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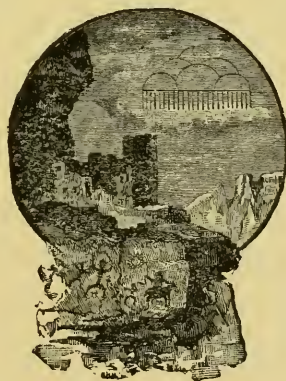
HANDBOOK OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 6

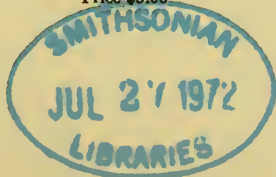
PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, LINGUISTICS
AND CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH
AMERICAN INDIANS

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PART 3. THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

By J. ALDEN MASON

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INTRODUCTION ¹

Even a relatively short sketch of the linguistic conditions of a large area should cover such points as: general features—phonetic, morphological, and lexical—that characterize the languages, and the main points in which they differ from languages of other regions; brief digests of the grammar and phonetics of each independent family or at least of the more important ones; a classification of these families in groups according to phonetic and morphological type; a classification of the component languages of each family in their proper subdivisions as dialects, languages, groups, and stocks, according to degree of linguistic relationship; and a reconstruction of linguistic history and migrations. As regards the aboriginal languages of South America it must be understood at the outset that, as comparatively little reliable data are available upon them, none of the above points can be treated with any approach to thoroughness, and on most of them little can be said at present.

South American Indian languages have no uniform or even usual characteristics that differentiate them from North American languages. The same may be said of American languages fundamentally, as opposed to Old World languages. Languages were formerly grouped into categories according to morphological pattern: isolating, agglutinating, polysynthetic, and inflective, with an implication of evolution and betterment toward the inflecting ideal—of course, of

¹ Under the title of "Status and Problems of Research in the Native Languages of South America" this Introduction, with slight revision, was read at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Cleveland, Ohio, September 15, 1944, as the author's vice-presidential address as incoming chairman of Section H, the section on anthropology. It was later published in *Science*, vol. 101, No. 2620, pp. 259-264, March 16, 1945.

our own Indo-European languages. However, research has shown that, so far as there has been any evolution, the isolating is the last, not the first stage. American languages were once classed with the polysynthetic, with agglutinative tendencies. No such hard-and-fast distinctions can be made; few languages belong definitely to one or another class, and most of them show traits of several classes. This applies equally well to American and to Old World languages; some show tendencies toward inflection, more toward polysynthesis. It is impossible to give any description that would characterize the majority of American Indian languages or contrast them with Old World languages, either from a morphological or a phonetic point of view. Incorporation (of the nominal or pronominal object) was formerly considered one of the characteristics of American languages; this also is missing in many of them.

A classification of languages according to patterns and types being impossible, the only possible one is genetic, based on relationship, common origin, and linguistic history.²

The classification of human groups according to their languages is now accepted as the best system for reconstructing historical connections. Cultural elements are too easily adopted to have much historical value; somatological characteristics, though more permanent than linguistic ones, are less readily identifiable in mixture. On the other hand, a proved relationship of two languages at present widely separated indicates a former close connection or identity of the ancestors of their speakers and thus affords important data on human migration. But proof of linguistic relationship is fraught with innumerable difficulties. It is seldom absolute, but depends on acceptance by scholars; on the other hand, it is impossible to prove that two languages are not related.

Merely to ascertain the connection between two languages is far from sufficient to establish a good historical picture. If we knew no more than that Spanish, Italian, German, and Russian are related it would mean little. All the languages of South America may be related; all those of all America may be; conceivably all languages in the world may eventually be proved to have a common descent. In the same sense, all mammals are related, all animals are related, all life had a common origin. Relationship means little unless we know degree and nearness of relationship.

A direct comparison of two distantly related languages seldom yields convincing proof of their connection. A comparison of Polish and English would probably result in a negative decision; it is only because we know the historical linguistics of the Indo-European lan-

² On the classification of languages, and of American Indian languages in particular, see Boas, 1911; Holjer, 1941; Mason, 1940; Voegelin, 1941; and references and bibliographies therein.

guages well, with reconstructed roots of words, that the relationship can be proved. On the other hand, no proof would be needed of the relationship of French, Spanish, and Italian; even if we did not know their descent from Latin, the resemblance is obvious. The relationship of dialects such as Catalan, Provençal, and Gallego is even closer and more evident.

Related languages are grouped in "families" or "stocks," presumed, on present evidence, to be unrelated. These families are then subdivided into divisions, groups, branches, languages, types, dialects, varieties, etc. The terminology is indefinite and there are no established criteria. When families heretofore considered independent are determined to be related, a more inclusive term is required; phylum has been accepted. For instance, if Indo-European, Hamito-Semitic, and Finno-Ugrian are "proved" to be related, as has been posited with considerable ground, they would compose a phylum. Most of the 85-odd "families" of North America, formerly considered independent, are now grouped in relatively few phyla.

Good scientific grammars of South American languages are practically nonexistent, and grammars of any kind, even of the older type based on analogy with Latin grammar, are very few. Comparisons of morphology, one of the important criteria for linguistic connections, are, therefore, in most cases impossible. Most of the classifications are based on lexical grounds, on vocabularies, often short, usually taken by travelers or missionary priests, and generally with the help of interpreters. The recorders were almost always untrained in phonetics and each used the phonetic system of his native language—Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, or English; sometimes Dutch or Swedish. Scientific deductions made on the basis of such material have little claim to acceptance. Yet on many languages, extinct or living, nothing else is available. An independent family should not be posited on the basis of one such vocabulary, no matter how apparently different from any other language. (Cf. *Mashubi*.)

Of many extinct languages, and even of some living ones, nothing is known; of others there are statements that the natives spoke a language of their own, different from that of their neighbors, but without any suggestion as to how different, or that the language was intelligible or unintelligible or related to that of other groups. Of some, only place and personal names remain; of others, recorded lexical data ranging from a few words to large vocabularies and grammatical sketches.

Owing to the magnitude of the field it has been possible for me to make very few independent studies and comparisons of lexical and morphological data with a view to establishing linguistic connections, and even most of the articles published by others in support of such

relationships have not been critically studied and appraised. The greater number, and by far the most cogent, of these studies have been written by the dean of South American linguists, Dr. Paul Rivet. Similar studies in *Macro-Ge* languages have been published by Loukotka. In almost all of them the authors were, unfortunately, limited to comparing vocabularies collected by others and pregnant with the faults already herein set forth. Words from lists in one group of languages are compared with words from languages of another group. Rarely are the roots or stems isolated or known, and morphological elements may often be mistaken for parts of stems. Rarely has it been possible to deduce any rules of sound-shift, the best proof of linguistic relationship, or the examples given are too few in proportion to the number of comparisons to carry conviction. Few of these proposed linguistic relationships can be said to be incontrovertibly proved; good cases have been made for many, and many or most of them have been accepted by later authorities, and are accepted herein. Others are of doubtful validity, and all require reappraisal, and reworking, especially those in which new data may later become, or may already have become, available.

It is a truism of linguistic research that, given large enough vocabularies to compare, and making allowances for all possible changes in the form of a word or stem, as well as in its meaning, a number of apparent similarities, convincing to the uncritical, can be found between any two languages. Especially is this true if the comparison is made between two large groups, each consisting of languages of admitted relationship. To carry conviction, laws of sound-shift must be deduced, obeyed by a large proportion of the cases in question, and a basic similarity in morphological and phonetic pattern must be shown. Few of the comparative works on South American languages attempt such obligations, and almost all suffer from the faults above listed. There is not a really thorough comparative grammar of any South American, or for that matter of any American, native linguistic family, except possibly Algonkian.

One of the pitfalls to be avoided in linguistic comparison is that of borrowing. Languages easily adopt words from neighboring languages; these must be discounted in seeking evidence on genetic relationship. Words for new concepts or new objects are likely to be similar in many languages; ³ generally their categories and very similar forms betray their recent origin. Phonetic pattern and morphological traits are also borrowed, but to a lesser degree. Grammatical pattern is the most stable element in a language, phonology next; vocabulary is most subject to change. There are several areas in America where a number

³ See Nordenskiöld, 1922; Herzog, G. 1941. Such words as those for banana, cow, telegraph, are pertinent.

of languages with little or no lexical resemblance have a relatively uniform phonology, and/or similar morphological peculiarities.

Many American languages, North as well as South, show resemblance in the pronominal system, often *n* for the first person, *m* or *p* for second person. Whether this is the result of common origin, chance, or borrowing has never been proved, but the resemblance should not be used as evidence of genetic connection between any two languages. Many of the languages of central and eastern Brazil are characterized by words ending in vowels, with the stress accent on the ultimate syllable.

In some cases, the amount of borrowed words and elements may be so great as practically to constitute a mixed language. Linguistic students are in disagreement as to whether a true mixed language with multiple origins is possible. Loukotka, in his 1935 classification, considers a language mixed if the foreign elements exceed one-fifth of the 45-word standard vocabulary used by him for comparison. Lesser borrowings he terms "intrusions" and "vestiges." (See also Loukotka, 1939 a.)

The situation is further complicated by the fact that, in a large number of instances, the same or a very similar name was applied by colonists to several groups of very different linguistic affinities. This may be a descriptive name of European derivation, such as *Orejón*, "Big Ears"; *Patagón*, "Big Feet"; *Coroado*, "Crowned" or "Tonsured"; *Barbados*, "Bearded"; *Lengua*, "Tongue." Or it may be an Indian word applied to several different groups in the same way that the *Mayan Lacandón* of Chiapas are locally called "*Caribs*," and the rustic natives of Puerto Rico and Cuba "*Gíbaros*" and "*Goajiros*," respectively. Thus, "*Tapuya*," the *Tupí* word for "enemy," was applied by them to almost all non-*Tupí* groups, "*Botocudo*" to wearers of large lip-plugs, etc. Among other names applied to groups of different languages, sometimes with slight variations, are *Apiacá*, *Arará*, *Caripuna*, *Chavanté*, *Guaná*, *Guayaná*, *Canamari*, *Carayá*, *Catawishí*, *Catukina*, *Cuniba*, *Jívaro*, *Macú*, *Tapieté*, not to mention such easily confused names as *Tucano*, *Tacana* and *Ticuna*. Many mistakes have been made due to confusion of such names. (Cf. especially, Arda.)

America, and especially South America, is probably the region of greatest linguistic diversity in the world, and of greatest ignorance concerning the native languages. On the very probable presumption that each homogeneous group, tribe, band, or village spoke a recognizable variant dialect or variety, there may have been 5,000 such in South America. The index of Rivet (1924 a) lists some 1,240 such groups (including a few synonyms), and this is far from the total. For instance, in the above index, Rivet lists 13 component members of the small and unimportant Timote family of Venezuela; in his

monograph on the Timote (Rivet, 1927 a) he mentions 128 names for local groups, apart from the names of the villages occupied by them.

The multitude of languages in America has often been given as an argument for a comparatively great length of time of human occupation of this hemisphere. This concept presupposes that the first immigrants to America had a common speech. This is unlikely; it is more probable that each migrating group had its specific language, and that the number of presumably independent linguistic families may originally have been even greater than at present. Such a reduction has been the linguistic history of the rest of the world. These "families" may either have had a remote common ancestry or multiple unrelated origins; of the origin and early forms of speech we know nothing. All known "primitive" languages are highly complex and evidently have had a long period of development. Of course, the minor dialects and obviously related languages were differentiated in America.

Since the main migration to America is believed to have been via Alaska, we would expect to find in South America languages of older migrations than in North America, the speech of the earliest migrants forced to the peripheries and to cul-de-sacs by later and more aggressive groups, and also small enclaves of moribund independent linguistic families. This applies especially to southernmost and easternmost South America, and to the speech of natives of paleo-American physical type, such as the *Ge* and the Fuegians.

Regarding extracontinental relationships, many ill-conceived attempts have been made to show connections between South American native languages and Indo-European or Semitic ones; all these are so amateurish that they have been accorded no scientific attention. Dr. Paul Rivet is firmly convinced of the connection between Australian languages and *Chon*, and between Malayo-Polynesian and *Hokan*. Instead of by direct trans-Pacific voyages, he believes that the Australian influence came via the Antarctic during a favorable post-glacial period not less than 6,000 years ago.⁴ This radical thesis has met with no acceptance among North American anthropologists. The data offered in its support fall short of conviction, but probably have not received sufficient careful consideration.

