su hacienda, y salimos descalabrados y desnudos en carnes…*

[…] no había camino por la costa, sino por unos ***seborucos*** *y malpaíses, que ansí se dice, que son unas piedras que pasan las plantas de los pies; y las olas, que siempre reventaban y daban en nosotros.*

The next Taino word in the sequence of BDC's text is what I consider one of the first mestizo terms in the continent, ***seboruco*** > 'rough terrain', 'rocky'. Although, its etymology was analyzed earlier in this research in pages 29 and 30 as the combination of the terms ***ciba-o*** > 'great river of rocks' and ***ruco*** > 'rough', 'rocky', 'harsh', it is necessary to place this word in the historical context and the mestization process of the Spanish language during the first twenty years of intercultural relations with the natives of the Caribbean in order to understand its importance. Like many of its counterparts, this word seemed to have appeared together with a series of other mix voices within the first fifteen years of the conquest. Words like ***haquima***, ***guazábara,*** among others, often combined the Taino term with the corrupted Spanish synonym as one single word as a kind of portmanteau. For example, ***ha*** > 'hanging' (Taino) + *quima* > Spanish corruption of *equine* = ***haquima*** > 'horse leash'. The other term, ***gua*** > 'thorn' (Taino)

+ *sabra* > Spanish corruption of *sábila* = ***guazábara*** > 'thorny cacti' or 'aloe'. This was a common occurrence of the pre-mainland colonial Spanish, so much so, that later in the sequence of BDC text, page 29 to be precise, we are presented with another one of those Taino—Spanish words, the toponym, ***Yaguarama*** used to refer to a town in Cuba. This town is known today as Yaguaramas, which is the junction of the Taino word ***yagua*** > 'upper dry cortex of palm trees used for ***bohío*** making' and the Spanish *ramas* > 'lieves' with the plural *s*. Once again, this fusion of words was very common in the Spanish spoken during pre-mainland invasion.

However, although the word ***seboruco*** was not added to the Spanish language official word list until recently, the Academia Española now defines the term as a Cuban word meaning 'porous rocks'. It is surprising that it took the meaning of this word this long to make it into the official dictionary when its definition was already established by Bernal Diaz del Castillo as early as 1517 during the expedition of Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, described in the quote in question. In the text, BDC states that *"they had to walk along some rough terrains and* ***seborucos****, which are some rocks that cut the soles of the feet"*. It is remarkable that the writer of the text uses the term as a common expression and later in the same sentence has the need to explain the meaning of the term and emphasized *"it is said that way"* at least three times, as if writing for an audience not yet familiarized with the term. It is also noticeable that by making that note BCD seems to be hinting at a possible series of utterances that had become normalized among the Spanish population of the islands, but yet known for the

intellectual and governing class of Europe to whom most chronicles were oriented in order to obtain titles, recognition and favors[144].

Another important note about this word is that, although spelled with an ***S*** in the main text, in the Guatemalan manuscript by fray Alonzo Remón the term appears spelled with a ***C***, closer to the Taino phonetics. It is important to also note that, with the exception of *cebo*, *cebú* and *cebiche*, the *ceb* root seldom appears in Spanish phonetic constructions, thus sustaining the foreign origin of the word into the vernacular Spanish. Moreover, in this Guatemalan version the writer adds a description omitted from the other two variants that gives a closer meaning to the Taino connotation of the term. In this version the text reads as follows:

> *la sangre que nos salía de las plantas de los pies y aun de las otras partes, lo dejaré <-de decir>. Y quiso Dios que con mucho trabajo: Pues como las olas que reventaban de aquellos grandes* ***ceborucos*** *nos embestían.*

It is remarkable that in this note the writer first spells the word close to the Taino ***Cibahouruco****,* and second, describes rocks similar of emerging rocky-coast-cliff formations typical of the Greater Antilles, closer to the Taino symbolic meaning of the term. This variance on the description and spelling of the term by three different transcribers could also suggest some linguistic doubt about the meaning of it. This could also reflect the own linguistic registry of the writers. As illustrated in pages above, Spanish lexicalization of certain terms was related to the population, the title and level of education of the writer. In some cases, the chroniclers were illiterate and dictated their accounts to scribes, further altering the original connotation and phonetics with

[144] (Restall, 2003)

the introduction of another linguistic agent into the equation. However, what is important is that Diaz del Castillo uses the term in a post-mainland context.

Number of mentions of the word *seboruco* in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts: *(Seboruco: 4 Ceboruco: 1)*

*Other Primary Sources mentions of the possible origin of the word **seboruco**:*

a)—In Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas Apologética Historia Sumaria:

> Almirante, oyéndola nombrar, creyó ser la de Cibanco, donde estimaba que Salomón había para el templo el oro llevado, y con esta opinión creo que murió. Los indios, por su lenguaje, llamaban a esta provincia ***Cibao***, por la multitud de las piedras, porque ***ciba*** quiere decir piedra[145].

It is in the above quote from de Las Casas, where we are presented with the prefix ***Ciba*** related to the word ***cibaoruco***. In the text, de Las Casas states that *"Columbus was wrong believing the Indians were calling the land Cipango, cibanco or Japan, but that they were referring to a very rocky region called **Cibao**, because in their language the word **ciba** meant rock"*. Furthermore, as explained in pages 30 and 31 of this research, the suffixs ***r*** > 'place' or 'area' jointed with the suffix ***uco*** > 'rough', 'harsh', gave birth to ***ciba-o-ruco*** from which lexicalization and synthesis we get the term ***ceboruco*** or ***seboruco*** described by BDC in his chronicle.

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[145] (De las Casas, 1566)

caminar, por causa que se nos hincaban por las plantas de los pies aquellas puntas y piedra de los cerobucos, con mucho trabajo nos metimos en un monte, y con otras piedras que había en el monte cortamos cortezas de árboles que pusimos por suelas, atadas a los pies con unas que parecen cuerdas delgadas que llaman ***bejucos****,*

The next Taino word in the sequence of BDC's text is ***bejuco*** or ***bohuco*** > 'vine[146]'. However, let us take a slightly different approach concerning the analysis of its etymology. Rather than establishing its Taino origin from other interrelated languages, we are going to, first, use a Taino dictionary as reference, and second, the term is going to be analyzed from other Taino lexical structures studied in this research thus far, to try to understand its meaning. This is done, because Taino is often analyzed from its etymon relation to surviving languages at times taking for granted that Taino was an independent language different from its genetically common ancestors, the same way Spanish is different from Portuguese, French, Italian and Latin. This Taino comparative method was used at the beginning of this study to illustrate the vitality of the language, and then mixed with the language family correlation when a particular term needed to be established in the pre-mainland context. This second correlation was employed due to the overlexicalization and phonetic parallels between terms from the Nahuatl and Mayan languages with Taino in order to separate the terms.

[146] (García Bidó, 2010)

Nonetheless, if we use this approach to analyze the term, the word ***bejuco*** shares its prefix, ***bex*** with the word ***beh-ique*** > 'medicine- headman'. Furthermore, the suffix of the word can be found in already analyzed words such as ***seboruco***, ***bahoruco***, which are often associated with very rocky places. However, it seems that when the phoneme ***r-*** > 'place' precedes the suffix ***-uco***, the term becomes a synonym of 'rocky', 'harsh', 'wild', 'dense', 'difficult'. On the other hand, when the ***-uco*** suffix is found in other words such as ***conuco*** > 'plantation', ***babonuco*** > 'round bundle of leaves used as pillow to carry objects in the head', ***tabonuco*** > '*Dacryodes excelsa* tree', ***arcabuco*** > 'dense foliage', ***cayuco*** > 'cactus', the terms seems to be related to leaves, plants, tree, forest. Therefore, if the Spanish incorporation of the term means 'vine', the prefix ***bex*** (***h, j***) means medicine and the suffix ***-uco*** its related to forest, tree or foliage, then the term ***bexuco*** could be transliterated as 'medicine vine'. This is important because it seems that the Taino associated these lianas with medicine. It is also important to note that one of the traditional drinks of Dominican Republic is called ***mabi*** de ***bejuco*** indio > 'Indian root beer'. This type of drink is made from ***mabí*** > corruption of Carib *mibi* 'root' or possibly from the Wayuunaiki ***mapa*** > 'honey' or the Garifuna ***maba*** > 'miel' and this type liana root called ***bejuco***. What is important is that this type of traditional recipe is still used today and that the words associated with its ingredients are part of the vernacular Spanish of the Greater Antilles. Moreover, the fact that the expression includes the connotation '*de Indio*' seems to hint to an emphatic clarification as if the people adopting the tradition wanted to transmit its origin into the name.

