

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Lokono (Locono, Arawak, Arowak) The language is Arawak and it is the Arawak language family (1).

1.2 ISO code: arw (1).

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Most of the Lokono are scattered throughout the northern parts of Suriname, also in Guyana, French Guiana, and Venezuela. Latitude: 5.5; Longitude: -55.17 (1).

1.4 Brief history: "Arawak people migrated from the northern coast of South American and populated the majority of the Caribbean in Pre-Columbian times. Their language gave rise to Taino, Karifuna and Garifuna" (3). "Early sixteenth century Spanish accounts describe fairly dense occupations relating to the ancestors of the Lokono (Arawak) peoples across the coastal hinterland areas, who still occupy the region. In the 1530s, Spanish from Margarita Island first registered the Berbice- Corentyn River area as the *Provincia de los Aruacas*, referring to the people with whom they traded manioc (arua) as "arua-cas". Lokono trade canoes were recorded by the vecinos of Margarita as capable of carrying thousands of tons of manioc flour" (4, pg: 21).

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: "Lokono history and culture as far as it is currently known perfectly evinces such processes and shows an intimate connection between ethnic identity, landscape and an active engagement with the past. In the history of the Berbice River under colonial rule, first by the Dutch and later by the British, it became an important sugar planting colony from the 1630s on. Although often subject to depredation by both sea-borne pirates and the vagaries of inter-colonial wars, the longevity of plantation society here is notable. Moreover, that longevity was foreshadowed by sustained trading and alliance between the Lokono (Arawak) and the Spanish starting in the 1540s. Thus, through nearly 500 years of colonial presence, the Lokono have continued to occupy strategic points along the Berbice River" (4, pg: 25).

1.6 Ecology: "Lying 2 to 5 degrees north of the equator, Suriname has a very hot tropical climate, and temperatures do not vary much throughout the year. Its average temperature ranges from 21 to 32 degrees Celsius. The year has two wet seasons, from April to August and from November to February. It also has two dry seasons, from August to November and February to April" (5). "Their jungle has an almost constant temperature the year around, much of the time hovering only a few degrees above 80 in the shade. It feels comfortably cool at night even if it is 77 degrees. The land is plentiful, fertile and moist enough to grow manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, and eddoes, as well as such fruits as bananas, coconuts, and the delightful mangoes" (6, pg: 43).

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: "700 in Suriname (1980 census), decreasing. Population total all countries: 2,450. Ethnic population: 2,051 in Suriname (1980 census). 150 in French Guiana. Ethnic population: 350. 1,500 in Guyana (2000 J. Forte). The ethnic group represents 33% of the Amerindians in Guyana. Ethnic population: 15,500 in Guyana. 100 in Venezuela (2002 SIL). Ethnic population: 428" (1). "There are roughly 16,000 Arawaks, (or Lokono), living today. The majority live in Guyana however there are also Arawaks in Suriname, French Guiana and Venezuela. Despite the large number of Arawak people, there are only about 2,450 speakers of Arawak. Many of these speakers are older adults and many children are not speaking the language. If this trend continues the Arawak language is in sure danger of disappearing" (3).

2. Economy: "In 2009, investigations were conducted at four occupation sites in a study area roughly 20 x 10 km along the middle Berbice River. Three major episodes in the culture history of the region have been identified: 1) an early occupation of settled agriculturalists, dated to ca. 5000 BP, based on preliminary excavations at the Dubulay site; 2) a period of agricultural intensification, dated to ca. 1800 BP, associated with densely concentrated, small farming mounds; and 3) densely settled agricultural populations in early historic times (post-1540), associated with ancestors of the contemporary Lokono (Arawak) peoples, still present in the study area" (4, pg: 5-6).

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): "economies based on manioc cultivation and fishing" (4, pg: 4). Manioc is processed by first using a grater and then by putting the grated manioc into a "matapi" which allows the cyanic acid to be manually squeezed out (6). Interestingly, the author of Source 6 mentions that the Arawakan woman processing bitter manioc at the time of his stay kept the cyanic acid and put it into a pot and let it boil, which apparently evaporates the cyanic acid and leaves a "soy-sauce" like liquid that is then put on food (6). The Arawaks plant both bitter and sweet manioc. Sweet manioc is a good starch vegetable, but bitter manioc crops yield more and store better than that sweet manioc (6, pg: 58). "In Suriname I had learned that manioc comprised 80 percent of their [the Arawak's] food" (6, pg: 151).

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: **See 2.1 "Carbohydrate Staple" for information on protein** (4, pg: 4). Source 6 also mentions fishing as the main protein source for the Arawak (6, pg: 34). "For proteins the sea and rivers are rich with fish and shellfish. And the bush yields meat such as deer, agouti, laba, and peccary" (6, pg: 43).