It is possible that some of the South American languages belong to the great *Hokan* or *Hokan-Siouan* family or phylum of North America. (Cf. *Yurumangui*, *Quechua*.) Since isolated *Hokan* enclaves are found as far south as Nicaragua, evidence of migrations across Panamá would not be entirely unexpected. A number of languages from Colombia to the Gran Chaco have *Hokan*-like morphological patterns. Dr. J. P. Harrington is convinced of the *Hokan* affiliations of *Quechua*,

⁴ Rivet, 1925 b, and many other articles. (See bibliography in Pericot y García, 1936, p. 432.)

but his published article (1943) fails to carry conviction, and no other argument for *Hokan* in South America has been presented. Such *Hokan* migrations, if proved, were probably at a relatively early period.

On the other hand, several of the great South American families have penetrated the southern peripheries of North America. *Chibchan* languages occupied a solid area, with possibly a few small enclaves of other families or isolated languages, as far as the Nicaraguan border, and the probably affiliated "*Misumalpan*" (*Miskito-Sumo-Matagalpa*) would extend this area to cover Nicaragua. *Arawak* and *Carib* extended over the Lesser and Greater Antilles, and the former may have had a colony on the Florida coast.

In 1797 the native *Carib* Indians remaining in the Lesser Antilles, mainly on St. Vincent Island, were transported to Roatan Island off the coast of Honduras. Mixing with the Negro population there, they have spread over much of the coast of Honduras and parts of British Honduras. They now number some 15,000, most of them speaking a *Carib* jargon.

The trend in the classification of American languages has been quite opposite in North and in South America. In the former, radical scholars believe that all the many languages formerly considered independent may fall into six great phyla: *Eskimo*, *Na-Dene*, *Algonkian-Mosan*, *Hokan-Siouan*, *Macro-Penutian*, and *Macro-Otomanguean*, plus the South American phylum *Macro-Chibchan*. In South America, on the contrary, the more recent classifications have increased rather than reduced the number of families or groups given independent status. Most of these new ones, it must be admitted, are one-language families, many of them extinct, and generally based on one or a few short vocabularies that show little or no resemblance to any other language with which they have been compared. These should be considered as unclassified rather than as independent families. It is certain that the number will be greatly reduced as the languages become more intensively studied, but doubtful if it will ever reach such relative simplicity as in North America. Almost certainly the linguistic picture will be found to be far more complex than in Europe and Asia.

One of the main reasons for the great difference in the proposed number of linguistic families in North and South America is that the study of South American linguistics is now about in the same stage as that of North American languages thirty years ago. Since that time many trained students, both in the United States and in México, have studied the native languages intensively, largely under the direction

or example of the late Drs. Franz Boas ⁵ and Edward Sapir. Except for the indefatigable Dr. Paul Rivet and the late Curt Nimuendajú, South America has had few linguistic scholars of wide interests and scientific viewpoint, and until recently very few trained younger men. The North American languages have been grouped into six phyla, mainly on grounds of morphological resemblance and intuition, and in this the students have been aided by the fact that the languages are fewer, and fewer of them extinct, so that such morphological studies could be made. South America suffers not only from lack of students, paucity of grammatical studies, multitudes of languages, extinction of many of them, but also from the practical problems of linguistic research: immense distances, poor transportation, difficulties and expense of expeditions, lack of capable interpreters, and similar handicaps.

The history of attempts to classify the languages of South America was reviewed by Chamberlain in 1907. The earlier classifications, such as those of Adelung and Vater, Balbi, Castelnau, Gilij, Hervás, Ludewig, Von Martius and D'Orbigny, were not considered therein, and need not be here. Modern classification began with Brinton in 1891 (1891 a). With his usual far-seeing good sense, not "curiously enough" as Chamberlain remarks, Brinton refused to enumerate or list his "stocks," but apparently recognized nearly sixty. In many later short articles Brinton continued to alter his groupings. Other lists published in the next few years were McGee, 1903 (56); Chamberlain, [1903] (57); Ehrenreich, 1905 (52). All these differ more than the slight variation in total would suggest. Chamberlain then gave his own list, totalling 83. Later (1913 a) he published a revision of this, which became the standard classification in English for a decade or more. Though the total of 83 stocks is exactly the same as in his earlier list (plus 77a), the number of alterations, deletions, and additions is great.

Since 1922 a number of classifications have appeared. Krickeberg (1922) stressed only the 15 most important families; based on this Jiménez Moreno (1938) published a large distribution map in color. P. W. Schmidt (1926) also wisely did not attempt to enumerate and list every family, but discussed them under 36 families or groups. The late Curt Nimuendajú never attempted a complete linguistic classification of South America, and his unpublished map and index do not include the far north, west and south, but his first-hand knowledge of the rest of the continent is unexcelled. In this restricted region he recognizes 42 stocks, 34 isolated languages, and hundreds of

⁵ See especially "Handbook of American Indian Languages," edited by Franz Boas, Parts 1 and 2, Bulletin 40, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1911, 1922; Part 3, New York, 1933.

unclassified languages, the latter generally without any known linguistic data.

Two comprehensive classifications of all South American languages have been made in the last 20 years. Paul Rivet (1924 a), combining some of Chamberlain's families, separating others, reached a total of 77. Pericot y García (1936) follows Rivet very closely, but not in numerical or alphabetical order. The most recent classification and the most radical—or most conservative, according to the point of view—is that of Loukotka (1935). Dividing more of Rivet's families than he combined, he enumerates 94 families with a total of some 558 languages. Later he revised the details somewhat, but only regarding the languages of Brazil. In this latter article he notes the linguistic sources for each language (Loukotka, 1939 a).

In view of the great uncertainty regarding the relationships and classification of the South American native languages, and the great differences of opinion, the example of Brinton, Schmidt, and Krickberg is herein followed, in not attempting to enumerate and rigidly to separate the genetic families.

The classification of the languages of South America herein given is, therefore, presented without any pretense of finality or even of accuracy; the data are too insufficient. Future research will indicate many errors and change the picture decidedly. It is hoped that the present article incorporates all the accepted revisions since the appearance of other classifications, and improves on the latter. As regards exactitude and finality I can but cite the opinion of a great linguist:

To attempt to make an exact and complete classification of all languages in rigorously defined families is to prove that one has not understood the principles of the genetic classification of languages. [Meillet and Cohen, 1924, p. 10.]

South American linguistic history or philology does not extend before the beginnings of the 16th century with the first words and observations made by European voyagers. No native alphabets had been developed; there were no hieroglyphs, and even pictographs, petroglyphs, and picture-writing seem to be less than in North America. The Peruvian quipus were arithmetical, astrological, divinatory, and mnemonic. There was a tradition among the *Quechua* at the time of the Conquest that they had once had a system of writing on tree leaves that was later forbidden and forgotten (Montesinos, 1920, chs. 7, 14, 15; Bingham, 1922, ch. 16; 1930, ch. 9.), but this is given little credence by modern scholars, and no trace of it remains. However, it has recently been suggested that painted symbols were employed by some natives of the North Peruvian Coast (Larco Hoyle, 1944). A system of writing has been claimed for the *Chibcha* also, based, not on tradition, but on the peculiar, and apparently nonpictorial character of many pictographs in Colombia; this

also has received no credence among archeologists. On the other hand, the modern *Cuna* of Panamá have developed an interesting existent system of mnemonic picture-writing.⁶

Two of the native languages merit special mention as having become, after the Spanish Conquest, *linguas francas* of wider extent and use than formerly. The *Tupí* of the Brazilian coast became the basis of the *lingua geral*, the medium of communication of priests and traders throughout the Amazon drainage; it is now generally replaced by Portuguese. The Cuzco dialect of *Quechua* became the culture language of the "*Inca*" region and extended its area even before the Conquest; after the latter it continued its spread and was adopted as a second language by the Spanish in Perú. Neither language has today, however, the cultural position of the *Maya* of Yucatán, for instance, though both have added many native terms in the Spanish and Portuguese of their regions, and even throughout the world, such as tapioca, jaguar, llama, and quinine. It has been estimated that 15 percent of the vocabulary of Brazilian Portuguese is of *Tupí* origin. In Paraguay, *Guaraní* is considered a culture language, and some newspapers are published in it.

A description of the geographical area occupied by each language would take too much space. The approximate region may be seen by reference to the large linguistic map and to the tribal sections in the other volumes of this Handbook. In this connection, the point of temporal relativity must be taken into consideration. The habitat given is that of earliest record. Great changes in population and migrations took place during the 16th to 18th centuries and even later, and migrations on a lesser or equal scale must have occurred in preceding centuries. These cannot be recorded on the map, but some are noted in the regional articles in Volumes 1 to 4. These changes took place especially in eastern Brazil and in the Andean region.

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⁶ Nordenskiöld, "Comparative Ethnological Studies," 7, Göteborg, 1928-1930.

part, of the latter was prepared by Works Progress Administration Project No. 18369 in 1939 under the direction of the late Dr. Vladimir J. Fewkes. Mr. Ronald J. Mason also assisted in checking the map.

SOURCES

In addition to earlier and outmoded classifications such as those of Gilij (1780–84), Hervás y Panduro (1800), Adelung and Vater (1806–17), Balbi (1826), D'Orbigny (1839), Ludewig (1858), and Martius (1867), about a dozen authors have offered classifications of the South American languages, or of those of large parts of South America. Although their opinions are often mentioned in text, they are generally omitted in the language bibliographies herein because of their constant recurrence, except in those cases, particularly Adelung and Vater (1806–17), Martius (1867), Lehmann, W. (1920), Tessmann (1930), and Jijon y Caamano (1941–43), where they present source material. The more recent classifications, with a brief note on their natures, are as follows:

Alexander Chamberlain, "Linguistic Stocks of South American Indians" (1913 a). This 12-page article is the last of several such by Chamberlain. It enumerates his 84 families with several bibliographical references to each, all of which may be found in the references herein. The accompanying map is small.

Paul Rivet, "Langues de l'Amérique du Sud et des Antilles" (1924 a)—a 69-page part of Meillet and Cohen's "Les Langues du Monde" (1924). Under each of his 77 families Rivet briefly notes the component languages in their groupings and with their locations, in text—not in tabular—form. Over a thousand languages (or dialects) and synonyms are mentioned, and the very full index, containing about 1,250 names of South American languages, is most useful. The bibliography consists of only 82 items, all of which are included herein. It is followed by a 4-page article on "L'écriture en Amérique." Several large folding maps are included.

Čestmír Loukotka, "Clasificación de las Lenguas Sudamericanas" (1935). This is a small and rare pamphlet of 35 pages. In tabular form he lists his 94 families with the component languages (*Arawak* has 89) in groups or divisions. Extinct languages are so marked. Loukotka notes languages that, in his opinion, are mixed, or that have "intrusions" or "vestiges" of other languages. This is in accord with his comparisons of a 45-word standard vocabulary; the language is "mixed" if it contains more than one-fifth of foreign words, has "intrusions" or "vestiges" if foreign words are few or very few. There is no bibliography and no map.

Wilhelm Schmidt, "Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde" (1926). The South American section comprises 59 pages.

Schmidt wisely does not enumerate his families but mentions most of the languages with their locations, and has classificatory charts for the larger families. Many references are given in text, some of which may be missing in the bibliography herein. Maps are provided in a separate atlas. The index is large. The second half of the book is devoted to "Die Sprachenkreise und Ihr Verhältniß zu den Kulturkreisen," where the phonologies, grammars, and syntaxes of the languages of the world are compared. To my knowledge, this is the only place where the little that is known about the morphology of South American languages may be found in one work. A digest and critique of Schmidt's *kulturkreis* as it applies to South American languages should have formed a section of the present monograph.

Daniel G. Brinton, "The American Race" (1891 a). Although Brinton covers briefly all phases of American anthropology, his groupings are on a linguistic basis and his linguistic interests very great. He wisely does not enumerate his families but gives tables of the component languages of the principal families, with their locations. To prove relationships he gives comparative vocabularies and considerable linguistic data, comments, and arguments. He was the first to suggest some relationships but naturally much of his work is out of date. The bibliographical references are rather numerous, and probably some are missing in the bibliographies herein. No map is provided.

L. Pericot y García, "América Indígena" (1936). Like Brinton, Pericot covers all phases of the American Indian. He follows Rivet in mentioning very many small groups with their locations, also not in tabular form. He has a section (pp. 94-106) on "Caracteres lingüísticos." Most valuable are his voluminous bibliographical references with digests which, for South America, fill 36 pages (pp. 692-727) of concise data. Probably not all the bibliographical references are included herein. There are many detailed maps of parts of South America.

Walter Krickeberg, "Die Völker Südamerikas" (1922) in Georg Buschan's "Illustrierte Volkerkunde," vol. 1, pp. 217-423 (1922). Krickeberg devotes some pages, especially 219-227, to linguistic features, and other remarks, *passim*, but gives no classificatory tables or charts. A small map, which formed the basis for the map of Jiménez Moreno (México, 1936), shows most of the families, and the principal component members of each, according to his opinions, which are generally those of consensus. The bibliography is relatively small.