Number of mentions of the word *bejuco* in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts: 1

Other Primary Sources mentions of the possible origin of the word ***bejuco****:*

a)—Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo La Historia Natural y General de las Indias:

> Pared atañías muy bien con ***bexucos***, que son unas venas ó correas redondas que se crian revueltas á los árboles también colgando dcllos como la correhuela: los (piales ***bexucos*** son muy buena atadura, porque son flexibiles é taxables, é no se pudren, é sirven de clavason é ligason en lugar de cuerdas y ile clavos para atar un madero con otro, é para atar las cañas assi mismo. El ***buhio*** ó casa de tal manera es hecho.[147]

In the above quote, Fernandez de Oviedo places the word ***bexuco*** in the pre-mainland historical context. He also spells the word closer to the Arawak phonetics and describes how it was harvested and used in ***buhío*** > 'house' construction due to its flexibility. Here, Oviedo states that *"this type of liana was very good for tying timber instead of using nails"*. However, it is in the quote below were we see other applications of the ***bejuco*** as part of Taino culture:

> […] ni pudieron mover de aquel lugar los indios, aunque la quisieron arrancar, tirando della con cuerdas de ***bexucos*** mucha cantidad de indios; de lo qual espantados ellos la dexaron estar donde agora está, como avisados de arriba ó del cielo de su deydad. Y como cosa sancta ellos de mucha admiración[148].

With this description of a great number of Taino using ***bexucos*** to tear down a cross that the Spanish had planted on a mountain, Oviedo illustrate the diverse use of this liana in Taino culture. Moreover, the quote also illustrates a possible culture of cooperation among the Taino.

[147] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557, p. 164)
[148] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557)

However, what is important is that this word is Taino both etymologically and historically. Its use by Bernal Diaz is yet another illustration of the familiarity of the writer with Taino culture and language, the language that became the source of the vocabulary of New Spain and of the subsequent conquest of the rest of the Continent.

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> *Y a esta causa estaban muy ufanos y argullosos, y bien armados a su usanza, que son arcos, flechas, lanzas tan largas como las nuestras y otras menores, y rodelas y* ***macanas*** *y espadas como de a dos manos, y piedras y hondas y armas de algodón, y trompetillas y atambores.*

The next Taino word in the sequence of the text is ***macana*** > 'baton', 'club'. The Taino etymology of this word was already analyzed in page 41 of this study. However, before continuing, it is important to clarify that although there is a phonetically analogous voice in Nahuatl for ***macana***, the similarities in the phonetics appear to be strictly coincidental. Whereas in Taino ***macana*** is used to describe a blunt object, in Nahuatl the term *macuahitl* is closer to a lance or a sword used for slicing and cutting during battle. This differentiation happens due to the incorporation of sharp obsidian bladelets along the cutting edges of the *macuahuitl* version of the weapon. This word was easily incorporated into the pre-mainland Spanish, and like many of its homologues, quickly overpowered the native terms across the continent.

Number of mentions of the word *macana* in The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:

Other Primary Sources mentions of the possible origin of the word ***macana****:*

a)—Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo La Historia Natural y General de las Indias:

> Pelean con ***macanas*** los indios de esta isla, que son unos palos tan anchos como tres dedos ó algo menos, é tan luengos como la estatura de un hombre con dos filos algo agudos; y en el extremo de la ***macana*** tiene una manija, é usaban dellas como de hacha de armas á dos manos: son de madera de palma muy recia y de otros árboles[149].

The above quote from Oviedo describes the size, shape and the bellicose use of the ***macana*** as the weapon of choice among the Taino of Hispaniola. In the same chapter Oviedo states that the Carib preferred weapon was the arch and the spear and that the Taino favored the use of ***macana*** instead.

Chapter XIII, page 56

> *y cómo entramos en el río de Tabasco y lo que en él pasamos con los caciques de aquel pueblo, y, en fin, entendió que nuestra demanda era buscar oro, a trueque del rescate que traíamos; y todo se lo habían llevado pintado en unos paños que hacen de* ***henequén****, que es como de lino*.

The following word in the sequence of the BDC's text is ***henequén*** > 'agabe plant', also 'rope', 'string', 'cord'. Although this word has been previously attributed to the Mayan *kih* > 'a specie of agave', if we do a comparative analysis with Taino phonology, we could notice that this word is phonetically closer to Arawak related words. For example, in Guajíro—Wayuunaiki, ***eje-rü*** means 'cord' to hang the

[149] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557, p. 66)

hammock, sharing its connotation with the prefix ***he***. This prefix is also found in the Garifuna ***héneru*** > 'cloth', 'fabric'. The suffix of the word can also be found in surviving terms such as ***Borinquen*** >Taino name of Puerto Rico, which is in turn a corruption of ***Burénquén***. This suffix is also found within the word ***mukén*** > 'grill', from which corruption and French lexicalization we get the word *buccan* and later *buccaneer*. However, one possible explanation for this shift in the essence of the word between the Mayan and the Taino terms could be that they were heteronym terms that coexisted in parallel with similar phonetics, but with completely different meanings in both languages. Whereas in Maya the *kihaab* denotes the fiber of the agave, in Taino the word was used to describe a 'string' or 'cord'.

I'm also inclined to believe that the shift between the definition of the plant and the string could also be linked to the presence of the prefix ***he*** > 'related to string' e.g. ***nequén*** and ***henequén***. Nevertheless, what is quite remarkable is that the Taino connotation of the word overpowered the Mayan term and became a misclassification of the object. Thus, turning the Taino ***henequén*** into the Mayan 'agave'. This reconstruction is argued here, because that is the connotation given by Bernal Diaz in his text and the subsequent meaning of the word today.

Number of mentions of the word *henequén* in **The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:**

Other Primary Source mentions of the possible origin of the word ***henequén****:*

a)— Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas Historia de las Indias:

> Lo que dice del lino debe querer decir *cabuya,* que son unas pencas como la çábila de que se hace hilo y se puede hacer tela o lienzo dello, pero más se asemeja al cáñamo que al lino; hay dos maneras dello, ***cabuya*** y ***nequén****:* la *cabuya es* más gruesa y áspera, y el ***nequén*** más suave y delgado; ambos son vocablos desta isla Española.

In the quote above de Las Casas places the word ***henequen*** in the Taino linguistic context and clarifies the origin of the term as Taino by sustaining that *"the terms **cabuya** and **nequén** are both from the Indians of Hispaniola"*. Furthermore, de Las Casas makes a very important description of the Taino cultural and artisanal usage of these items defining them as *"string from which they made cloths similar to linen"*.

However, it is Fernandez de Oviedo who gives the best description of the many usages of ***henequen*** in Taino culture. In his writings Oviedo states:

> que quieren, assi déla cabuya como del ***henequén***; é aprovéchansse dello en muchas cosas, en especial para hacer los hicos ó cuerdas de sus hamacas ó camas en que duermen, y encabuyadlas, para que estén colgadas en el aire.

In the quote above, Oviedo makes the point that "the Taino took great advantage of the versatility of ***henequén*** and that they used the string to tide [[is this a type, do you mean "to tie their hammocks?]] their hammocks". Two things are essential from Oviedo's quote, first the spelling with the prefix ***he***, different from Las Casas, and second, the way Oviedo describes the usage of ***henequén*** is similar to that of the Wayuunaiki described above at the beginning of the description of the etymology of this word.

Chapter XIII, page 57

y con muchos indios de su servicio. Y tenían allí gallinas de la tierra y pan de maíz, de lo que ellos suelen comer, y frutas que eran piñas y zapotes, que en otras partes llaman a los zapotes ***mameys****.*

The next word from BDC's text is ***mamey*** > '*Lucuma mammosa'*. This term is very significant because its abnormal suffix, ***mam*** is not too common within surviving Taino phonology. The very few samples of the phonetic formation of this prefix can be found hidden within few words today such as "***Bahomamey***, ***Bahamam***, ***aymamón***"[150] and in South America, ***Yonomami***, an Amazonian tribe related to the Arawak. The suffix, on the other hand, is a very common term among Taino grammatical formation. Described in pages above as 'important', 'great' or 'central' e.g. ***can-ey*** > 'house of the cacique', ***bat-ey*** > 'central field', ***catar-ey*** > 'immense sea turtle', ***Atab-ey*** > 'goddess of sea and nature', this suffix is one of the most prevalent words among surviving Taino terms. Therefore, based on this comparison alone, the term can be associated with Taino phonology.