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns: "Grandfather Sabajo took me to see the arrows he was making, explaining that they were used mainly for hunting fish and were equipped with sharp sawtooth-like barbs which converted the arrow into a harpoon. Apparently the

men are very skillful, since he said they rarely lost an arrow. Arrows with blunt heads...were used to stun birds wanted for their bright feathers.” (6, pg: 34). Mention of the fact that many Arawakan lithics found by Olsen seemed to be expedient tools which had been quickly shaped or used as found and then tossed away (6, pg: 150-151).

2.4 Food storage: Ceramic/pottery vessels hold manioc products (6).

2.5 Sexual division of production: In the book, “On the Trail of the Arawaks,” it mentions only women processing manioc for food and men were the ones off fishing, so I assume that women don’t hunt but rather, cultivate and process manioc—little boys are often pictured helping process manioc, so men might also be contributors to the manioc processing—even as adults (6, pg: 33-35).

2.6 Land tenure: The Arawaks seem to be agriculturalists—growing lots of manioc fields, so it is likely that they don’t move, they are in sedentary villages (4, and 6).

2.7 Ceramics: “at the mouth of the Amazon, the existence of ceramic industries producing high-quality domestic ware and ritual vessels was undeniable, as was the practice of building large settlement mounds” (4, pg: 6). The Arawakan tribe in Paramaribo makes ceramics and at the time the author was there, a man was making pottery by hand using a flat stone to weld together ridge marks, he then rubbed a dark red color onto the pot as a coating for the exterior. The author also mentions that no kilns were used to fire the pottery, but rather, there was a small brush fire built up and the potter would lay the pottery into the fire and covered them with more brush (6, pg: 39). The Arawaks at the Powakka village visited by Olsen were NOT making pottery because, “the clay was not good quality and it was too far to Paramaribo [the other Arawakan village he visited/studied] to make it worthwhile” (6, pg: 45). Ceramic griddles were used for cooking manioc, and these griddles are still used post-contact, but now they are made of metal rather than ceramics (6, pg: 153).

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

2.9 Food taboos: None are mentioned in any of the sources.

2.10 Canoes/watercraft: “Lokono trade canoes were recorded by the vecinos of Margarita as capable of carrying thousands of tons of manioc flour” (4, pg: 21).

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: In the book source (6) when the author goes to visit an Arawakan tribe near Paramaribo, he is introduced to the chief’s wife; there is no mention of the author meeting any other wives and I would deduce that if anyone in the tribe were to be married polygynously, it would be the chief; so I’m guessing that there isn’t much polygyny in the Lokono, or at least not in this specific tribe of Lokono (6).

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females

4.22 Evidence for couvades

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

- 4.24 Joking relationships?
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

Warfare/homicide: In general, I would say you're not going to find much evidence of any violence among the Arawaks because in every source, they mention how nice the Arawaks are and how willing they are to trade with outsiders and give them information about their everyday lives (2, 4, and 6). "The Arawaks were peaceful people and we find few weapons" (6, pg: 191).

- 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:
- 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:
- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:
- 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):
- 4.18 Cannibalism?

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

5.3 Political system: "In contrast to neighboring groups, as elsewhere in Amazonia, Arawakans tend to exhibit large-scale ceremonial gatherings, clan based marriage exchange systems, elaborate, far-flung trading activities and high degrees of formal social hierarchy. The material expressions of this style of Arawakan regional integration and developed hierarchies can often be accessed archeologically because of the nature of its material traces. For example, in Bolivia the work of Clark Erickson in the Mojos savannas has documented vast anthropogenic landscapes consisting of terraces and canals, connecting plaza-village sites with straight raised roads, interspersed with "forest islands" and complexes of agricultural fields and mounds" (4, pg: 3). "Heckenberger rejects the old models of environmental scarcity or overpopulation as mechanism for migration of both artifacts and persons, and suggests instead a "social logic" that centered on institutional social hierarchy, hereditary "chiefs", and long-distance trade. Such chiefs led institutionalized intercommunity rituals, including rites of passage, and funerals. They were also capable of enforcing forms of social prohibition on endemic warfare, perhaps through the formalized "witch-hunts" which still characterize Xinguano leadership today" (4, pg: 3). "I had been told that he [the Arawakan chief in Bernardsdorp] was "very old" and that his name was Sabajo, but I had no notion of what sort of person he was, or if he would even receive me. We found him so easily that I suspect he had anticipated my visit. He was a fine looking man, with an independent glint in his eye and an inherent dignity in every movement" (6, pg: 34).

- 5.4 Post marital residence:
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

5.6 Social interaction divisions

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

5.8 Village and house organization: **See 5.3 "Political System" for mention of village sites** (4, pg: 3). "Large settlements... [with] circular villages with plazas" (4, pg: 4). "Bernardsdorp [a village in Paramaribo??] comprised a dozen or so Arawak huts, which at first sight looked like large rectangular haystacks. Two strong vertical poles, fifteen to twenty feet high, with a connecting ridgepole, formed the main support for a steep roof of palm-leaf thatch, with several posts framing the "walls" of the hut. Usually there was no thatching on the vertical walls, the roof sloping down the within four feet of the ground, protecting the people inside from prying eyes and at the same time permitting ample ventilation" (6, pg: 33). "[Powakka another Arawakan village visited by Olsen] was a good-sized community of about fifty houses. A large rectangular plot had been cleared for a space of about six hundred by two hundred feet. Along each edge of the clearing, which was clean white sand, was a line of neatly built thatched huts" (6, pg: 45).