Although not including all of South America, the following four works deserve especial mention for their large and full coverage:

Čestmír Loukotka, "Linguas Indígenas do Brasil" (1939 a). Like

Loukotka's pamphlet issued in 1935 (see above) this is a concise table of families and component languages, rigidly restricted to Brazilian territory. The name, locale, and principal references for source material are given for each group. "Intrusions," "vestiges," and mixed languages are noted. Symbols denote whether a language is extinct, and if the data on it are poor. A map is included, and 10 of the 28 pages are devoted to a large and excellent bibliography of source material, all of which items are included herein.

Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, "El Ecuador Interandino y Occidental" (1943). This is volume 3 of Jijón's monumental work of this title (1941-43). Half of the volume, chapter 30 (pp. 390-654), is devoted to "Las Lenguas del Sur de Centro America y el Norte y Centro del Oeste de Sud-América." It covers east to longitude 60° (*Wapishana-Nambicuara-Ashluslay*), and to latitude 30° S. Thus he largely supplements Loukotka (1939 a), though both omit the *Araucanian*-Patagonian region. He is especially strong in the Colombia-Ecuador-Perú area. Territory and many source references are given for each language, together with arguments regarding their classification. Eight folding maps accompany the volume. Most if not all of the bibliographical references are included herein.

Günter Tessmann, "Die Indianer Nordost-Perus" (1930). Tessmann covers much of eastern Perú and Ecuador most thoroughly. Fifty tribes are considered. His section 76 under each of these gives the known linguistic data, together with vocabularies, known data on morphology, and the most important source references, most of which, naturally, are included herein. A special section (pp. 617-627) is on "Sprachliche Verwandtschaft" and includes (pp. 624-626) a table giving his radical ideas regarding linguistic classification. The accompanying maps are small.

Walter Lehmann, "Zentral Amerika; Die Sprachen Zentral-Amerikas" (1920). These two large volumes afford a mine of information on the languages from southern México to western Ecuador. All the source material, books, and documents have been studied, mentioned, digested, and much of it reproduced. The bibliography is probably nearly complete to that date. The several very large maps contain much printed information, and cover a wider area than the text, including parts of western Venezuela and Brazil and northern Perú. Many of the bibliographical references are not included herein.

Curt Nimuendajú's unexcelled first-hand knowledge of the peoples and languages of Brazil was apparently hardly superior to his knowledge of the literature. He had definite ideas on the classification of languages but, unfortunately, never published them. They often disagreed with those of others but, since his opinions were often based on actual acquaintance, they merit careful consideration. He sub-

mitted a very large and very detailed map, an alphabetical list of tribes with references to location on map, and a very complete bibliography. On the map the tribal names were underlined with color in accord with a linguistic family color chart. As a great number of colors were employed, it is possible that occasional errors were made in transferring the familial linguistic affiliation, according to his opinions, from the map to the tribal index. His map did not include the Andean region, or the far south.

See also the following references, which are very incomplete, and mainly relatively recent:

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

GENERAL

Relationships with Old World.—Anonymous, 1930 d (*Basque*); Christian, 1932 (Perú-Polynesia); Dangel, 1930 (*Quechua-Maori*); Ferrario, 1933, 1938 (*Altaic*); Gancedo, 1922 (Japanese); Imbelloni, 1928 b (*Quechua-Oceania*); Koppelman, 1929 (East Asia); Rivet, 1925 a, 1925 b, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927 b, 1927 c, 1928 (Melaneso-Polynesian, Australian); Tavera-Acosta, 1930 (Asia); Trombetti, 1928 (Asia); Zeballos, 1922 a (Japanese).

America General.—Anonymous, 1928 a, 1929; Aza, 1927, 1930 a, 1930 b, 1931; Brinton, 1885 a, 1885 c, 1886 a, 1886 b, 1887, 1889, 1894 a, 1894 b, 1898 c; Castro, A., 1935; Clarke, 1937; Ferrario, 1937; Gorrochotegui, 1918; Mitre, 1909-10; Rivet, 1921 b; Rochereau, 1932; Salas, 1918; Schuller, 1936; Viñaza, 1892.

South America General.—Bastian, 1878-89; Brinton, 1884, 1892 a; Chamberlain, [1903], 1907, 1910 a; Ferrario, 1927; Goeje, 1935; Hestermann, 1927 a, 1938; Lafone-Quevedo, 1912 a; Loukotka, 1939 b; Mason, J. A., 1945; Nordenskiöld, 1922; Oiticica, 1933, 1934; Penard, T. E., 1926-27; Romero, 1931; Schmidt, W., 1925; Schuller, 1925; Talbot, 1926.

REGIONAL

Antilles.—Bachiller y Morales, 1883; Goeje, 1939; Penard, T. E., 1927-28.

Argentina.—Boman, 1908; Campanella, 1938-39; Constancio, 1939; Díaz and Díaz, 1939; Imbelloni, 1936; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924; Martínez Orozco, 1938; Portnoy, 1936; Selva, 1922; Serrano, 1941.

Bolivia.—Terán, 1917.

Brazil.—Borba, 1904; Botelho de Magalhães, 1946; Carvalho, 1929, 1931; Gillin, 1940; Koch-Grünberg, 1922, 1928; Krug, 1925; Loukotka, 1939 a; Martius, 1867; Nimuendajú, 1925, 1931-32, 1932 a; Nimuendajú and Valle Bentes, 1923; Pompeu Sobrinho, 1919, 1933; Santos, N. C. dos, 1935 a, 1935 b; Schuller, 1911 b; Senna, 1932; Snethlage, E. H., 1931; Tastevin, 1924.

Chile.—Brand, 1941 c; Cúneo-Vidal, 1916; Latham, 1939 b; Lenz, 1904-10; Valenzuela, 1918-19.

Colombia.—Anonymous, 1934; Beuchat and Rivet, 1910; Castellví, 1934 a, 1934 b, 1934 c; Fabo, 1911; Igualada and Castellví, 1940; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43; Lehmann, 1920; Medina, M., 1919-20, 1920-21; Ortíz, 1937, 1938, 1938-39 a; Otero, 1938-39; Pinell, 1928; Rivet, 1912 a; Schuller, 1930 c; Triana, 1907.

Ecuador.—Buchwald, 1921, 1924; Grijalva, 1921; Jijón y Caamaño, 1919; León, A. M., 1930 a, 1930 b; Orejuela, 1934; Paz y Niño, 1936-37; Rivet, 1934; Santa Cruz, 1921, 1923 a; Verneau and Rivet, 1912.

Fuegia.—Brinton, 1892 c; Chamberlain, 1911 a; Cooper, 1917 a, 1917 b; Gusinde, 1926 c; Hestermann, 1914; Lothrop, 1928; Skottsberg, 1915; Steffen, 1923.

Guiana.—Brett, 1868; Farabee, 1918 b, 1924; Im Thurn, 1883; Martius, 1867, 2:312-13 (Comparative vocabulary of 17 British Guiana languages); Schomburgk, 1847-48, 1849.

Paraguay.—Brinton, 1898 a; Hanke, 1938; Kersten, 1905.

Peru.—Bollaert, 1860; Farabee, 1922; Santa Cruz, 1922.

Uruguay.—Lothrop, 1932; Perea y Alonso, 1937; Serrano, 1936 a.

Venezuela.—Alvarado, 1919 b, 1921; Arcaya, 1918; Armellada and Matallana, 1942; Carrocera, 1935; Gillin, 1940; Jahn, 1927; Koch-Grünberg, 1922, 1928; Lares, 1918; Raimundo, 1934; Salas, 1919; Tavera-Acosta, 1921-22.

THE MESO-AMERICAN LANGUAGES

In the Meso-American area considered within the scope of this Handbook are found representatives of all four of the great linguistic phyla of México and Central America, the *Hokan-Siouan*, *Macro-Penutian*, *Macro-Otomanguean*, and *Macro-Chibchan*. The first two are also widespread in the United States. Only a very few of the languages of the first three phyla are here included; none of them extends south of Costa Rica. The *Macro-Chibchan* phylum is primarily a South American entity and is mainly treated of later herein; it did not extend north of Honduras. These languages, with their appropriate bibliographies, are discussed more fully in J. A. Mason (1940) and Johnson (1940). (See also Johnson, Handbook, vol. 4, pp. 63-67.)

HOKAN-SIOUAN

The two small Meso-American languages belonging to the great *Hokan-Siouan* phylum are of the Hokaltecán (*Hokan-Coahuiltecán*) subphylum. There are only a few small and widely separated enclaves of this phylum south of the large groups in northern México. Nevertheless, there are indications of related languages in South America (see especially *Yurumanguí*, and J. P. Harrington, 1943), and many "families" in a long belt from Colombia to the Gran Chaco seem to have a *Hokan* type of morphology.

The two languages under consideration are *Subtiaba* and the tiny enclave *Maribichicoa*. The true and earlier name for the language is *Maribio*. They are grouped with the *Tlapanec* of Guerrero, México, under the name *Supanec*.

MACRO-PENUTIAN

The *Macro-Penutian* phylum is a rather hypothetical one, the relationship of the putative components not yet proved to general satisfaction. One probable member, *Utaztecán*, has languages in the Meso-American area; another, the *Mayan*, and a less certain member,

the *Xincan*, about on this area. Another doubtful component, the *Lencan*, is included in the region. Two other stocks in this area, *Jicaquean* and *Payan*, are also possibly *Macro-Penutian* but more likely *Macro-Chibchan*. However, all four, *Xinca*, *Lenca*, *Jicaque*, and *Paya*, are best considered unclassified for the present.

UTAZTECAN

This stock, of great importance in México, has several enclaves in the Meso-American area. They probably belong to two different migration periods, an older one of *Nahuatl* languages, including *Nicarao*, *Nahuatlato*, *Bagace*, and *Pipil*, and a later one of *Nahuatl*, consisting of a few small isolated enclaves, probably of *Aztec* traders or colonists, known as *Desaguadero* and *Sigua*.

MACRO-OTOMANGUEAN

The Meso-American *Macro-Otomanguean* languages all belong to the *Manguean* family. All are on the west coast and all extinct. Three languages are distinguished: *Cholteca* or *Chorotega*, *Mangue* (with the divisions or dialects *Diria* and *Nagrandan*), and *Orotiña* (with the divisions of *Orosi* and *Nicoya*).

LENCAN, JICAQUEAN, AND PAYAN

Authorities disagree greatly as to the affinities of these three "families," which consist of one language each, the dialects being negligible. Some see *Chibchan* elements in all, some *Macro-Penutian* (*Mizocuavean*) elements in all. The former are naturally stronger in *Paya*, the latter stronger in *Lenca*. All three may be related, but the differences between them, and between each and other languages, are so great that they had best be considered isolated or unclassified for the present.

MACRO-CHIBCHAN

Most of the languages of Panamá and Costa Rica are admittedly *Chibchan*, and most of those of Nicaragua and southeastern Honduras are *Misumalpan*, probably of the *Macro-Chibchan* phylum. These are treated later under *Chibchan*. The possible relationship of *Paya*, *Jicaque*, and *Lenca*, in descending order of probability, is considered above. *Cacaopera* is a *Matagalpan* enclave in *Lenca* territory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This field is completely covered in Walter Lehmann's "Zentral-Amerika; Die Sprachen Zentral-Amerikas, II" (1920). Lehmann not only gives practically every source until that date but republishes all the lexical material. Only the more important sources, all given in Lehmann, are noted here:

Hokan-Siouan.—Subtiaba: Lehmann, W., 1915; Sapir, 1925; Squier, 1853.

Utaztecan.—(The bibliography of *Utaztecan*, especially of *Nahuatl* or *Aztec*, is enormous, but that of the Central American groups is small.) *Pipil*: Scherzer, 1855. *Nikira*: Squier, 1853.

Macro-Otomanguean.—*Chorotega*: Squier, 1852, 1853. *Mangue*: Brinton, 1886 c. *Diria*: Squier, 1852. *Nagrandan*: Squier, 1852, 1853.

Lenca.—Hernández, E., and Pinart, 1897; Membreño, 1897; Peccorini, 1910; Sapper, 1901; Squier, 1858; Stoll, 1884.

Jicaque.—Conzemius, 1923; Membreño, 1897.

Paya.—Conzemius, 1927-28; Membreño, 1897; Stoll, 1884.

For Central America in general, especially Costa Rica, see: Fernández Guardia, 1892; Gabb, 1875; Gatschet, 1900; Grasserie, 1904; Herzog, W., 1886; Lehmann, W., 1910 a; Sapper, 1901; Scherzer, 1855; Schuller, 1928; Squier, 1852, 1858; Stoll, 1884; Thiel, 1882.