However, it is the toponym ***Mamee*** used to describe a bay region in Jamaica that seems to further cement the Taino nature of this word. Unfortunately, unlike many other words that made it to the mainland and overpowered their synonyms, ***mamey*** did not have the same luck. In fact, it became relegated to the Spanish Caribbean and very few other regions of New Spain as a specific variety of the Nahuatl *tzapotl* term by which the fruit is known in Spanish today a *zapote* or *sapote*. As a matter of fact, Diaz del Castillo emphasizes in the same text that *"they call the sapote,* ***mamey*** *in other*

[150] (García Bidó, 2010)

parts" referring to the way this fruit was named in the Caribbean he had recently left. Furthermore, it is important to note that they use ***mamey*** in Honduras also, doubtless because of the black Carib populations on the North Coast.

Number of mentions of the word *mamey* in **The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:** 1

Other Primary Sources mentions of the possible Taino origin of the word ***mamey****:*

a)— Christopher Columbus' journal of the first voyager or Diario de Abordo:

> Estas tierras son muy fértiles: ellos las tienen llenas de ***mames*** que son como zanahorias, que tienen sabor de castañas[151].

The above quote is the earliest mention of the lexicalization of the word ***mameys*** in all the chronicles of the New World. In the text Columbus describes the fruit as *"a type of sweet carrot that tasted like chestnut"*. With this mention, Columbus places the word ***mamey*** in the pre-mainland linguistic context.

b)— In Fernandez de Oviedo's Historia general y natural de las Indias:

> ***Mamey*** es uno de los más hermosos árboles que puede haber en el mundo [...] hay muchos dellos por todas estas indias [...] En Nicaragua llaman los indios al ***mamey*** çapot, é á otra fructa que allí hay que los cristianos llaman nísperos, llaman los indios de Nicaragua ***munonçapot***[152].

[151] (Colombus, 1493, p. 24)
[152] (Fernandez de Oviedo, Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar , 1853)

The quote above is from Oviedo's General and Natural History of the Indies. In this book, he dedicates a whole chapter to the word ***mamey*** and further places this term in the Taino linguistic and cultural context. However, this quote is of extreme importance because it illustrates a pre-Columbian middle linguistic region in Central America, possibly shared by Nahuatl-Arawak groups that used and interchanged words that belonged to both languages. By describing that the "Indians of Nicaragua called the term ***munonsapot***", a word that contains both, the Taino—Arawak and Nahuatl terms, Oviedo is unknowingly placing both term as synonyms that pre-Columbian people, at least in this region of Central America, already used interchangeably.

Chapter XXXIII, page 105

> *[…] fuimos por unas **sabanas** grandes adonde habían dado guerra a Francisco de Lugo y a Pedro de Alvarado; y llamábase aquella **sabana** y pueblo Sintla, subjeto al mismo Tabasco.*

The next word in the sequence of our research is ***sabana*** > 'savannah'. This word, often used to describe a prairie, a plain or a grassland seems to have had a slightly different connotation in its Taino phonology and topography. It is possible, that given the geographical differences between the Caribbean and the mainland, the term was used by the Taino to denotate a 'planted extension of land'. For example, if we analyze the prefix and suffix of this word, which given the Spanish lexicalization, could have sounded like ***xÇa*** > 'planted' + ***bana*** > 'extension of land', the Taino connotation to the term could refer to an extension of land that was not barren. This is said, because the prefix is found in the surviving word, ***Saona*** e.g. ***xÇa*** > 'planted' + ***o*** > 'under' + ***na*** > 'little extension' = 'planted little under thicket'. What is remarkable, is that in the

Arawak of Surinam the suffix ***bana*** means 'place' or 'extension of land' modifiable by a prefix e.g *Na-dykha to kama (kalha**o-bana**) diako*[153]. In this expression***, kalh*** > 'cassava', 'grass' or 'plant' + ***o*** > 'under', 'buried', 'planted' + ***bana*** > 'extension of land' = 'planted extension of grassland'. These similarities between the Arawak and Taino terms places this word in the Taino etymology and not in the mainland connotation.

Amazingly, this word traveled along with the Spanish to the plains of North America giving the name to what is today the region of Savannah, Georgia. Moreover, this word has made it to the world vocabulary to signify 'grassland' across languages and continents.

Number of mentions of the word *sabana* in **The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:** 9

Other Primary Sources mentions of the possible Taino origin of the word ***sabana****:*

b)— In Fernandez de Oviedo's Historia general y natural de las Indias:

> Este nombre ***savanna*** se dice á la tierra que está sin arboledas, pero con mucha é alta hierva, de la manera que dicha es ó baxa.
>
> […] Y fecho esto, el capitán é los cristianos se apartaron de allí quanto un tiro de ballesta ampo raso, é entráronse á la ***savana*** o' por su seguridad durmieron aquella noche[154].

The two above quotes from Oviedo's chronicles reveal the Taino meaning of the word ***sabana***. In the first paragraph, he describes the savannah as a *"land without*

[153] (Pet, 2011)
[154] (Fernandez de Oviedo, Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar , 1853)

trees, but of high, and at times, low grass". In the second paragraph, he states that *"they moved the Spanish army to the savanna for protection"*. It is imperative to note that the spelling within the same page of the text varies, at times, adding an extra *n*. Later in the same chronicle Oviedo changes the spelling one more time exchanging the *v* for *b*. This variance in the spelling seems to hint to a possible linguistic insecurity from the writer about the correct phonology of the term. However, Bernal Diaz spells the term as ***sabana***, the way the word is spelled in Spanish today. Also, he adds the adjective "*grande*", which means 'big', as if making an annotation between the description and his own linguistic memory about the savannas of the Caribbean and those newly encountered in the mainland.

Chapter LXII, page 205

> *aquellas rencillas pasamos era llano, y había muchas casas y labranzas de maíz e* ***magueyales****, que es donde hacen el vino. Y dormimos cabe un arroyo.*

The next word in the sequence of our research is ***magüey*** > 'agave'. However, this word, like others previously described in this research, such as ***mamey***, ***catarey***, ***makey***, ***cupey***, ***Camagüey, turéy, higüey***, this word seems to reflect an important element of the language of the pre-Columbian Taino that we have avoided thus far to evade diverging from our main research point about their influences in the vernacular post-colonial Spanish. It seems, that although for the most part Taino descended from Arawak related languages, there was a fusion of other linguistic groups that became part of a homogenized linguistic cluster among the Antilles adding words incorporated into the Taino language at the moment of the European's arrival. Voices like ***caimán***, ***loro***,

boa, ***manatee***, ***piragua***, ***carey***, ***Quiskeya***, among others, although part of Taino vocabulary appeared to be adoptions from other previous and coexisting groups.

However, with regards to the word ***magüey***, one of the earlier identifiable voices that could be phonetically related to the prefix of this word was cited by de Las Casas when describing a region in the center of Hispaniola as ***mawá*** > 'fertile'[155]. Another possible connection to an etymon can be found in the Yanomami, ***mãhãwë hi*** > 'tree' and ***maharawë*** > 'fruit of the palmetto'. Another possible etymon could be the Wayuunaiki, ***maawüi*** > 'cotton'. As it can be observed, in all of these genetically related languages to the Taino that contain similar voices, the *maw- ahu- we- wui* is associated with plants and fruits. On the other hand, the suffix ***ey*** was already associated with Taino in words such as ***turéy*** > 'sky', ***atabey*** > 'goddess of nature'. It could be argued that, given the importance of the maguey plant in the manufacture of ***cabuya*** and ***henequén*** and the Taino word for the 'fruit of the ***cayuco*** cactus' < ***tuna***, these types of plants played a very significant role in Taino culture.

Number of mentions of the word *maguey* in **The True History of the Conquest of New Spain including the cross reference of the three manuscripts:** 9

Other Primary Sources mentions of the possible Taino origin of the word ***magüey****:*

a)— Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas Apologética Historia Sumaria:

[155] (De las Casas, 1566)

> Éstas, por la lengua de esta isla llamamos ***magüeyes***, porque los que aquí hay en los montes son de la misma color y hechura, y deben ser de la misma especie, sino que no sabían los vecinos naturales destas islas usar más dellos de hacer cáñamo más doncel y delgado que otro que sacaban delos árboles muy semejantes que llamaban cabuya, la penúltima sílaba luenga; de manera que el ***magüey***, la penúltima sílaba también luenga, es como el lino, y la cabuya como el cáñamo en esta isla. Aquestos ***magüeyes***, que en la Nueva España llaman los indios *metl*, que debe ser, a mi parecer, toda una cosa, como allí son ya domésticos, cultivados y curados, porque la industria de aquellas gentes supo mejor aprovecharse dellos que las desta, son más delicados y el lino o cáñamo que sale dellos más sotil y delgado. Este árbol es una mata semejante a la zabila de donde se saca el acíbar, y en griego se llama áloes.