5.9 Specialized village structures: "The ritual and symbolic importance of central plazas, for example, is even ethnographically evident today in the way in which such plaza-villages embody and reproduce concepts of person-hood, power, social ranking and hereditary chieftainship" (4, pg: 4).

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere: Most likely hammocks based on the descriptions of the housing styles (6).

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

5.12 Trade: “far-flung trading activities” (4, pg: 3). “the Lokono supplied immense quantities of manioc flour to feed both the nascent colonies and later the black slaves in the Dutch plantations. The Spanish even gave black slaves to the Lokono to set up large-scale tobacco plantations at the mouth of the Orinoco River” (4, pg: 10).

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies: “High degrees of formal social hierarchy. The material expressions of this style of Arawakan regional integration and developed hierarchies can often be accessed archeologically because of the nature of its material traces. For example, in Bolivia the work of Clark Erickson in the Mojos savannas has documented vast anthropogenic landscapes consisting of terraces and canals, connecting plaza-village sites with straight raised roads, interspersed with “forest islands” and complexes of agricultural fields and mounds” (4, pg: 3). “Ranked social systems, and hereditary chiefs” (4, pg: 4).

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR: “In contrast to neighboring groups, as elsewhere in Amazonia, Arawakans tend to exhibit large-scale ceremonial gatherings” (4, pg: 3).

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): **See 6.4 “Stimulants” regarding shaman practices** (6, pg: 91).

6.2 Stimulants: **See 5.12 “Trade” there is mention of the Arawaks growing tobacco for the Spanish, so I would say they were probably pretty familiar with the plant and its uses** (4, pg: 10). “The shaman took a hollow cane that had two branches which he placed in his nostrils and snuffed up the dust. I learned later that the dust was a narcotic which threw the shaman into a trance and the words he uttered were the message the deity wished to communicate to those present” (6, pg: 91).

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): “I was shown a hole, about four feet in diameter and four feet deep, where three pots had been recently found. These were burial urns since they had contained bones, but even more exciting there were gold ornaments. Burial urns holding bones and gold suggest an early connection with Columbian gold fabricators and give a hint of possible Arawak origins” (6, pg: 74).

6.4 Other rituals: **See 6.4 “Stimulants” regarding information on shaman rituals** (6, pg: 91).

6.5 Myths (Creation): Mention of the “cult hero” Yocahu (6, pg: 118).

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): There is mention of an Arawakan ball game that sort of sounds like a combination of American soccer and basketball. The Arawaks would construct huge ball courts on which to play their game; these ball courts are very intricately designed and really beautiful. This game seems like it was pretty important from a cultural standpoint (6, pgs: 195-202). Men play against women in the ballgames, but women are given two extra players (6, pg: 219).

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

6.8 Missionary effect:

6.9 RCR revival:

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

6.13 Briefly describe religion: “Arawak artifacts collected over a period of sixty years...included a dozen fine specimens of the humpbacked stones. Some were beautifully carved, one about a foot long having a strong male head with wide-open mouth...and one wearing ear ornaments. I recalled reading...a statement by Columbus regarding houses where their idols, which they called *zemies*, were kept” (6, pg: 91). “One of the most intriguing concepts derived from this study of the Arawak religion is that these people slowly invented a series of deities pertinent to their specific needs. They seem to have recognized their good fortune in having the bountiful manioc provided by their cult hero Yocahu” (6, pg: 118). “The variety and refinements of these large stone *zemies* suggest the growth of a hierarchy whose members possessed *zemies* compatible with their rank” (6, pg: 119).

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

7.2 Piercings:

7.3 Haircut: In photos, it looks like men wear their hair short and women keep their hair relatively long; this might also be a post-contact behavior though as well (6).

7.4 Scarification:

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): The Arawaks do hunt macaws for their feathers in order to use them in their ceremonial headdresses (6, pg: 35). No mention of lip plates. The children run around naked in pictures that I've seen, but the adults wear modern-day cotton clothes—a product of acculturation. I would say that pre-contact they probably didn't wear much of any clothing. (6).

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: “Motioning to another part of his [the chief's] workshop, he showed a ceremonial headdress, the main part of which was like a bonnet made of plaited palm fronds to which feathers had been sewn” (6, pg: 35).

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

7.8 Missionary effect:

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin: “Of all the Guinean tribes, only the Lokono or coastal Arawak today have exogamous matrilineal clans; but little appears to be known about the matrimonial system and kinship pattern of this people before they became infected by contact with Old World institutions. De Goeje seems to suggest that they once favoured matrilineal cross-cousin marriage; for he tells us that, “a man who marries becomes subject to his father-in-law” (2, pg. 284). “clan based marriage exchange systems” (4, pg: 3).

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

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