CHIBCHAN

Chibchan is one of the stocks of major importance in South America. Its area is extensive, its members many and some of them large, and in former days it probably covered a wider area, especially to the south. Some of the languages have become extinct, a number of them without linguistic record, so that their *Chibchan* relationships are assumed from indications of geographical position, place names, statements of early sources, etc. The language of highly cultured peoples, among others the *Chibcha* or *Muisca* of the Bogotá region, it failed to become a standard language, like *Aztec* or *Quechua*, or a lingua franca like *Tupí*. The *Chibchan* languages occupy a prominent position in the question of intercontinental relationships, since the family is the only one that extends into North America. The *Chibchan* languages extended over all Panamá, most of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and may have included the *Jicaque* and *Paya* of Honduras. (See preceding section; also Mason, 1940; Johnson, 1940.) They may have come into contact with the *Maya*. This is important in view of Schuller's belief in a great phylum that includes *Maya*, *Chibcha*, *Carib*, and *Arawak* (Schuller, 1919-20 a, 1928).

The *Chibchan* "family" seems to be one of those (see *Quechua*) with a morphology somewhat resembling *Hokan*, though lexical proof of genetic connection still remains to be advanced. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43), therefore, proposes a great "super-phylum" *Hokan-Siouan-Macro-Chibcha*. Rivet has been studying a new vocabulary of *Yurumanguí* (q. v.) and comparing it with *Hokan* with some favorable results.

Formerly almost all the languages of highland and coastal Colombia were considered to belong to the *Chibchan* group, but recent opinion assigns the *Chocó*⁷ and most of the other groups of northern Colombia, except for the Bogotá *Chibcha* and the *Arhuaco* region, to the *Carib*

⁷ The *Cuna* and *Chocó* are linked culturally, and apparently linguistically, in other sections of this Handbook (vol. 4, pp. 49-51).

(q. v.). This is presumed to be the result of a relatively recent but pre-Columbian migration that supplanted former *Chibchan*-speaking peoples.

The subdivisions of *Chibchan* differ very greatly in the former classifications of W. Schmidt (1926), Loukotka (1935), W. Lehmann (1920), Rivet (1924 a), and others, and the latter has changed his opinion greatly. As a tentative basis, therefore, the latest classification, that of the Ecuadorean Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43), who has made a special study of this region, is herewith presented, without implication of definite acceptance as proved.

Jijón y Caamaño places in his *Macro-Chibchan* phylum a number of languages heretofore considered as independent "families," and divides it into eight primary groups:

- A. Paleo-*Chibcha* (*Esmeralda-Yaruró*)
- B. *Chibcha*
- C. *Timote*
- D. *Cofan*
- E. *Murato*
- F. *Mosquito-Xinca*
- G. *Puruhá-Mochica*
- H. *Cholona*

Of these, only group B was formerly considered *Chibchan*, and only that is considered immediately below.

Jijón y Caamaño divides his *Chibchan* languages into four groups: Archaic or Western, Pacific Intermediate, Inter-Andine Intermediate, and Evolved or Eastern. Each of these is divided into subgroups with numerous languages.

Rivet in his latest *Chibcha* classification (1943 a) divides the *Chibchan* languages into 10 groups:

- 1. *Barbacoa*
- 2. *Coconuco*
- 3. *Páez*
- 4. *Chibcha Proper*
- 5. *Changina*
- 6. *Cuna*
- 7. *Guaymí*
- 8. *Talamanca*
- 9. *Andaquí*
- 10. *Guatuso*

Many of these represent one of Jijón y Caamaño's subgroups, but there is considerable disagreement.

CHIBCHAN LANGUAGES OF CENTRAL AMERICA ⁸

Most of the languages of Panamá and Costa Rica are of recognized *Chibchan* affinities, and most of those of Nicaragua belong to the

⁸ See alternative classification in Handbook, vol. 4, pp. 64-66.

"Misumalpan (q. v.) Stock," a hybrid name proposed by Mason (1940) and Johnson (1940) for the *Miskito* (*Mosquito*), *Sumo*, and *Matagalpa* families. The *Paya* and *Jicaque* families of Honduras may also be related to *Chibcha*, and members of the "Macro-*Chibchan* Phylum."

The true *Chibchan* languages of Central America are divided into a number of groups. No authors agree upon this point. Mason (1940) and Johnson (1940) propose four groups, Rivet (1943) six. *Rama* (vide infra) Rivet places in his fourth or *Chibcha* Proper Group. The other groups he terms "*Changina*," "*Cuna*," "*Guaymí*," and "*Talamanca*."

Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) divides the Central American *Chibchan* languages into five groups. The languages of the *Talamanca*, *Guatuso*, and *Cuna* groups he places with the *Barbacoan* languages to form his Western or Archaic Group. Jijón y Caamaño does not differentiate Rivet's *Guaymí* and *Changina* groups but puts them together with some western Colombian languages into his second, or Pacific, Group. He agrees with Rivet in separating *Rama* and *Melchora* from the others and places them, together with *Chibcha* Proper, in the Eastern Group of evolved languages. He and Rivet are in relative agreement as regards the component languages of each subgroup.

The *Cuna* group is often termed "*Cueva-Cuna*." The subgroups seem to be:

I. Island

A. *San Blas* (*Tule* or *Yule*)

B. *Caimanes*

II. Mainland

A. *Cuna* (*Chucunake* and *Bayano*)

B. *Cueva* (*Coiba*)

Cueva and *Cuna* were very closely related, yet separate. *Chucunake* and *Bayano* are local names, not dialects. *Mandinga* is a hybrid negroid group; *Secativa* is not a dialect.

Cuna is isolating in general character; word order is fundamental in sentences. Reduplication is frequent. Suffixing clearly predominates over prefixing.

Mason's (1940) *Guaymí-Dorasque* subfamily is accepted by Jijón y Caamaño, but Rivet (1943) divides it into two, *Changina* and *Guaymí*. In the former group, together with *Chumulú*, *Gualaca*, and *Changina*, probably go the extinct *Dorasque* (*Torresque*), and probably *Burica* and *Duy*. *Bukueta* is a synonym or dialect of *Sabanero*; *Muite* is a dialect in the *Guaymí* subgroup. W. Lehmann (1920) gives the following divisions of *Dorasque*: *Dolega*, *Chumulue*, *Iribolo*, *Chiriluo*, *Suasimi*, and *Zuri*. With *Changina* apparently belongs *Chaliva* (*Saliba*, *Soriba*, *Sariba*, *Shelaba*).

Valiente, *Talamanca*, *Viceita*, *Urinama*, *Tariaca*, and *Pocosi* are probably dialects of *Bribri*. *Tojar*, *Teshbi*, *Depso*, *Lari*, and *Uren*

seem to be dialects of *Térraba*. *Boruca* is a synonym of *Brunca*; apparent dialects of this subgroup are the extinct *Kepo*, *Coto*, *Burucaca*, *Turucaca*, and *Osa*. Important languages not mentioned by Rivet that seem to fall in the *Talamanca* group are *Guetar*, *Voto*, and *Suerre* (*Turricia*). With *Cabecar*, according to W. Lehmann (1920), goes *Corrhue*; and with *Tucurrike* go *Orosi*, *Cachi*, *Sakawhuak*, and *Seche-whuak*.

Guatuso, with its variety *Corobici* or *Corbesi*, and *Rama* with its dialect *Melchora*, are obviously very different from each other and from other Central American *Chibchan* languages, and Mason (1940) was evidently in error in making a *Rama-Corobici* subfamily. Both Rivet (1943) and Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) place *Rama* with the languages of *Chibcha* proper. Rivet puts *Guatuso* in a class by itself, and Jijón y Caamaño makes it a subgroup of his Western Group.

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The standard work, reprinting most of the known vocabularies and citing the published work to that date, together with hitherto unpublished material, is W. Lehmann, 1920. Franco, 1882, and Pinart, 1887, also cover most of the languages, as do Thomas, C., and Swanton, 1911. See also Lehmann, W., 1910 a; 1910 b; Sapper, 1905. For *Cuna* also see: Berengueras, 1934; Cullen, 1851 b, 1866, 1868; Gasso, 1908, 1910-1914; J. P. Harrington, 1925; Holmer, 1946, 1947; Nordenskiöld, 1928, 1928-30 b, 1929 b, 1932, 1938; Pinart, 1890 a; Pinart and Carranza, 1890, 1900; Prince, J. D., 1912, 1913 a, 1913 b; Puydt, 1868, pp. 100-105; Rivet, 1912 a; Stout, 1947; Uhle, 1890, p. 485; Wassén, 1934 a, 1934 b, 1937, 1938. For the other languages see Brinton, 1897 (*Guetar*); Céspedes Marín, 1923 (*Guatuso*); Fernández, L., 1884 (*Guatuso*); Gabb, 1886 (*Bribri*, *Brunca*, *Terraba*, *Tiribi*); Gagini, 1917 (*Bribri*, *Brunca*, *Guatuso*, *Guetar*, *Terraba*); Pinart, 1890 b (*Dorasque*, *Changuina*, *Chamula*, *Gualaca*), 1892 b (*Guaymí*, *Muoi*, *Moue*, *Penonomé*); Pittier de Fabrega, 1898 (*Bribri*), 1903 (*Terraba*); Pittier de Fabrega and Gagini, 1892 (*Terraba*); Skinner, 1920 (*Bribri*); Thiel, 1882 (*Guatuso*), 1886 (*Terraba*, *Brunca*, *Guatuso*); Zeledón, 1918 (*Guetar*).

CHIBCHA PROPER

The *Chibchan* languages that have been grouped in the *Chibcha* Proper group are widely scattered, containing not only some in central Colombia but those of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and some of Nicaragua. Rivet (1943) lists the following five main languages:

Muisca or *Chibcha* (*Muysca*, *Mosca*)

Tunebo or *Tame*

Guamaca

Cágaba (*Köggaba*) or *Arhuaco* (*Aruaco*, *Aruak*)

Rama

Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) also places all of these languages in his Eastern or "Evolved" group, which he divides into three subgroups, *Cundinamarca* (*Muisca-Tunebo*), *Arhuaco* (*Cágaba-Guamaca*), and Central American (*Rama-Melchora*).

Other important languages or dialects of the *Muisca-Tunebo* subgroup are *Duit*, *Sínsiga*, *Pedrazá*, *Guasico*, *Chita*, *Fusagasucá*, and *Morcote*. *Duit* seems to be closely related to *Muisca*. *Pedrazá* is claimed to be a *Tunebo* dialect. *Morcote* seems to be rather variant. Though *Sínsiga* is generally considered closely related to *Tunebo*, W. Lehmann (1920) believes it closer to the *Cágaba-Arhuaco* group, and to form a connecting link between the latter and the central *Chibchan* languages.

Languages or dialects of the *Cágaba-Arhuaco* subgroup are *Guamaca*, *Atanke* (*Atangue*), *Bintucua*, and *Ica* (*Busintana*). *Chimila* (q. v.) has been placed by some in the *Dorasque-Guaymí* group. W. Schmidt (1926) places *Tunebo*, *Andagui*, and *Betoi* in this central *Chibchan* subgroup.

If the *Rama* on the border of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, apparently the northernmost of the true *Chibchan* languages, really belongs in the central subgroup, this has important historical implications. *Melchora* is apparently a dialect.

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Tunebo.—Rivet, 1924 b; Rivet and Oppenheim, 1943; Rochereau, 1926–27; Anonymous, 1926–27.

Cágaba.—Anonymous, 1919 e; Bolinder, 1925 (*Ica*); Celedón, 1886 (*Köggaba*, *Guamaca*, *Bintukua*, *Atankez*), 1892 a (*Atanguez*), 1892 b (*Bintucua*); Isaacs, 1884 (*Bintucua*, *Guamaca*); Preuss, 1919–27, 1925.

Rama.—Conzemius, 1929 a, 1930 a; Lehmann, W., 1914.

COLOMBIAN SUBGROUP

Jijón y Caamaño (1941–43) divides his Pacific Group into an Isthmian subgroup of Central American languages, and a Colombian group. In the latter he places *Chimila*, *Yurumanguí*, and possibly a number of unimportant languages: *Timba*, *Lile*, *Yolo*, *Jamundi*, *Yamecí*, and *Aburrá*. None of these is classified by Rivet in 1943. (See separate sections on *Yurumanguí*, *Chimila*, and *Tairona*.)

INTER-ANDINE GROUP

Jijón y Caamaño's Inter-Andine Group consists of a number of languages that Rivet (1943) divides into two groups, the *Coconuco* and the *Páez*. Like *Barbacoa*, independent *Coconucan* and *Paniquitan* (*Páez*) families were formerly accepted. Some authorities placed all this group in their *Barbacoan* family. *Totoró*, *Coconuco*, *Moguer*, and *Guanaco* are the important and generally accepted members of the

Coconuco subgroup. Other probable members are *Guambiano*, *Polindara*, and *Puben* or *Pubenaro*. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) places in this or a closely related group *Popayán* (*Popayanense*), *Malvasa*, *Timbía*, and possibly *Panzaleo* (q. v.) and *Quijo* (*Kijo*) (q. v.).