In the quote above, de Las Casas states that *"the word **magüey** is a word from the people of the island of Hispaniola"*. Another important element about this quote, is the mention of the same word in three other different languages: *metl* (Nahuatl), *zábila* (Spanish), *aloe* (Greek). Also, the description of the importance of this plant among the people of the mainland which, unlike the Taino, had found more applications and benefits from its domestication and cultivation.

Chapter XLI, page 143

> *pasemos adelante y digamos que en aquellos arenales donde estábamos había siempre muchos mosquitos, ansí de los zancudos como de los chicos, que llaman jejenes, que son peores que los grandes, y no podíamos dormir dellos*

> *mosquitos, ansí de los zancudos como de los chicos, que llaman **xexenes**, que son G : mosquitos zancudos como de los chicos, que llaman **xexenes**, y son M*

The next Taino word identified in BDC's is the word ***jejenes*** > 'small mosquitoes. Although this word did not transcend in the mainland like many of its counterparts, its significance on this text is purely linguistic. As it can be observed, there seem to be variance in the spelling between the main text and the two other variances. The other texts spell the word as ***xexenes*** > 'mosquito'. However, this second spelling is closer to the original Taino phonetic as described by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casa. In his Apologetic History, this insect is described as follows:

> Con todos los bienes y fertilidad questa provincia tiene, abunda de una poco menos que plaga más que otra, y es de muchos mosquitos de los que los indios llamaban ***xoxenes***, que son tan chequítos que apenas con buenos ojos, estando comiendo la mano y metiendo un agrijón que parece aguja recién quitada del fuego, se ven.[156]

Even de Las Casas in the quote above introduces a new lexicalization of the term by spelling the term as ***xoxenes***. This variance in the lexicalization seems to indicate a level of insecurity of the correct pronunciation of the word. This tendency is common of words whose usage is infrequent. This could explain its disappearance from the mainland after the first few years. However, etymologically speaking this word seems to be linked to the Yanomami ***hihu u na*** > 'insect' or to the term hiií > 'mosquito bite' or the Arawak ***majorén*** > 'insect', 'bug'. Nevertheless, the fact that BDC uses this spelling is yet another hit to his familiarity with the Taino language.

Chapter CLVI, page 630

[156] (De las Casas, 1566)

matase ni hiriese a ningunos indios, salvo si no le diesen guerra; e aunque se la diesen, que solamente se defendiese y no les hiciese otro mal, y que les derrocase las casas y muchas barbacoas que habían hecho en la laguna.

Our last Taino cultural element cited by BDC is ***barbacoa*** > 'grill'. However, this Taino word is only to be briefly analyzed because, given the context, this word appeared wrongly employed as a misspelling of the word *barbacana*, which according the Academia Española is a type of tower that is part of a defensive structure of church or a castle[157]. However, in the Taino sense this word was originally pronounced *barbacoa*, which was a traditional form of Taino cooking which used honey or *mabe* (which fermented and mixed with *behuco* roots also gave origin to what is today known as root beer). Mentioned by Gonzalo Fernández De Oviedo y Valdés in a 1526 in his account of life in the Indies. Oviedo describes the *barbacoa* as a raised platform for storing grain and occasionally cooking food. He also described it as a method of cooking meat on that wooden device[158]. Please refer to the image in pg.7 for example.

[157] (Española, 2019)

[158] Fernandez de Oviedo, Gonzalo. *Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar* (Madrid: Imprenta Real de La Historia, 1853), 630.

CHAPTER 4 | THE *TIERRA FIRME:* PENUMBRAS OF TAINO CULTURE AND PHOENETICS

Thus far in this research, we have mostly concentrated in the etymology and the primary source context of Taino words in order to establish their pre-mainland existence. However, what comes next in the analysis of the text, are words and cultural customs that, although used in the mainland framework by Diaz del Castillo, were part of the Taino religion, social structure, culinary culture and cosmovison. It is astonishing that, apart from the word ***cacique***, these elements did not come about until this section of the sequence of the text. Prior to this moment, the words and expressions used by BDC were mostly toponymies or general descriptions of utensils, plants, foods and general artifacts.

Therefore, as we come across these cultural elements, instead of approaching them from the purely linguistic point of view, these elements are going to be analyzed from their historical and anthropological relation to primary sources. The linguistic analysis is only going to be employed if necessary or if there is no other way to establish the Taino connection to the term or custom. The disadvantage of this approach is its highly speculative essence. Whether the Taino connection or lack of it could be established or not, would depend on the supporting evidence.

1.1 Cúes.

Our first observation is the variance and connotation found in the lexicalization of the word ***cúe*** or ***cu*** by Bernal Diaz del Castillo. It is important to note that the way this word is lexicalized by BDC has a very strong phonetic influence from the Spanish of

the epoch, but also from the Taino and Arawak related language's pronunciation. These are examples of analogous Spanish phonetics that contain the sound *cu*: *cueva, cúpula, cuerda, cuenta, cual, cúmulo, etc.* However, in Taino we find similar sounds and synonymic meanings: ***cuao*** > 'small mountain', ***cuey*** > 'sacred object', ***cucuyo*** > 'firefly", ***maku*** > 'enemy', not friendly, ***Cuaba*** > 'sacred mountain'. Therefore, whether by Spanish or Taino phonetic interpellation, BDC seems to lexicalize this term with a very heavy linguistic weight from a different language than the one he is trying to describe. In the text, this word is described in the following manner:

> *fue a una casa de ídolos que estaba en un cerro, que ya he dicho que se dicen* ***cúes****, que es como quien dice casa de sus dioses; y en aquella casa halló muchos ídolos y copal, que es como resina con que sahuman, y cuchillos de pedernal, con que sacrificaban*[159].

Here BDC associates the word with *"mountains and with houses of gods where there are idols and where people are sacrificed with stone knifes"*. It is very curious that *cúes* was the word of choice to describe any other altar or temple across the text. As a matter of fact, even when the people in question did not speak any Mayan related languages, Diaz del Castillos continued to employ the same lexicalization, at times, associating deities with this term, as it was the case of Huitzilopochtli > 'Aztec god of war', lexicalized as *Huichilobos* and Tezcatlipoca > 'god of the smoking mirrors', lexicalized as *Tezcatepuca*. One of the many examples of this tendency by BDC can be found in page 931 when he states that *"huyendo, cuando subimos en el alto cu de Huichilobos"*. Here BDC is referring to the "*high temple cu of Huitzilopochtli*". Yet, at that moment in

[159] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632)

the sequence of the narrative, the term should already have had shifted to a different Nahuatl voice like, *teocalli* > 'temple'*, tlamanacalli* > 'sacrifice temple' or even something related to *tlamanalli* > 'religious offering', *ezolli* > 'sacred' or *teotl* > 'god'. For some reason, nonetheless, the transcribers of the three variants continue to employ the same lexicalized Mayan term, ***cúes***, ***cu***, ***cue*** as if following a common registry or transcribing from an original common source that had used the registry.

However, regarding the Mayan voices, and as previously stated in this research, there was a very early pre-Columbian Mayan migration to the Caribbean that could have brought these cultural and linguistic affinities about certain voices and customs. For that matter, and given the space limitations of this research, we are only going to cite the DNA study as a reference point to this fact prior to analyzing the linguistic variances in the lexicalization of this word between the Taino and the Maya.

According to Sebastian Robiou Lamarche, a 1999 ADNmt study conducted by Juan C. Martinez revealed that *"there were some Mexican and Centro American genetic markers that could have traveled from Yucatan to Puerto Rico as part of a pre-South American migration"*[160]. This genetic finding helps explain some of the affinities away from pure cultural and linguistic parallelism. Therefore, when we analyze the Mayan voices related to this morpheme, we are presented with the following word classification: *K'uj* > 'god', *K'ult Naaj* > 'temple', *K'ul* > 'sacred', *K'uk'Ut* > 'tabernacle', *Witz* > 'magic mountain'. As it can be observed, the Mayan related terms seem to share with the Taino languages the morpheme ***k'*** previously identified in Taino as 'sacred', 'good', 'friendly', 'enlighten'. This linguistic affinity between the Maya and Taino could

[160] (Robiou Lamarche, 2003)

explain the prevalence of the Mayan term over the Nahuatl voices in the rest of the text as the Spanish that arrived was already intertwined with Taino.

Nonetheless, based on this pre-Columbian connection and given the fact that the Maya were a far more developed culture than the Taino, we can only argue that the lexicalization of the terms ***cúes***, ***cue*** and ***cu*** as spelled by BDC could have had a very strong Taino influence and that given the familiarity between this two cultures, it could have been easier for the writers to lexicalize words base on a familiar registry, rather than try to adjust to the far more removed phonetic of the Nahuatl.

1.2 Duho.

Although this word does not appear directly in the text, there is a certain cultural description about the rescued soldier Tapia's appearance, sitting behavior and demeaner that could be argued to have a Taino connection. The quote reads as follows:

> *Pues desque Cortés los vio de aquella manera, también picó como los demás soldados, que preguntó al Tapia que qué era del español. Y el español como le entendió, se puso en cuclillas, como hacen los indios, e dijo: "Yo soy"*[161].

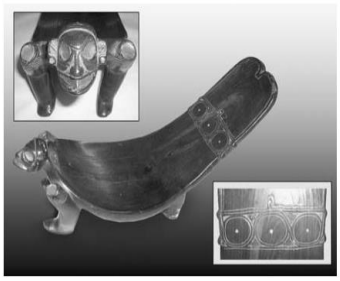
The quote states that *"Cortes did not recognize Tapia and that once Tapia heard Cortes called him, he stood up and then squatted, the way Indians do".* However, before we analyze the possible Taino symbolism in this paragraph, it is important to mention that at that time of the sequence of BDC's chronicle, the Spanish had not yet subjugated any of the mainland kingdoms. As a matter of fact, their cultural memory regarding the natives should have been that of the Caribbean and the kingdoms of

[161] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632)

Central America. For that reason, any behavioral reference could be placed in the pre-mainland context.

However, it is in Taino archeology where we find our connection to this Taino squatting behavior described by BDC. The following images are from Taino ***duhos*** sits:

Duho of ***cacique***



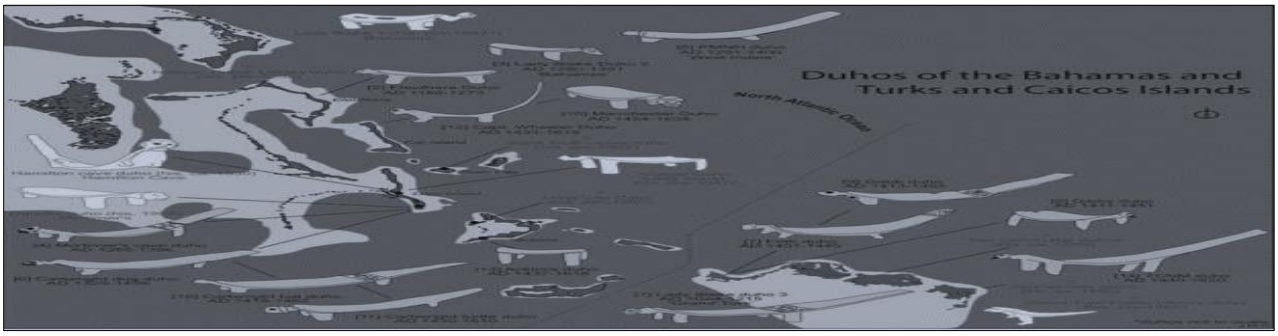
Pic.36 *Duho of cacique*



Pic.37 *Lucayan duho*[162]



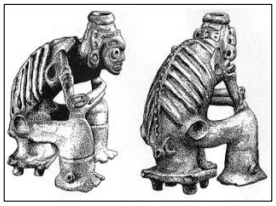
The ***duhos*** were the traditional sits of the ***caciques***. In fact, they were considered part of the cacique's most valuable possessions. According to Oviedo, only caciques sat in these ***duho***[163] and were considered of such a great importance, that they were usually buried together with the chief, along with his riches and the most beloved of his wives, which they called ***athebeane nequén***[164]. Furthermore, ***duhos*** are common across Caribbean archeology.



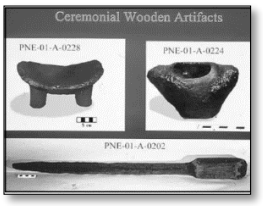
[162] (Ostapkowicz, The Study of Lucayan Duhos | Either a Piece of Domestic Furniture or One of Their Gods, 2015)
[163] (Fernandez de Oviedo, Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar , 1853, p. 165)
[164] Ibid. 134

Pic.38 *Duho distribution across the Bahamas and Turks and Caicos*[165].

However, when it comes to the ***behique*** > 'shaman' effigies, which are the only other figures in Taino archeology that appear sitting in an object, we notice a differentiation in the type of ***duho***. They are often plain, without arch, back support or decorative sculptures. The images below are from ***behique*** archeology.



Pic.39 *Behique*.[166]



Pic.40 *Manatial de la Aleta*[167].



Pic.41 *Behique*[168]



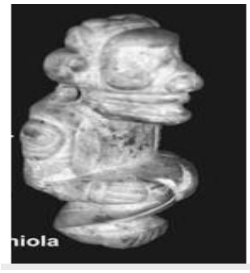
Pic.42 *Behique*[169]

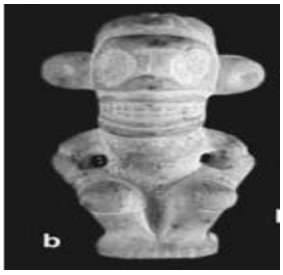
As it can be observed, ***duhos*** appeared to be reserved for the ***caciques*** and ***behíques***. After that, everyone and everything seem to be squatting:





Pic.43 *Naborias effigies from Hispaniola*[170]





Pic.44 *Naborias effigies from Hispaniola and Cuba*[171]

[165] (Ostapkowicz, The Study of Lucayan Duhos | Either a Piece of Domestic Furniture or One of Their Gods, 2015)
[166] (García Arévalo, 2001)
[167] (Conrad, Foster, & Beeker, 2001)
[168] (Pozzi, 2011, p. 11)
[169] (Fewkes, 1903-1904)
[170] (Cassa, 1974)
[171] (Oliver, 2009)



Pic.45 *Amulets from Puerto Rico*[172]





Pic.46 *Vomiting spatula*[173]



Pic.47 *Deities*[174]



Pic.48 *Spirits of the dead*



Pic.49 *The dead*[175]

Therefore, based on the archeological evidence and due to the event described in the chronology of the text, it can be argued that when BDC is referring to *"squatting as a typical Indian stand"*, he could well be referring to the way the ***naborias*** or servant Indian stood in front of their ***íques*** > 'leaders'.

1.3 Naborias.

This topic of squatting, as illustrated in the section above, leads us to our next Taino sociocultural element employed in BDC's narrative. According to de Las Casas, Taino society consisted of the ***cacique*** > 'chief', the ***behique*** > 'shaman', the

[172] (Fewkes, 1903-1904)
[173] (Alegria, 1995)
[174] (Cassa, 1974)
[175] Ibid.263

nytainos > 'nobles' and the ***naboría*** > 'subjects'[176]. However, this final term took a completely different connotation after the establishment of the Spanish *Encomienda* system in the Caribbean, thus becoming a homologue or an absolute synonym of the European preconception of a slave. Nonetheless, this shift in the meaning of the ***naboria*** term from subject to slave can be identified very early across the chronicles of the colonization of the Antilles. As a matter of fact, one of the earliest linguistic comparisons of these two terms, joint by a correlative conjunction, can be found in the chronicles of Fernández de Oviedo. In his *Natural and General History of the Indies*, Oviedo states that *"to prove his friendship, a cacique gave Diego de Salazar four* ***naborias*** *or slaves to serve him"*[177]. Here, Oviedo equates the terms as interchangeable, thus connotating an evolution of the term from its original meaning. In earlier and contemporary accounts, the term was used as an equivalent of 'subject' or 'servant'. Examples of these earlier and contemporary connotations can be found in Hernando Colon's *History of the Admiral* and in Fray Bartolome de Las Casas' *Apologetic History*. In the case of Hernando Colon, the term is defined as "favorite or servant"[178] comparable to the position of the vassals in the feudal system. On the other hand, de Las Casas compares ***naborias*** to an even more benevolent position by using the Spanish terms *"sirvientes o criados"*, which are a type of house help. Henceforward, the term evolved to become the synonym of slave described by Oviedo and later by BDC and the rest of the chroniclers.