Páez and *Paniquitá* are apparently closely related, as both Rivet and Jijón y Caamaño agree. Otero (1938-39) calls *Paniquitá* a subdialect of *Páez*. W. Lehmann (1920) wrote that the relationship between *Páez* and *Mogux* (*Coconucan*) is quite evident. Formerly *Pijao*, *Panche*, and *Patángoro* (*Palenque*) were also placed in this group, but both Rivet and Jijón y Caamaño agree that these belong, together with *Chocó*, to the *Carib* family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Páez and *Paniquitá*.—Anonymous, 1879; Beuchat and Rivet, 1910; Castillo y Orozco, 1877; Lehman, H. 1945; Narváez, 1944; Ortíz, 1938-39 b; Pittier de Fabrega, 1907; Rivet, 1912 a; Uricoechea, 1877.

Mogux.—Beauchat and Rivet, 1910; Donay, 1890; Rivet, 1912 a.

Coconuco.—Beauchat and Rivet, 1910; Mosquera, 1866; Rivet, 1912 a, 1941.

Totoró, *Guambiano*.—Anonymous, 1879; Beauchat and Rivet, 1910; Eraso Guerrero, 1944; Ortíz, 1938-39 b; Rivet, 1912 a.

BARBACOA GROUP

Barbacoa was considered a separate stock by Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a), but is now generally accepted as related to *Chibcha*. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) places the *Barbacoa* languages with *Talamanca*, *Guatuso*, and *Cuna* to form his Western Group, and divides them into two divisions, *Pasto* and *Caranki-Cayapa-Colorado*. Rivet (1943) mentions only *Coaiquer* (*Cuaiquer*), *Cayapa*, and *Colorado*. These seem to be the most important languages, but Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) mentions *Nigua* in the *Cayapa-Colorado* branch, and *Pasto*, *Colima*, and *Muellamuese* in the *Pasto* branch. Rivet (1924 a) thinks that *Pasto* is *Tucano*. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) states that *Telembi* is the same as *Coaiquer* and that W. Lehmann (1920) was wrong in distinguishing them, but that *Cayapa* and *Iscuande* are not the same as *Coaiquer*, as Barrett (1925) believed. *Pichilimbi* probably belongs in this group. Other languages placed in this group by some authors but not accepted by either Rivet or Jijón y Caamaño are *Manabita* and *Latacunga*. In his 1943 classification, Jijón y Caamaño places *Quillacinga* (*Killacinga*) and *Sebondoy* with his Eastern Group, but in a map (map II) he groups them with the *Barbacoa* languages. (See *Coche*.)

The relationship of the *Barbacoa* languages to the doubtful *Esmeralda* family and the *Yunga-Mochica* has been largely discussed;

Esmeralda may well be *Chibchan*. W. Lehmann (1920) compared *Colorado* and *Mochica* and found only three words that hint at affinity.

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- Barbacoa.**—Beuchat and Rivet, 1910; Rivet, 1912 a; Schuller, 1930 b.
Pasto.—Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43, 1:144-234; 2:104-107; Ortiz, 1938.
Colima.—Suárez de Cepeda, 1923.
Cayapa.—Barrett, 1925; Beuchat and Rivet, 1907; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43, 2:289-384; Seler, 1902 b; Verneau and Rivet, 1912; Wilczynski, 1888.
Colorado.—Beuchat and Rivet, 1907; Buchwald, 1908 a; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43, 2:119-288; Rivet, 1905; Seler, 1885, 1902 b.

ANDAKÍ (ANDAQUÍ)

The extinct *Andakí* of the southern Colombian Highlands must not be confused with the living *Andoke* of the southeastern Colombian forests; the latter are either *Witotoan* or independent linguistically. The *Andakí* were also formerly considered independent; following Brinton (1891 a), Chamberlain (1913 a) put them in the *Andaquian* family. All modern authorities agree that their language was *Chibchan*, probably of the *Chibcha-Arhuaco* subgroup. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) and Schmidt (1926) place the language with the *Chibcha* Proper Group, Rivet (1924 a) in a class by itself. Loukotka (1935) considers it a mixed idiom and sees vestiges of *Mashacalí* and *Caingang* in it, a rather unlikely possibility. Igualada (1940) says that no *Andakí*-speaking Indians were found up to 1940 in the Colombian Caquetá area; the modern *Andakí* and *Agüenunga* descendants speak "*Inga*" (*Quechua*) and Spanish. (See also Hernández de Alba, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 922.)

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- Albis, 1860-61; Igualada and Castellví, 1940; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43; Rivet, 1912 a, 1924 c.

BETOI GROUP⁹

The extinct *Betoi* adjoined the *Tucanoan* *Betoya*, from whom the *Tucano* (q. v.) family was formerly named (*Betoyan*). The *Betoi* language is now generally believed to have been *Chibchan* in affinities. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) and Schmidt (1926) place *Betoi* with the *Chibcha* Proper languages. With them were probably associated *Girara* and *Lache*. W. Lehmann (1920) believes that *Caquetío*, generally classed as *Arawak*, was also related. Nimuendajú (index) leaves *Lache* unclassified. Loukotka (1935) adds *Situfa*.

⁹ See Hernández de Alba, Handbook, vol. 4, pp. 393-394.

Bibliography.—Gumilla, 1745.

CHIBCHA ¹

I. Western

A. *Talamanca*

1. *Gueta*
2. *Quepo*
3. *Cabecar*
4. *Estrella*
5. *Chiripó*
6. *Tucurrike*
7. *Suerre*
8. *Bribri*
 - a. *Pocosi*,
 - b. *Tariaca*
9. *Terraba*
10. *Brunca* (*Boruca*)
11. *Tirribi*
12. *Voto*
13. *Coto*

B. *Barbacoa*

1. *Pasto*
 - a. *Pasto*(?)
 - b. *Coaiker*(?)
 - c. *Muellamuese*
 - d. *Colima*
 - e. *Patia*
 - f. *Sindagua* (*Malba*)
2. *Cayapa-Colorado*
 - a. *Colorado*
 - b. *Nigua*
 - c. *Cayapa*
 - d. *Caranki*

C. *Guatuso*

1. *Guatuso-Corobici*

D. *Cuna*

1. *Cuna* (*Coiba, Cueva, San Blas*)

II. Pacific

A. *Isthmian* (*Guaymí*)

1. *Murire*
2. *Muoi*
3. *Move*
4. *Valiente*
5. *Penonomeño*
6. *Changuena*
7. *Dorasco*
8. *Chumula*
9. *Gualaca*

¹ Based on Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43.

CHIBCHA—Continued

II. Pacific—Continued

B. Colombian ²

1. *Timba*
2. *Lile*
3. *Yolo*
4. *Jamundi*
5. *Yamecí*
6. *Aburrá*

III. Inter-Andine ³A. *Páez*

1. *Páez*
2. *Panikilá*
3. *Killa*

B. *Coconuco*

1. *Totoró*
2. *Polindara*
3. *Mogux (Guambia)*
4. *Coconuco*
5. *Guanaco*
6. *Pubenaro (?)*

C. *Popayanense*

1. *Popayán*
2. *Puracé*

IV. Eastern ⁴A. *Cundinamarca*

1. *Chibcha-Muisca*
2. *Duit*
3. *Sinsigá*
4. *Tunebo*

B. *Arhuaco*

1. *Cágaba*
2. *Bintucua*
3. *Guamaca*
4. *Atankez*
5. *Sanha*
6. *Ica*

C. Central America

1. *Rama*
2. *Melchora*

² All of the below are of very questionable affinities. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) also places in this group *Chimila* and *Yurumangut*, on which see separate articles herein.

³ Hernández de Alba (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 922) places the *Páez* and *Coconuco* subgroups, together with the *Pijao* subgroup (see "Choecó and Other Possibly Cariban Languages of Colombia" herewith) in the *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group of *Chibcha*. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) places in his Inter-Andine group also *Panzaleo* and *Quijo*, on which see separate articles herein.

⁴ Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) also places in this group *Andakí* and *Betoya*, on which see separate articles herein, and *Oquilla*, *Quillacinga*, and *Sebondoy-Mocoa*, for which see *Coche* herein.

LANGUAGES PROBABLY OF CHIBCHAN AFFINITIES

Several other extinct languages of western Colombia and Ecuador are generally believed to have been of Chibchan affinities. Among these are:

PANZALEO

Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) believes that *Panzaleo* was most likely related to *Chibcha*, though it may have been affiliated with *Puruhá-Mochica* (*Yunga*). He places it questionably in his Inter-Andine group, probably most closely related to the *Coconuco* subgroup. Uhle suggested a relationship with *Subtiaba* (*Hokan*). (See Murra, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 795.)

Bibliography.—Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43, vol. 1, ch. 10; vol. 3, ch. 29.

CARA AND CARANKI

The cultured *Cara* (*Scyri*) had apparently given up their original language in favor of *Quechua* even before the Spanish Conquest. There are some reasons for the opinion that it was of the *Barbacoa* Group, where it is placed by Rivet (1924 a), but its affiliation will probably never be certainly known. Murra (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 792) states that it was similar to *Pasto* and *Cayapa*.

Bibliography.—Buchwald, 1908 b; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43, 1:234-285.

KIJÓ (QUIJO)

The *Kijó* abandoned their native tongue in favor of *Quechua* very early, possibly before the Spanish Conquest; its nature is, therefore, very controversial. It is generally placed with *Cofán* (q. v.), but may have been more closely related to *Chibcha*. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) places it questionably with *Panzaleo* in his Inter-Andine Group of *Chibcha*. (See Steward and Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 652.)

Bibliography.—Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43; 1:290-295; Tessmann, 1930, p. 237 ff.

MISUMALPAN

"*Misumalpan*" was the new hybrid term proposed by Mason (1940) for the group consisting of the former linguistic families *Misquitoan* (*Miskito*),¹⁰ *Suman*, and *Matagalpan* in Nicaragua and southern Honduras. They were there considered to compose a stock of the *Macro-Chibchan* phylum. *Paya* and *Jicaque* of southern Honduras may be related more distantly. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) lists them as group F of the phylum. This group he terms "Group *Misquito-Xinca*," evidently including in it the *Xinca* of San Salvador, and by inference the *Lenca* of Honduras, two groups considered by

¹⁰ The earlier term is *Mosquito*; Mason preferred the more modern form *Miskito*, but the editors of this volume, the former. Both forms of the word are used therein.

Mason (1940) to be more likely affiliated with the *Macro-Penutian* phylum of North America.

MISUMALPAN

I. Miskito

A. Miskito

1. Tawira

- a. *Tawira*
- b. *Mam*
- c. *Wanki*
- d. *Baldam*
- e. *Cabo*

II. Sumo

A. Ulva

1. Ulva

- a. *Ulva* (*Ulua*)
- b. *Prinsu*
- c. *Cucra*

B. Yosco

1. Yosco

C. Sumo

1. Tawahca

- a. *Twahca*
- b. *Lacu*
- c. *Coco*
- d. *Wasabane*
- e. *Pispi*

2. Panamaca

- a. *Panamaca*
- b. *Carawala*
- c. *Tunki*

3. Boa

4. Bawahca

III. Matagalpa

A. Matagalpa

1. Matagalpa

- a. *Matagalpa*
- b. *Cacaoopera*
- c. *Chato* (?)
- d. *Dule* (?)
- e. *Pantasma* (?)

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W. Lehmann (1920) republishes most of the known vocabularies and other original material, and cites most of the published works. See also Thomas and Swanton (1911). Especially important, or of recent date, are the following:

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Sumo.—Conzemius, 1929 b, 1932; Membreño, 1897.

Matagalpa.—Brinton, 1895 b; Sapper, 1901.

Ulua.—Squier, 1853.

COFÁN (KOFANE)

The extinct *Cofán* has heretofore been considered by all authorities an independent family, though this is unlikely in view of their small area. The language has probably long been extinct, though there are a few hundred *Cofán* still living. Both of the principal authorities on this region, Rivet and Jijón y Caamaño, are now convinced that *Cofán* is related to *Chibchan*. Rivet has not yet presented his proof or intimated his opinion as to the closeness of the connection. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) makes *Cofán* one of the eight members of his *Macro-Chibchan* phylum. He gives no subsidiary languages. Connections with the *Barbacoa* Group of *Chibcha* have also been suggested.

Two adjacent groups that have often been considered as *Cofán* languages are *Kijo* and *Latacunga*. These have sometimes been identified with the historical *Cara* or *Syri*. Both may be more purely *Chibchan*. The *Kijo* (*Quijo*) (q. v.) were *Quechuaized* long ago. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) places them in his Inter-Andine group of *Chibcha*.

Bibliography.—Castellví, 1938; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43.

LANGUAGES OF DOUBTFUL CHIBCHAN RELATIONSHIPS

COCHE (MOCOA)

Synonyms: *Koche*, *Kotše*, *Koče*, *Mocoa*, *Mokoa*, *Sebondoy*, *Sibundoy*, *Kamsá*, *Quillacinga*, *Kilasinga*.

The more important historical name *Coche* seems to have supplanted *Mocoa*(n), which Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a) gave to this supposedly independent family. *Mocoa* is retained by a few modern authorities, such as Krickeberg (1922) and Loukotka (1935). Most of them have accepted its independent position, but in his recent thorough study Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) reached the conclusion, occasionally previously suggested, that it is *Chibchan*, influenced by *Carib*, closest to *Chibcha* Proper, to *Cágaba*, and to *Talamanca*, in this order. However, Ortíz (1941), the most recent writer, refuses to accept Jijón y Caamaño's conclusions and insists on the independence of *Coche*. He believes that the rather extensive *Chibchan* resemblances are due to borrowing. Rivet has also not yet, to my knowledge, accepted the *Chibchan* affinities or decided to remove *Coche* from his list of independent families. The language is sometimes called *Camsá*; the principal tribe is the *Sebondoy*; the related *Quillacinga* and *Mocoa* are extinct, but there are said to be some 1,700 *Sebondoy*, though probably not all speaking their native tongue. The *Mocoa* have adopted *Quechua* and are now known as *Ingano*.

Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) does not recognize the *Coche* as a separate group or mention the name in his classification, but lists the languages *Quilla*,¹¹ *Quillacinga*, and *Sebondoy-Mocoa* together with the *Chibcha* Proper languages in his *Cundinamarca* subgroup of the Eastern Group. In his map II, however, he places them with the *Barbacoa* subgroup (Western Group).

The lexical data are considerable (see Ortíz, 1941; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43), but grammatical material is badly needed.

COCHE (MOCOA)

1. *Sebondoy*.
2. *Quillacinga*.
3. *Patoco*.

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Buchwald, 1919; Castellví, 1934 a, 1934 b; Chamberlain, 1910 a, pp. 191-192; Ernst, 1891; Iguilada and Castellví, 1940; Jijón y Caamaño, 1938, 1939, 1941-43, 1:97-144; Ortíz, 1938, 1941 a; Rivet, 1912 a; Sañudo, 1923.

ESMERALDA

A tiny extinct group of the coast of Ecuador that has been considered as forming an independent family since the classification of Chamberlain (1913 a). The data upon it are very few. Pericot y García (1936) gives *Atacame* as a synonym; this can have no relation to the *Atacama* of the Chilean desert region. W. Schmidt (1926) believes that it may belong with the *Barbacoa* Group of *Chibcha*, a very probable connection, but it is unlikely that its exact affiliations will ever be proved. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) believes it to be distantly related to *Chibcha*, forming, with *Yaruro*, the *Paleo-Chibcha* division of his *Macro-Chibcha* phylum. (See Murra, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 802.)

Bibliography.—Buchwald, 1920, 1922; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43; Rivet, 1912 a; Seler, 1902 a, 1902 b.

TAIRONA AND CHIMILA

The long-extinct *Tairona* have generally been classified as *Chibchan*, doubtless because of their close geographical proximity to the *Chibchan*-speaking *Cágaba*. The same is true of the living *Chimila*, sometimes regarded as the modern descendants of the *Tairona*. Thus Park (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 868) says that the *Tairona* and *Chimila* "although linguistically related, are not included in this [i. e., *Cágaba-Arhuaco*] designation." Both of these are low-altitude peoples, coast, foothill, or lowland-dwellers, the culture of the *Chimila* being mainly that of a forest people. The language of the *Tairona* is utterly un-

¹¹ Hernández de Alba (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 922) places *Quilla* in the *Páez* subgroup of the *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group, but *Quillacinga* as a member of the *Cochean* family.

known; they may well have been *Cariban* or *Arawakan*.¹² Reichel-Dolmatoff has recently done work among the *Chimila*. His linguistic material has not yet been published, but he informs me (personal communication) that *Chimila* is *Arawakan*. *Arawakan* affinities of *Tairona* would not be unexpected, since they were coterminous with the *Arawakan*-speaking *Goajiro*.

Bibliography.—Bolinder, 1924, 1925; Celedón, 1886.

YURUMANGUÍ

This hitherto neglected and almost unknown group and language of the Colombian west coast has recently assumed considerable importance. A manuscript vocabulary was recently discovered in the Archivo Nacional in Bogotá and published. Dr. Paul Rivet has been studying it for some years, finds no resemblances with any nearby language, and believes it to be *Hokan* and therefore related to Melaneso-Polynesian (Rivet, 1943). Ortíz (1946) does not consider the point as proved, and prefers to consider *Yurumanguí* as an independent tongue.

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TIMOTE

This small group of the Venezuelan highlands has been much more thoroughly investigated than most, but unfortunately the linguistic data are still limited to a few small vocabularies. No running text or grammatical study is known, and one is urgently needed. Rivet (1927 a) has assembled all the information available. Regarding the opinion of Ernst (1885) that *Timote* is related to *Chibcha*, Rivet reaches the same conclusion that Brinton (1891 a) did earlier, that there is some lexical resemblance, but not enough for proof, and that *Timote* had best be considered independent. In this all other authorities agree with him, except Jijón y Caamaño (1941–43), who believes in the relationship and makes *Timote* Group C of his *Macro-Chibcha* phylum.

Muku is a synonym for the family. There seem to be two main languages, *Timote* and *Cuica* (*Kuika*). With *Timote* are probably related *Mirripú* (*Maripú*), *Mukuchí* (*Mocochí*), *Migurí*, *Tiguiñó*, and *Escaguey*; with *Cuica*, *Tostó*, *Escuque*, and *Jajó*. However, Brinton (1891 a) lists 29 groups, the names taken from Ernst (1885), and

¹² I wish here to make public confession and express regret that I identified the Santa Marta archeological culture with the *Tairona*. In this Handbook (see vol. 2, p. xxix) the Santa Marta archeological culture is considered as one of the few that have been tied up with an historic people. This identification has not yet been proved, but seems probable. A careful study of the original historical sources, a thing I have not yet found time to do, will be the major factor in determining the question.—J. A. M.

Rivet (1927 a), making a more thorough study, compiles a list of names, synonyms, and variations of 99 dialects and 29 varieties, each probably linguistically distinguishable. This is one example of the tremendous complexity of language in South America.

TIMOTE FAMILY (VENEZUELA) ¹

I. *Cuica* (*Kuika*)

A. *Cuica* Proper

B. *Tostó*

1. *Tostó* Proper

2. *Tiranjá*

3. *Tomoni*

C. *Eskuke* (*Eskukey*)

1. *Eskuke* Proper

2. *Bombá*

3. *Moka*

4. *Tirandá*

a. *Čobú*

b. *Čačike*

c. *Čaču*

d. *Tirandá* Proper

e. *Estiguate* (*Estiguatí*)

D. *Jajó* (*Jakón*, *Jajón*)

1. *Jajó* Proper

2. *Esnijaque*

3. *Kikoke* (*Kikoki*)

4. *Mapen* (*La Vega*)

5. *Duri*

6. *Mikimboy*

II. *Timote* (*Timoti*)

A. *Timote* Proper

1. *Mukurujún*

2. *Mukusé*

3. *Mokoyupu*

4. *Mukuarsé*

5. *Ciribuy*

6. *Miyoy*

7. *Mukumbá*

8. *Kindorá*

9. *Tafallé*

10. *Mukumbají*

11. *Čino*

¹ From Rivet, 1927 a, 4:137-167. In this article, which includes a large map and bibliography, the *Timote* Family is divided into two groups: *Timote* Proper and *Cuika*. The *Cuika* he divides into the four groups above noted.

The *Timote* group is divided into numerous subgroups, of which the only one he names is the *Timote* Proper. The five groups above: *Timote* Proper, *Chama*, *Mocochi*, *Mucutu*, and *Tapano* are distinguished on basis of Rivet's grouping in text into five paragraphs of very different lengths. Names are mine, choosing a name in this group shown on his map, except *Chama*, which is accepted generic.

Loukotka (1935) makes a fourfold division: (1) *Timote*; (2) *Mokoči*; (3) *Miguri*; (4) *Cuika*. His (2) and (3) are included in Rivet's *Timote* group. *Miguri* is probably equivalent to *Chama*.

TIMOTE FAMILY (VENEZUELA)¹—ContinuedII. *Timote* (*Timoti*)—ContinuedB. *Čama* (*Miguri* ?)

1. *Mokunče* (*Mukunče*, *Mukuneče*)
2. *Mukurubá* (*Mokuruguá*)
3. *Tabay* (*Mukunutáne*, *Tabayon* ?)
4. *Mukurumagua*
5. *Guake* (*Guaki*)
6. *Mukumba*
7. *Čičuy*
8. *Mukuñoke* (*Mukuño*, *Miguri* ?)
 - a. *Mukurufuén*
 - b. *Muká*
 - c. *Mukumpí*
 - d. *Mikutirí*
 - e. *Mukusnandá*
 - f. *Mukaikuy*
 - g. *Mukusó*, etc.
9. *Mukurandá*
10. *Mukuhúun* (*Mukupine*, *Mokoion*)
11. *Čiguará*
12. *Insnumbí* (*Insumbí*)
13. *Estantes*
14. *Mukuči* (*Makuči*, *Mokočiz*)
 - a. *Misantá*
 - b. *Mokao*
 - c. *Mosnačó*
 - d. *Misikea*, etc.
15. *Eskagüey*
16. *Mukujún*
17. *Tatuy* (*Tatey* ?)
18. *Mukaria*
19. *Mukaketá*
20. *Mukusirí*
21. *Kaparí*
22. *Jají* (*Mukundú*)
23. *Mukubače* (*Mirripú*, *Mirripuy*, *Maripú* ?)
24. *Mukúun* (*Mukumpú*, *Lagunillas*)
 - a. *Kasés*
 - b. *Mukuinamo*
 - c. *Arikagua*
 - d. *Tibikuay*
 - e. *Makulare*
 - f. *Mukusumpú*
 - g. *Barbudos*
 - h. *Jamuén*, etc.
 - i. *Kinaró*
 - j. *Tiguiñó*
25. *Guaruní* (*Guarurí*)

¹For footnote 1, see page 189.

TIMOTE FAMILY (VENEZUELA)¹—ContinuedII. *Timote* (*Timoti*)—ContinuedC. *Mocochi* (*Mokoči*)

1. *Miyuse*
2. *Tukaní*
3. *Mokoči* (*Torondoy*)

D. *Mukutu* (*Escaguey*)

1. *Eskaguey*
2. *Kanaguá*
3. *Kinó*
4. *Mokoíno* (*Mokino*)
5. *Mombun*
6. *Yarikagua*
7. *Arikagua*
8. *Mukutuy*
9. *Mukupati*
10. *Mukučáči*
11. *Trikagua*
12. *Mokoto* (*Mukutu*, *Mukuti*)
 - a. *Guarake*
 - b. *Bailadores*

E. *Tapano*

1. *Aviamo*
2. *Mokombó* (*Mokobo*)
3. *Tapano*

III. Unclassified tribes

- A. *Kirorá*
- B. *Mijure*
- C. *Montun*
- D. *Iguino*

¹ For footnote 1, see page 189.

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CANDOSHI, CHIRINO, AND MURATO

Each of these extinct or little-known languages of western Ecuador has been linked by some recent authority with some other, or others. Rivet (1924 a) considered *Chirino* as forming an independent family. Loukotka (1935) calls the family *Candoshi* (*Kandoši*), and composes it of two groups, one consisting of the *Candoshi* and *Shapra*, the other of the extinct *Chirino* (*Cumbaraja*), *Sacata*, and *Rabona*. He considers *Murato* a synonym of *Candoshi*. Tessmann (1930) makes *Shapra* and *Murato* divisions of *Candoshi*, which language, synonymous with *Maina* in his opinion, he considers a mixture of *Ge*, *Arawak*, and *Pano*. Rivet thinks that *Chinchi*pe is a synonym of *Murato*, and Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 615) believe that

Chinchipe and *Bagua* are probably related to *Patagón*. Brinton (1891 a) long ago placed *Murato* with *Záparo*, and Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 629, 633) call it a subtribe of *Zaparoan Andoa*.

Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) regards this group, "Lenguas Muratas," as related to *Chibcha*, composing Group E of his *Macro-Chibcha* phylum.

Bibliography.—Anonymous, 1897; León, A. M., 1928-29; Rivet, 1930 b; Tessmann, 1930.