[176] (De las Casas, 1566)
[177] (Fernandez de Oviedo, Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar , 1853, p. 472)
[178] (Colón, 1571)

However, it is in an account by Fray Ramón Pané about the first Indian martyr in the Americas, where we find the Taino conceptualization of the word ***naboria***. It is important to note that this event was quoted by both Hernando Colon and Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas in their own separate chronicles. Yet, in Pané's text, we are presented with some of the first transcriptions of Taino language and with the relation between the term ***naboria*** and the Taino self-declaration associated with it:

> Sólo quiero decir lo que afirma de un indio o indios que él tornó cristianos, que matándolos otros indios, por el aborrecimiento que tenían a los españoles, decían a grandes voces: "Dios ***naboría daca***, Dios ***naboría daca***", que quiere decir, en la lengua más común y más universal de esta isla, "Yo soy sirviente y criado de Dios", y éste se llamaba Juan[179].

In the above quote, Pané narrates that *"due to the hatred the Indian felt towards the Spanish, they decided to kill some of the first converts to Christianism and that, as they killed him, he screamed loudly: Dios* ***naboria daca****, which means, I'm servant of god"*. It is important to point that the ***daka*** > 'I am', described in Pané's text, has a very fascinating connotation in Lokono and other Arawakan related languages. The prefix ***dA*** is the pronominal prefix of the first person of the singular, equivalent to the English 'I'. However, the suffix is composed of the phoneme ***K'a*** > 'good', 'friendly', 'enlighten'. This could transliterate the term as 'I am internally good'. It is as for the Taino, 'good' was the essence of self and for that matter serving was an act of self-giving.

Therefore, to be a ***naboria***, which was the condition they found Tapia in, one had to identify and behave as such. Furthermore, Tapia's short answer to Cortés: *"— I*

[179] (Pane, 1498)

am", does not fit Spanish greeting norms of the epoch, like the one described in a previous page of BDC's text about the soldier that found Tapia and exclaimed: *"God and Saint Mary of Seville!!"*. On the contrary, it seems that Tapia's answer does not correlate to the verbose and eloquent Spanish of the period, but it sounds more like an adoption or a transposition of the Taino expression ***daka*** > 'I am', the way a servant will answer a master from a subjugated position and remain quiet after his answer.

However, it is in the prevalence in the use of this word across BDC's text where we find the importance of the Spanish adoption of this slaving custom from the Caribbean to the mainland. Moreover, there are three fundamental mentions in the text, which I considered crucial in order to establish Taino ***naboria*** presence along the Spanish during the conquest of the continent. This ***naboria*** presence, could explain the survival and introduction of Taino terms into the general subculture of the mainland, thus ensuring the Taino cultural and linguistic survival away from the Spanish official records.

The first event was mentioned in page 25 of this thesis referring to *"the kidnaping of Guanexes Indians to fill the ships with slave labor"*. The second is identified in the first mention of the word ***naboria*** in BDC's text as *"**naborias** from Tlaxcala"*. Notably, the use of the differentiative term *"from Tlaxcala"* seems to indicate that there were other ***naborias*** at the moment of the description of the event. Furthermore, this event happened at the point in the chronology of the text when other Mayan or Nahuatl term should have taken over the description of the term. As a matter of fact, comparable Mayan words might have sounded like*: Aj k'oos, j k'oos* > 'servant' or *Palbil*, *palitsil* > 'slave'. The Nahuatl terms should have sounded like: *tlacotli* > 'slave',

tlahuapanquetl > 'servant'. Yet, the prevalent term was the Taino ***naboria*** as if this word was ingrained as part of the writer's intrinsic vocabulary or immediate reality.

The third event is the mention of *"naborias de Cuba"* in page 388. With this mention of ***naborias*** along the Spanish in the mainland, Diaz del Castillos placed Taino speakers in the mainland context.

1.4 Ceiba.

This word, together with the next three elements *(areyto, tabaco*, and *barbacoa)* are going to be analyzed as a group because of their religious significance in Taino rituals, spiritual traditions and legends. Although there are many religious and ceremonial parallels around the significance of the ***Ceiba*** or ***Sayba*** among the people of the mainland (Maya and Aztecs) and the Taino, it is important to note that this parallelism could be due to earlier pre-Columbian connections among these peoples as illustrated before in the quoted DNAmt study and amply documented in the archaeological record. However, given this parallelism and overwhelming narratives about this tree in the cosmovision and myths of both, the Maya and the Aztec[180], we are going to employ the linguistic aspect of this research in order to at least establish the pre-mainland origin of the word. The other mythological elements are too vast and unrelated to this research.

Therefore, if we make a phonetic analysis of the word ***ceiba*** in some of the languages of the mainland pertinent to what will later become New Spain, we can find words like: "*yaaxché* (Yucatan—Mayan), *cuypishtin* (Popoluca —Veracruz), *póchotl*

[180] (García-Goyco, 2007)

(Nahuatl), *tunuum* (Mixtec—Oaxaca), *unup* (Huastec—San Luis Potosí), *yaga-xeni* (Zapotec—Oaxaca) and *pishtin* (Chiapas)"[181]. However, none of these terms resemble the phonetics of the Taino ***ceiba***, ***seiba*** or ***seyba***. Still, what is truly remarkable about the Maya and Zapotec names, especially, are the phonetic similarities with the Taino Yaya creation legend and the origin of the ***cemí*** creation described by Fray Ramon Pané.

According to Pané *"Yaya was the origin myth and when a person walking sees a tree moving in the forest, they should ask, who are you? And the tree will respond—bring me a behique and I will tell you. After the behique arrives, the tree -cemi will tell the behique the way it wants to be carved. Then, they will make harm or good with the cohoba ritual"*[182]. However, what is truly remarkable about Pané's description is that the Taino legends seem to be the eclectic transliteration of different combined legends about creation and trees mostly linked to the Mayas and to other groups of South America. Furthermore, Pané mentions the name ***Apito*** together with the five names of ***Atabey***, and the ***Opía*** was the spirit of the dead. Yet, in the Guajiro—Wayuunaiki languages ***aipa'a*** means 'night' and ***aippia*** means 'tree'. It is important to note that in Mayan, the words associated with death, *Chamay baak* and the dead, *Kimen* sound phonetically like the Taino ***cemi***, the name of the spirit, which according to Pané, is to be carved from the tree to become an effigy and voice of the spirit of the tree.

Based on these linguistic and symbolic affinities found in their genetic relatives from Mexico and from South America, we can safely state that the Taino inherited the

[181] (Grandtner, 2005)
[182] (Pane, 1498)

ceiba wordship and traditions from them. And, what was originally attributed to the ***ceiba*** mythemes from these groups, became an array of different disseminated versions intertwined with the different migratory groups that converged in the Caribbean to later become Taino as a singular culture. Nonetheless, what is truly important is that in the Taino cosmovision the word shares the prefix ***zCe*** with ***zemi*** > 'god', 'deity', 'wooden idol' and its suffix ***Ba*** literally means 'bigger', 'immense', 'great'. Therefore, it should not be surprising that this word became part of the vernacular Spanish of New Spain and consequently the universal name of the tree.

But then again, another truly important note in the narrative of the True Conquest of New Spain with regards to its Taino connection, is the way Diaz del Castillo kept using his knowledge of the ***ceiba*** tree to carve crosses as if he was somehow exploiting his knowledge of these Taino trees mythemes against the people of the mainland. Diaz states that:

> *de la batalla pasada por mí memorada, que hiciesen una cruz en un árbol grande que allí estaba, que entre ellos llaman ceiba; e hiciéronla en aquel árbol a efeto que durase mucho, que con la corteza que suele reverdecer está siempre la cruz señalada*[183].

By mentioning his intention of carving the crosses in the ceiba because of the tendency of the cortex of the tree to keep the symbol visible, Diaz del Castillo is illustrating the Spanish knowledge of Taino tree worship and culture. This was a common practice among the *conquistadors*: exploitation of cultural and religious norms to betray the natives. For example, if they saw crosses engraved in their sacred trees

[183] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632, p. 125)

after a battle won by the Spanish, then this should mean that the Christian symbol could be associate with their own cosmovision and interpreted as divine.

1.5 Tabaco

Tabaco consumption and cultivation of this crop appears to be a common practice, shared among many of the cultures of the mainland. Its linguistic origin is obscure and claimed in the myths and languages of different groups in both hemispheres of the continent. In fact, the word could be argued to be linked to the Tolan—Jicaquean languages of Honduras. This language, possibly related to the *Ciguayos* of Hispaniola[184], which contains terms like*: tuob, kiskeya, twa, tea,* appear phonetically closer to the word ***tobacco*** than many other surviving voices. This connection is made because of the Taino surviving term ***tabuco*** > 'land covered in thicket and underbrush', composed of the prefix ***toab*** > 'thicket' and the suffix —***uco*** > 'forest', 'wilderness'. However, what is striking is that even the Toba Tasek, a far-removed group from Argentina have an origin mytheme regarding their name and the ***tobacco*** plant[185]. However, what is even more strange, is that the Academia Española attributes the voice to a pre-Columbian medicinal plant *atabaca*[186]. I happen to disagree with this association by the Spanish Academy of Language and believe it to be a case of cultural and phonetic coincidence or pure symbolic parallelism of medicinal plant usage.

This is argued, because although the Taino of Cuba used the word ***cohiba*** to name the plant, it is in de las Casas' accounts where we find the Taino association of the plant with smoking and the word ***tobacco***. In fact, this is one of the first mentions of its

[184] (Granberry, 2003)
[185] (Namba Walter & Neumann Fridman, 2004)
[186] (Española, 2019)

cultivation, processing, and recreational and ceremonial usages. De Las Casas account state:

> En esta isla Española y en las comarcanas tenían otra manera de yerba como proprias lechugas, y ésta secaban al sol y al fuego, y hacían de unas hojas de árbol secas un rollete como se hace un mosquete de papel y metían dentro una poca de aquella yerba y encendían el mosquete por una parte, y por la otra sorbían o atraían el humo hacia dentro en el pecho, lo cual les causaba un adormecimiento en las carnes y en todo el cuerpo, de manera que ni sentían hambre ni cansancio, y estos mosquetes llamaban ***tabacos***, la media sílaba luenga[187].

The above quote not only places the word tabaco as a plant cultivated by the Taino of Hispaniola to be smoked in a *rollete* > 'cigar', but also de Las Casas gives an example of the way the Taino pronounced the word, *"they called it **tabacos**, pronounced with an elongated middle syllable"*. Therefore, if as stated by Real Academia, the word was a pre-Columbian Spanish term, why would de Las Casas explain that *"they called the cigar roll, tabaco"* and why would he try to give phonetical examples of its pronunciation? As a matter of fact, it is crucial to mention that both de Las Casas and Oviedo, only gave phonetical examples of native words in their chronicles. In all their accounts, we have yet to find a case where they explained any Spanish terms. Their tendency was to transcribe Taino and native phonetics to a European audience for whom their chronicles were written.

It is relevant to note that later in the same text, de Las Casas writes about some Spanish people adopting the habit of smoking tobacco from de natives of Hispaniola[188].

[187] (De las Casas, 1566)
[188] (De las Casas, 1566)

This is relevant because this same earlier Spanish population of the Caribbean would be the future conquerors of New Spain and of the rest of the continent.

However, it is Oviedo who illustrates the Taino ceremonial element of tabaco by stating that:

> Usaban los indios dcsta isla entre otros sus vicios uno muy malo que es tomar unas ahumadas que olios llaman ***tabaco***, para salir de sentido. Y esto hacían con el humo de cierta hierva que… de aquesta manera: los caciques é hombres principales lenian unos palillos huecos del tamaño de un xeme ó menos de la grose del dedo menor de la mano, y esto, cañuto-, teuian dos cañones respondientes a uno, como aqui está pintado[189].

Here, and like de Las Casas, Oviedo places the word ***tabaco*** in the Taino of Hispaniola's context and adds a very remarkable drawing of the type of pipes used by the Taino of Haiti to smoke it. The image below is from Oviedo's original manuscript.



pic.50 *Tabaco pipe from Hispaniola*[190]

What is impressive about this image is that Oviedo writes both words, ***tabaco*** and something that looks like ***cohiba*** or *herva*, as a side note to the image.

Furthermore, like de Las Casas, Oviedo states that some Africans living in the earlier colonial Santo Domingo also adopted the custom from the Taino:

[189] (Fernandez de Oviedo, Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar , 1853)
[190] (Myers & Scott, 2007)

> Al presente muchos negros de los que están en esta cibdad y en la isla toda, han tomado la misma costumbre[191].

This quote about negroes from Hispaniola adopting this custom of smoking and cultivating tabaco from the Indians is of extreme importance because, like the Spanish cited by de Las Casas, these Africans will also be part of the earlier population of New Spain. As matter of fact, the presence of these people appears time and time again within the narrative of BDC.

Finally, although the first mention of the word ***tabaco*** in BDC's text is a reference to Moctezuma's royal pampering, it can be at least argued, that it is possible that the prevalence of this word across the Americas and its linguistic triumph over the Nahuatl *yetl* and *tequitl*, the Maya *K'úuts* and the conglomerate of languages to be colonized from that point forward, was due to the Taino-Spanish-African relation developed earlier in the Caribbean.

1.6 Areyto

The next word in the sequence of BDC's text is ***Areyto*** or ***areito*** which could be transliterated as the Taino traditional ceremonial dance. As a matter of fact, this dance is described by both Oviedo and de Las Casas as the ceremony by which the Taino danced and sang their legends, history, traditions and love. Moreover, ***areyto*** was the Taino dance of war and the ceremony of alliances and brotherhood known as ***guaitao*** > 'I become you', under which Taino kingdoms would pledge alliance to one another. However, etymologically speaking this word could be linked as far south as the

[191] (Fernanadez de Oviedo, 1535 - 1557)

Yanomami of Venezuela to the word ***u turere*** > 'to produce waves' or even related to ***utuai*** > 'to stretch'. ***Utuai*** is also used to describe 'a line of people following one another in a long line in the jungle'. The image below is from the Taino archeological site La Cueva de Sanabe, Dominican Republic. In this possible representation of an ***areyto***, the pictographic sketch of the image appears to be waving the arm in the same symbolic meaning of the Yanomami word. To the left of the dancer, there is the drawing of something that could be interpreted as the image of a maraca.



Pic.51 *Areito pictograph from Hoyo de Sanabe Cave*[192]

Based on this image, there seems to be a connection between maraca, ceremony and ***areyto*** dance. However, what surprised me about this word was its early adoption by the colonial Spanish population of Santo Domingo.

In fact, in a reference from Dominican historian Roberto Cassa from his citation of a trial in the Jeronimian Interrogations of 1517 we are presented with a unique window into the vernacular Spanish of Hispaniola prior to the conquest of New Spain. The text states the following:

> Testigo Romero, **loc. cit.,** quien dice: "...les acontece de cada dia que por un antojo que les den sin mirar lo que adelante dello se puede seguir determinan de

[192] (Johnson)

> comer el tal ***conuco*** en un mes con ***areytos*** y conbites desperdiciando la comida[193].

Nonetheless, the way the Taino words ***conuco*** and ***areito*** are used as part of the common language of the early colonial lower class of the Hispaniola of 1517 seems a clear indication of a Spanish language that, at least at the peasant level, was experiencing a creolization or pidgin process. Once again, this could explain why ***areyto*** continued to be utilized as part of the vernacular of the Spanish conquest of the rest of the continent. Additionally, this Spanish—Taino mestization could also be the reason why in the first mention of this word in the BDC's text the word is contextualized in the following manner:

> *[…] "le demandaron licencia para hacer el* ***areito*** *y bailes". Dijo que ansí era verdad e que fue por tomarles descuidados, e que, porque temiesen y no viniesen a dalle guerra, que por esto se adelantó a dar en ellos[194].*

The utilization of the specific-identity-known article or what is better known as the definite article *"the",* prior to the word ***areito*** in this quote by BDC seems to indicate an absolute classification of the term that appears to be drawn from a foundation of knowledge from the writer. In Indo-European languages, such as Spanish, the linguistic tendency to define unknown objects is the utilization of the indefinite article. For example, one says "a police officer came to my house" because of the uncertainty of the identity of the officer. However, if we see blue lights outside of one's window, the correct term is often "the police came to my house" because of the cultural

[193] (Cassa, 1974)
[194] (Diaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana| Aparato de Variantes, 1632)

linguistic registry or linguistic certainty that the word “police” encloses in our own experience. Therefore, this use by Diaz del Castillo could at least sustain the argument that this Taino word, preceded by the definite article, was employed in the text from the familiarity of the writer with the term.

Surprisingly, and unlike many of the other Taino words that survive to this day, such as canoe, hammock, tobacco, ceiba, barbeque, hurricane, cay, manatee, etc. this word’s usage was very short-lived. In fact, it seems to have disappeared right before Spanish the conquest of the Philippines. Some of its final usages can be found in Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca’s chronicles. After that, its use is seldom employed. However, what is important is its place as a testament of Taino presence in the chronicles of the New Spain.