CHOLÓN

Synonyms: *Cholona*, *Tsolona*, *Čolón*, *Tscholón*.

Cholón (an) is one of the small families early distinguished (Chamberlain, 1913 a) and universally accepted. According to the majority of authorities, it consists of two languages, the *Cholona* Proper or *Tinganes* and the *Hibito* (*Xibito*, *Chibito*, etc.). Brinton (1891 a) quotes early sources to the effect that the *Cholón* spoke a different language from the *Hibito*. Tessmann (1930) calls it a language mixed with *Quechua*; he gives a vocabulary of 30 words. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) makes *Cholona* the last (H) component member of his *Macro-Chibchan* phylum.

A grammar has been recently published by Fr. Pedro de la Mata (1923); an earlier work on *Cholón* by Fr. Francisco Gutierrez is mentioned. J. P. Harrington has recently compared *Cholón* with *Quechua* and believes them related. His evidence has not been published.

Bibliography.—Beuchat and Rivet, 1909; Brinton, 1892 a; Chamberlain, 1910 a; Mata, 1923; Tessmann, 1930.

HÍBITO

The extinct *Hibito* (*Chibito*, *Xibito*, *Jibito*, *Zibito*, *Íbito*, etc.) is classed with *Cholón* (a) by most authorities. Brinton (1891 a) quotes the old sources to the effect that the *Cholón* spoke a different idiom from the *Hibito*. Tessmann (1930)¹³ calls it a mixed language (*Pano-Ge*), while *Cholón* he considers mixed with *Quechua*. He gives a 33-word vocabulary. Loukotka (1935) also believes it mixed with *Panoan*. It became extinct about 1825. A grammar was written by Fr. José de Araujo.

Bibliography.—Izaguirre, 1927-29; Tessmann, 1930.

COPALLÉN

Apparently only four words are known of the extinct *Copallén*, of Copallén, Llanque, Ecuador. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43), who has made a most thorough study of the languages of western Ecuador,

¹³ Pages 458-459. This was unfortunately omitted from his Table of Contents.

dismisses it with a word, but accords it independent position in his final classification (1943). The data on which Loukotka (1935) assigns it to an independent family must, therefore, be very slight; it had better be left unclassified. It seems to be ignored by all other authorities.

Bibliography.—Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43.

ACONIPA (AKONIPA)

Aconipa is one of the almost unknown languages considered as an independent family by Loukotka (1935) and apparently mentioned by no other compiler. In his recent exhaustive study of pre-Columbian western Ecuador, Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) merely mentions it as one of the languages of Ecuador; he leaves it independent in his final (1943) classification. Extinct, the data on it are very few, and insufficient to warrant its classification, at any rate as a distinct family.

Bibliography.—Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, p. 32.

YUNCA-PURUHÁN

If the validity of the group of languages under consideration were established, "*Yuncahá*" would be proposed as a cogent hybrid term. The classification of the extinct coastal languages of Ecuador and northern Perú has always been—and may always be—uncertain and controversial. The "family" consists of the five groups that were given independent status by Rivet (1924 a) under the names *Atalán*, *Cañari*, *Puruhá*, *Sek*, and *Yunca*. *Yunca* and *Cañari* are families of long standing, at least since the classification of Chamberlain (1913 a); *Sek* is proposed by Rivet alone (1924 a). Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) comes to the conclusion, as a result of his exhaustive studies of pre-Columbian western Ecuador, that *Puruhá*, *Canyari*, and *Manteña* (*Manabita*) are closely related and go with *Yunga* to form an independent family. He claims that all these differ hardly more than dialectically. As all these "families" and their component languages are extinct with practically no lexical data, except for *Yunca*, and as Jijón y Caamaño reaches these conclusions mainly on the basis of proper names, the degree of relationship will probably never be proved. The family also includes, in his opinion, *Huancavilca*, by which he apparently implies Rivet's *Atalán* family. He proposes the name *Puruhá-Mochica* for this family, which he considers a major division (G) of his *Macro-Chibcha* phylum.

Jijón y Caamaño is by no means the first or only one to propose such a consolidation. W. Schmidt's (1926) *Yunca-Huancavilca* Group consists of *Huancavilca* (*Atalán*), *Tallan* and *Sechura* (*Sek*), and *Yunca*, *Mochica-Chanco*, *Chimu*, and *Eten* (*Yunca*); he does not

mention *Puruhá* or *Cañari*. Loukotka (1935) establishes a *Chimu* family with a *Yuncan* southern division, and a *Puruhá-Cañari* northern division.

YUNCA

Synonyms: *Yunga*, *Mochica*, *Chimu*.

The *Yunca*, *Mochica*, or *Chimu* language of the Northern Coast of Perú is fairly well known through De la Carrera's grammar (1644). It is practically extinct, but a few words are said still to be used by some of the Coast fishermen. A relationship to *Chibcha* (*Barbacoa*, *Colorado*) has been suspected, but W. Lehmann (1920) compared *Mochica* with *Colorado* without any result. Uhle has suggested a relationship with *Uro* (q. v.). Chamberlain (1913 a) and Brinton (1891 a) both posited a *Yunca(n)* family.

The former extent of the *Yunca* languages to the south and inland is much disputed. Some authorities believe it extended south to Ica, including practically the entire Perú Coast. According to Jijón y Caamaño (1941-42), it reached to south of Lima. He also believes that it included the North Perú Highlands, including the provinces of Cajamarca and Ancachs, a region ordinarily ascribed to *Quechua*, and impinged on the *Hibito* and *Cholona* of the Montaña to the east. These deductions are drawn from study of place names and traditions, since these regions were *Quechuaized* in very early, probably pre-Conquest, days.

The following regions or ethnic groups are thus of uncertain original language and are left unclassified on the linguistic map: *Ayavaca*, *Huancapampa*, *Huambo*, *Chachapoya*, *Cajamarca*, *Huamachuco*, *Conchucos*, *Huacrachuco*, *Huayla*, *Pinco*, *Ocro*, *Huamali*, *Huanuco*, *Cajatambo*, *Atavillo*, *Chinchaycocha*, *Tarma*, and *Yauyo*.

Dr. J. P. Harrington, after a study of De la Carrera's grammar (personal communication), reports that the phonetics are almost identical with *Quechua*, and that there are many vocables and other features like *Quechua*. Most nouns, and also most verbs, are monosyllabic, generally ending in a vowel. The morphological mechanism is generally by suffixes.

Less acceptable is the opinion of Zeballos Quiñones that the place names of the region show *Maya* and *Zapotec* resemblances, and present proof of Central American influences in the *Chimu* region.

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PURUHÁ

A small group, established as an independent family by Rivet (1924 a) and accepted as such by a few others. It became extinct about the close of the 17th century. There is general agreement that it is related to *Cañari*. (See Murra, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 797.)

Bibliography.—Jijón y Caamaño, 1923-24, 1941-43, 1: 410-455, 3: 88-136.

CAÑARI (CANYARI)

Also a small group, but one of longer standing as an independent family, since at least the time of Chamberlain (1913 a). No linguistic subdivisions have been suggested. (See Murra, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 799.)

Bibliography.—Chamberlain, 1910 a; Cordero Palacios, 1924; Jijón y Caamaño, 1921, 1941-43, 2: 3-78, 3: 5-140; Moreno-Mora, 1922; Rivet, 1912 a.

ATALÁN

Apparently *Atalán* and *Tallán* must be distinguished, although the languages are adjacent in coastal Ecuador. Confusion and disagreement are great. The linguistic data on both are so slight that their true affiliations will probably never be certainly known. *Atalán* was first proposed as an independent family by Rivet (1924 a), consisting of the languages *Manta*, *Huancavilca*, *Puna*, and *Tumbez*. It is one of four language groups that Loukotka (1935), with unusual reticence, left unclassified. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) after thorough study placed the group with his *Puruhá-Mochica* group of *Macro-Chibchan*, a classification provisionally accepted herein. It is uncertain whether the *Caraca* group goes with the *Atalán Manta* or with the *Barbacoan Cara*. Dialects of *Atalán* seem to be *Apichiquí*, *Cancebí*, *Charapoto*, *Pichote*, *Pichoasac*, *Pichunsi*, *Manabí*, *Jarahusa*, and *Jipijapa*.

Bibliography.—Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43.

YUNCA-PURUHÁ

I. *Yunca-Puruhá* (*Yunca-Wancavilca*, *Puruhá-Mochica*)A. *Yuncan*1. North Group (*Puruhá-Cañari*)

- a. *Puruhá*
- b. *Canyari* (*Cañari*)
- c. *Manabila* (*Mantenya*)

2. South Group (*Yunca*)

- a. *Yunga*
- b. *Morropé*
- c. *Eten* (?)
- d. *Chimu*
- e. *Mochica* (*Chincha*)
- f. *Chanco*

YUNCA-PURUHÁ—Continued

I. *Yunca-Puruhá* (*Yunca-Wancavilca*, *Puruhá-Mochica*)—ContinuedB. *Atalán*1. *Wancavilca* (*Huancavilca*)¹a. *Manta*²b. *Tumbez*³c. *Puna*¹d. *Carake: Apichiki, Cancebi*¹ See Murra, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 806.² See Murra, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 803.³ See Murra, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 807.

SEC, SECHURA, OR TALLÁN

The small *Sec* "family" of restricted area in westernmost Ecuador was first proposed by Rivet (1924 a). Loukotka (1935) accepts the proposed family and calls it *Sechura* (*Sečura*). W. Schmidt (1926) puts it in his *Yunca-Huancavilca* group, together with several others of Rivet's "independent" families in this region. Brinton (1891 a) also grouped it with *Yunca*. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) who, in his very complete study of pre-Columbian western Ecuador, accepts the *Yunca-Huancavilca* group under his proposed alternative name *Puruhá-Mochica*, passes *Sec* off with the brief note that it was a language of Tallana, Ecuador, extinct in the last century, implying that not enough is known of it to classify it with any degree of finality; this is probably true at present. In his final classification (1941-43), Jijón y Caamaño makes *Tallán* a separate phylum.

The extinct languages *Tallán*, *Chira* (*Lachira*), *Colan*, *Piura*, and *Sechura* are generally classed with *Sec*. The *Catacao*, a little further inland, are said still to speak their presumably related language; their investigation is a great desideratum. There is an *ipso facto* presumption of connection between *Tallán* and the extinct *Atalán* "family" just to the north, but the differentiation must be kept in mind. The linguistic data seem to be limited to 40 words collected by Spruce and published in Markham (1864 a).

Bibliography.—Markham, 1864 a.

KECHUMARAN

"*Kechumaran*" is a hybrid term here proposed for the first time to designate the yet unproved but highly probable subphylum consisting of *Quechua* and *Aymara*. It has long been believed that *Aymara* and *Quechua* have linguistic as well as cultural relations. The extent of this relationship still awaits study. Phonetics and morphology show a relatively common pattern and many close similarities, but the lexical roots seem to have little in common except a large number, possibly

as much as a quarter of the whole, obviously related and probably borrowed by one or the other language. They have been in close contact for probably several thousand years. *Aymara* is generally termed the "older" language, that is, that of wider extent in pre-*Inca* days, and one that has yielded ground to the *Quechua*. The two will probably eventually be found to be members of a large phylum; the *Hokan*-like traits that have been claimed for *Quechua* probably apply also to *Aymara*.

Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) presents cogent arguments for his adoption of a *Quechua-Aymara* phylum. Both may possibly be members of *Hokan-Siouan*, one of the great phyla of North America; J. P. Harrington (1943) is convinced of the connection. This would not be entirely unexpected since scattered *Hokan* enclaves are found as far south as Nicaragua (*Subtiaba*), and Rivet has considered the possibility that *Yurumanguí* (q. v.) may also be *Hokan*.

QUECHUA

Quechua (*Kechua*, *Quichua*, *Keshwa*, etc.) is the South American analogue of *Aztec*. That is, it was the language of a relatively small group, the so-called *Inca*, who established a great military empire, conquered surrounding peoples, and to some extent imposed their language upon the latter. In Colonial days it became a lingua franca over an even wider area, displacing still other aboriginal languages, and this process has continued until the present. Today probably several millions of Indians in Perú, southwestern Ecuador, western Bolivia, and northwestern Argentina speak *Quechua*, and most of them nothing else. As many Peruvians speak *Quechua* as Spanish. Practically the entire population of the provinces of Cuzco and Ayacucho can speak *Quechua*. Of course, it is slowly losing ground to Spanish.

Quechua probably occupied a comparatively small area in the upper Apurimac and Urubamba drainage until the era of the great *Inca* conquests under Pachacuti about 1450; it was then merely one of many possibly unrelated languages in the Andean region. It overwhelmed and supplanted many of these other languages, which probably survived in local use until after the Spanish Conquest and then became extinct during the Colonial Period. (Personal letter from John Rowe; see also Handbook, vol. 2, pp. 183-470.)