Conclusion

Language theory states that language survival is proportional to the number of speakers, that population size can play a crucial role in the evolution of languages, and that language size, proportionally relates to the creation of its basic derivative called, culture[195]. In other words, language and culture only exist if there are people to speak it, revive it and modify it. Otherwise, it becomes a mute symbol carved in stone, a silent testament to the unknown, like the Etruscan, Raetic, Thracian, Vandalic, Gaulish, Sumerian, and so many other cultures, whose language extinction forever sealed their perception of the world from our grasp.

[195] (Levinson SC, 2012)

Taino was no exception. Believed to have disappeared from the continent as early as 1458, it was necessary to trace the legacy of their language, culture, religion and cosmovision across the Spanish and European records of the conquest of the continent and see if this assertion was true. Therefore, a central text was chosen due to its place in the historical chronology of the conquest and after analyzing it the following data were obtained:

Percentage of Indigenous American Words in the True History of the Conquest of New Spain

Percentage of Taino Words	Percentage of Mainland Words from various languages (Nahuatl, Mayan, others)
39.5%	60.5%

This percentage was established based on the etymological Comparative Method of linguistic analysis. With this method, suspected words would be disqualified or classified as Taino, based on their etymon relation to surviving genetic languages and based on their mention in at least one primary source prior to the conquest of New Spain. Secondary sources were used, but only if reputable in the historical records. Therefore, if the word met this criterion, it was classified as Taino and subtracted from the general pool of American words in the text. The word would then be counted for prevalence of usage in the central text and searched in the Spanish Academy of Language official database. This second part was done to establish continuance of usage.

Additionally, if while analyzing a particular word, another Taino term not present in the central text was found, this word would also be analyzed and transliterated in order to establish Taino cultural and linguistic prevalence.

However, given their complexity, deviation and divergence, language and culture cannot be measured as direct numerical variants because linguistically speaking, words do not carry the same cultural weight. For example, *Tenochtitlan* (Nahuatl) and *canoe* (Taino) both count as one term in their respective numerical column. Yet, the Nahuatl substantive would only be relevant to that subject, while the Taino word has been adopted in most languages around the globe and has become a universal word. Because of this condition, words etymologically and historically identified as Taino, were then researched within other historical, literary, toponymic, cultural, religious references to analyze their cultural weight and impact.

Taino Words in the True History of the Conquest of New Spain

Still in use	Disappeared or become archaic
higüera, jícara, Cuba, cazabe, Axaruco, Guanahatabey, canoa, piragua, naguas, cacique, maíz, Jamaica, yuca, seboruco, bejuco, macana, henequén, mamey, sabana, naboria, ceiba, tabaco, barbacoa.	*Areyto, Xexen* > 'mosquitoe' (only in use in Santo Domingo), *Guanexex.*

Other Taino Words mentioned or analyzed in our research of the True History of the Conquest of New Spain

Taino and genetically related words
Jíbaro, jí, ají, bija, bixa, jicotea, guajíro, guira, jiba, hiba, cahoba, caoba, duho, jiro, Hatuey, cohiba, güíra, güíro maracas, behique, Cubanacan, huracan, cibucan, guayacan, manioc, can, bayohuabao, moyhuac'n, Haiti, cuaba, cuyo, cuey, batey, Atabey, carey, Guanahaní, guano, haba, tití, tí, jaquemeyes, jaquima, hamaca, cana, Macoríx, guabancex, Ciguayo, maco, maku, Xaragua, iguana, Anacahona, ananá, anaiboa, macuto, Axua, Axuey, Bahoruco, tiburón, camarón, Ciba, Cibao, batata, batey, bata, batu, bana, Quisqueya, Tai, no, hiaro, Iaruñu, adabuco, manatí, macabí, bu, be, bí, ey, Lucayo, Guanaha, Harabacoa, Guanabacoa,Maguana, 'ma, Managua, caguama, enagua, wa, ra, itu, iu, Ynagua, Abanagua, Trurks and Caicos, Bohechío, siguapa, pitahayas, macaguas, ike, buyai, payé, cucuyo, cocuyo, cachi, ebe, caicu, Kaya, guanín, nytaino, nitainí, cemí, mai, mai-ma, nali, mainabu, awasi, Maíta, xa, xara, xama, ika, ka, k', kue, bohío, buyío, arcabuco, bex, babonuco, tabonuco, cayuco, mabí, mapa, maba, mukén, buca, burenkén, Borinquen, héneru, cabuya, he, Bahomamey, Bahamam, aymamón, caney, catarey, mamee, xCa, Saona, o, na, bana, makey, cupey, Camaguey, higüey, turey, caiman, loro, boa, maharawe hi, tuna, athebeane nequén, daca, daka, Apito, Opia, aipppia, aipa'a. tabuco, toab, tuob, twa, tea, uturere, Utuai, utuai, guaitiao,

Out of all these analyzed words and based on our citation database.

Percentage of words still in use today in at least one language	Percentage of extinct words
83.2%	16.8%

Once again, these data seem to indicate a significance in the numerical prevalence of Taino voices. However, in order to establish the speaker—number relation necessary for language and cultural survival, notes and observations that could sustain this argument were identified within the primary source's analysis of this thesis. The examples below are from different stages of our research where such occurrences were identified:

a) Large number of captives and slave labor: *pg. 21 of this study*

b) *Encomienda* system that ensured an average of at least 300 Indians to Spanish citizens: *pg. 20 of this thesis*

c) Early Spanish adoption of Taino food and traditions, such as the consumption of *cazabe, maiz, barbacoa* and *tabaco* smoking: *pg. 67, 57, 48, (sustain by quotes from de Las Casas, and Oviedo).*

d) A significant amount of Taino Spanish—bilingualism among the soldiers of the expedition, acknowledged by Bernal Diaz del Castillo: *pg.74 of our research.*

e) A lower-class Spanish language on a pidgin and creolization process: *pg. 108* of this work.

f) Other *Naborias* from the earlier colonies, Cuba and Nicaragua: pg 67, 34 and 103 of BDC's text.

g) Negroes and Africans, previously identified to have adopted Taino culture in Hispaniola, among the soldiers and general population.

h) Escaped *naborias.*

All these points, identified throughout this study, could sustain the argument for Taino survival among the soldiers and early population of the conquest of New Spain. However, there is one more observation to be made before moving to the next topic: the silent role of Taino women as a significant factor of language conveyance. This was observed, because language is related to usage and need. As a matter of fact, words seldom survive beyond the existence of their description or beyond the extinction of the element they are describing. For example, the word *bureau* is only alive to this day because of our socio-political structure, if for some reason, our society were to collapse

and resort to an absolute stage of anarchy, then this word would probably disappear from our vocabulary, the same way that, agonarch, amarulence, bonifate, exipotic, and so many other words have vanish from our current language and cultural reality.

This observation was made, because of the prevalence of the Taino word ***nagua*** across the Americas. As explained in the paragraph above, word survival is relative to speaker, existence of described element, need and usage. Therefore, it is understandable that words like, *macana*, *canoa*, *tabaco*, *cacique*, *ceiba*, *bejuco*, *piragua*, *sabana*, *etc.* would be employed given their relevance to the population of BDC's chronicle, which was mostly men on a conquering mission of exploration and war. However, the fact that the Taino name of an essential female garment was among the surviving words, leads me to believe that women played a very important, I could even say uniquely essential, indispensable role in the transmission of Taino words into the underrepresented, non-mentioned in the official narrative population of the conquest of New Spain.

This is argued, because given the conservative and religious nature of the Spanish culture of the time, a word like ***nagua*** would not be included in any written official record, nor would it be taught from a man to a woman. And even if so, there must be enough repetitions of the same idiom for it to become normalized or become part of a vocabulary. Moreover, the number of polygamist marriages of Spanish with Indians noblewomen and *naborias* was a common occurrence throughout the text, sustaining the possibility that Taino speaking women were among the women included in the text.

In conclusion, there is not enough evidence in the chronicles or their pictorial depictions to conclusively prove or disprove that there were enough Taino people among

the Spanish who carried conquest of New Spain for there to have had the substantial impact that the comparative linguistic and etymological analyses comprised within this thesis documents that the Taino language had on Spanish and Spanish colonial vocabulary. What the data have shown conclusively is that there was significant Taino cultural and linguistic presence within the Spanish contingent and their native allies that conquered the continent and whose vocabulary and culture have survived and thrived to this day.

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