In 1530, although *Inca* military sway extended from Ecuador to Chile and Argentina, the native languages had not yet been replaced by *Quechua*, which apparently occupied only a small region in the Cuzco region, represented by the groups *Cavina*, *Cuzco*, *Chilque*, *Lare*, *Quechua*, *Paucartampo*, *Vilcapampa*, and *Yanahuara* (see Handbook, vol. 2, map 3, facing p. 185). In a few years, however, *Quechua*

replaced the native languages throughout the northern highlands to Ecuador and even to southern Colombia, those of the central and southern coasts, and those of a considerable part of the highlands to the south. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) believes and presents some evidence that the former languages of the northern highlands and the coast were related to *Yunca* (q. v.). The *Quechua* dialects that replaced these are known as *Chinchaisuyo*, the autochthonous dialects of the Cuzco region as *Tahuantisuyo*. The *Huanca* seem to have been a group apart. To the south, *Quechua* replaced many *Aymara* groups. The extension of *Quechua* to the central coast was apparently a rather early one and many authorities accord it some littoral in earliest days.

The following regions or groups in the Peruvian highlands speak or spoke (at least in part) *Quechua* at some post-Conquest period but were presumably originally of other linguistic affiliations, possibly many of them *Yunga*, and are, therefore, left unclassified on the linguistic map: *Calva*, *Ayavaca*, *Huancapampa*, *Huambo*, *Chachapoya*, *Cajamarca*, *Huamachuco*, *Conchucos*, *Huacrachuco*, *Huayla*, *Pinco*, *Huamali*, *Ocro*, *Huanuco*, *Cajatambo*, *Chinchaycocha*, *Atavillo*, *Tarma*, *Yauyo*, *Huanco*, *Angará*, *Chocorvo*, *Choclococha*, *Vilcas*, *Rucana*, *Chanca*, *Sora*, *Parinacocha*, *Aymara* (distinguish from *Aymara* family), *Contisuyo*, *Omasuyo* (distinguish from *Aymara Omasuyo*), *Cotapampa*, *Cavana*, *Chumpivilca*, and *Arequipa*; also *Cochapampa* and *Yampara* to the east, and *Chicha* and *Lipe* to the south.

The *Quechua* languages do not differ greatly, and none varies much from the norm—additional evidence of the relatively recent spread. There are a great number of dialects, probably a slightly variant one for each of the many *Quechua*-speaking villages, and these form regional groups, but probably none is absolutely unintelligible to any other. That of Cuzco was and is the standard. Those of the Ayacucho group are the most diversified, individualized, and in some respects most archaic.

The list of *Quechua*-speaking tribes and groups depends greatly on the temporal period; ever since about 1450, Indian groups on the peripheries of the *Quechua* region in Ecuador, Perú, Bolivia, and Argentina have been abandoning their native languages in favor of *Quechua*. This presumably produces somewhat mixed languages but not true dialects. Among these *Quechuaized* groups the most prominent are the *Cara* or *Quito* (*Kito*) of Ecuador, the *Chicha* and *Lipe* of Bolivia, the *Allentiac*, the *Sanavirón*, and the *Vilela-Chulupi* of Argentina. (See also Handbook, vol. 2, map 3.)

The *Quechua* dialects are known only by the names of the villages where they are spoken; the groups of dialects, by the names of the provinces in which they center.

MODERN QUECHUA CLASSIFICATION

- I. Northern (*Chinchaysuyu*)
 - A. Ayacucho
 - B. Junín
 - C. Huánuco
 - D. Ancash
 - E. Huamachuco (*Cajamarca*)
 - F. Chachapoya
- II. Southern (*Tahuantisuyu*)
 - A. Cuzco
 - B. Puno
- III. Coastal
 - A. Arequipa

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Like that of *Aztec*, the bibliography of *Quechua* is very large, both early and recent. The best grammar seems to be that of Middendorf (1890).

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AYMARA

Aymara is one of the great living languages of South America; there may be half a million speakers in Bolivia and Perú. A number of *Aymara* "dialects" are distinguished. The differentiation of the modern ones is apparently not great, and none seems to vary greatly from the norm. Those most different are around Lake Titicaca. No suggestions have been made of the grouping of these dialects into major divisions. The most important ones are apparently *Collao* and *Lupaca*.

The *Aymara* region was certainly originally larger than at present, and probably many *Aymara* dialects in addition to the few recorded have been replaced by *Quechua*. In many towns *Aymara* and *Quechua* are both spoken, and occasionally *Aymara* enclaves have been left in a present-day *Quechua*-speaking region. Similarly *Uro* groups are surrounded by *Aymara*. Apparently, however, *Aymara* was always limited to the Highlands of Bolivia and Perú, and its former extension to the Pacific seaboard in the Tacna-Arica-Arequipa region is no longer credited, nor the *Aymara* affinities of the *Cauki* (*Cauqui*, *Huarochiri*) group in the neighborhood of Lima, Perú.

Aymara is spoken today by the historic subtribes *Colla*, *Collagua*, *Cana*, *Canchi*, *Ubina*, and parts of the *Charca* and *Collahuaya* (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 503). The *Caranga*, *Lupaca*, *Quillaca*, *Omasuyo*, *Pacasa*, *Paria*, and *Sicasica* have given it up in favor of *Quechua* or Spanish. It was also spoken, together with *Quechua*, in Sora, Chanca, Arequipa, Chicha, Lipe, Chumpivilca, and Vilcas.

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CHIKUITOAN

The *Chiquito* (*Chikito*) form a solid small group in southeastern Bolivia. This Spanish word, meaning "very small," has always been applied to the family; *Tarapecosi* may be a synonym. It has been accepted as independent since earliest writers, but not unlikely may later be found to tie with other groups into a major phylum. Lafone-Quevedo (1910) notes many resemblances to *Guaycurú* (q. v.) and believes them related, *Mbayá* being the closest of the *Guaycurú* languages to *Chiquito* both geographically and pronominally. He

notes resemblances also with many other important families: *Quechua*, *Mataco*, *Macá*, *Araucanian*, *Tupí-Guaraní*, *Arawak*, and *Carib*, and apparently believes that all these and others are related. As his deductions are based mainly on resemblances in the pronominal systems they cannot be accepted as more than suggestions at present. A connection with *Bororo* has also been suggested.

Hervás y Panduro (1800) gives the names of some 35 *Chiquito* bands divided into 4 dialects; most of these are presumably extinct. (See Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 383.) Modern writers mention up to seven groups in two main divisions. There is general agreement regarding the modern divisions. Loukotka (1935) and Jijón y Caa-maño (1941-43) place the *Sansimoniano*, generally regarded as *Carib*, with *Chiquito*; Rivet calls it *Chapacuran*. Of the extinct *Manacica*, Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 388) says that Lucas Caballero (1933) identifies them with *Tapacura* and *Quittemoca*, which, if true, would make them *Chapacuran*.

CHIKUITO

I. North: *Chiquito*

A. *Manasí* (*Manacica*)

B. *Penoki* (*Penokikia*)

C. *Pinyoca*:

1. *Kusikia*¹

D. *Tao*:

1. *Tabiica*²

II. South: *Churapa*

¹ Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 383) says that D'Orbigny (1839) reported that the *Kusikia* dialects were full of foreign words, mainly *Arawakan Paiconeca*.

² Possibly the same as the *Tapii*, who also may have spoken either *Zamucan* or *Otukean*.

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Adam and Henry, 1880; Adelung and Vater, 1806-17; Caballero, 1933; Cardus, 1886; Lafone-Quevedo, 1910 (1912); Métraux, 1942 a, pp. 114-120; Mitre, 1909-10, 2: 279-280; Nordenskiöld, 1911 b, pp. 231-241 (*Churapa*); Pauly, 1928, pp. 184-185 (*Churapa*); Tagliavini, 1928.

MACRO-GUAICURUAN

Macro-Guaicurú is a name here proposed for the first time for a phylum that includes several families, heretofore considered independent, in the general region of the Gran Chaco. As at present constituted it consists of *Mataco*, *Macá* (*Enimagá*, *Cochaboth*) (see *Mataco-Macá*), and *Guaicurú*. The latter, probably the most important of the three, has been taken as the basis for the name. Doubtless other families in this region, at present regarded as independent, will eventually be joined to it; one of the first may be *Chiquito* (Lafone-Quevedo, 1910); *Lule-Vilela* is a possibility. Evidence for the connections will be given in the family articles. That for *Mataco-Macá* is mainly

lexical; that for *Guaicurú* (and *Chiquito*) morphological. The morphologies have a *Hokan*-like aspect.

MATACO-MACÁ

Matako-Maká was first suggested as a name for the combined *Mataco-Mataguayo* and *Enimagé* (*Cochaboth*, *Makká*) "families" by Métraux (1942 b). No thorough linguistic proof of this connection has yet been presented, but it is herein accepted as probable, though not as certain or proved.

A comparison of *Vejoz* and *Towothli* vocabularies shows a large number of correspondencies, many of them practically identical, but not a large proportion of the entire vocabularies. The possibility of extensive borrowing cannot be discounted, but the resemblances are mainly in common and fundamental words. No sound-shifts were noted with enough examples to warrant any suggestion of rules, but a number of cases of *Vejoz* *j* to *Towothli* *k*, *ch* to *k*, *s* to *ts*, *e* to *ai*, *e* to *i*, *u* to *o* were noted. At the same time vocabularies of *Suhin-Chunupí* and *Chorotí* were compared. These seem to be about equidistant from *Vejoz* (*Mataco*) and from *Towothli* (*Macá*), a little closer, as would be expected, to *Vejoz*.

MATACO

This family has always been accepted as independent under the name *Mataco* or *Mataco-Mataguayo*. It is herein considered a member of the *Macro-Guaicurú* (q. v.) phylum, which includes also *Macá* (q. v.; also *Mataco-Macá*) and *Guaicurú*. The evidence of the relationship of *Mataco* and *Guaicurú* is outlined by Henry (1939), who stated that the grammatical structures of *Ashluslay* and *Pilagá* are so similar that an ancient historical relationship should be posited. He decided, however, not to place *Ashluslay* in the *Guaicurú* stock since the lexical difference is so great. There seem to be no doubts of the *Mataco* affinities of *Ashluslay*. Suggestions of relationships between *Mataco* and *Guaicurú* had previously been made by D'Orbigny (1839), Lafone-Quevedo (1893), Hunt (1913 a), and W. B. Grubb (1913), but had not met with general acceptance.

Several *Mataco* languages are still spoken by considerable numbers of Indians in the Gran Chaco; others are extinct.

Mataco is considered by some ¹⁴ the oldest linguistic family in the Chaco, and as having had great influence on "newer" groups. Lafone-Quevedo thought it a very mixed language, with grammar from one stock and lexicon from another.

¹⁴ Brinton, 1891 a; Hunt, 1915 b.

There is no great disagreement regarding the component languages of the family. All the *Mataguayos* are now known as *Vejos*. The north-west *Mataco* were called *Nocten* in the 18th century. The Pilcomayo *Mataco* are known as *Guisnay* today. Probably each of the bands mentioned by Lozano (1941, p. 81) had a slightly divergent and characteristic dialect; their names are not repeated here. The *Ash-luslay* have many synonyms, some of which must be distinguished from similar names of other groups; one, *Chunupí* or *Choropí* may be confused with the *Lule-Vilela Chunupí*; they are also incorrectly given the *Tupí* name *Tapieté*.

Loukotka (1935) puts the extinct *Guentuse* with *Mataco*; most authorities place them with *Macá* (*Enimagá*). W. Schmidt (1926) includes the extinct *Matará* (*Amulalá*) (q. v.) and *Malbalá*; Rivet (1924 a) agrees as to the latter, but *Matará* he considers *Lule-Vilela*; Métraux (Handbook, vol. 1, pp. 231-232) and Nimuendajú (map and index) think it best to consider both of uncertain affiliation. The *Matará* were related to and understood *Tonocote* (q. v.), which also W. Schmidt (1926) and Nimuendajú (map and index) place with *Mataco*. Brinton (1891 a) adds *Akssek*, a group nowhere else mentioned.

MACÁ (ENIMAGÁ, COCHABOTH)

Macá is herein postulated as a member of the *Mataco-Macá* family of the *Macro-Guaicurú* phylum (q. v.). The history of the stock and of its nomenclature is most confusing. It was first called *Guaná*, causing confusion with *Arawak Guaná*. Later it was termed *Ennimá* or *Enimagá*, but most of the languages included therein differed greatly from *Enimagá* proper. Rivet (1924 a) split these off to form his *Mascoi* family, retaining the name *Enimagá* for the present group. Probably to avoid this confusion, W. Schmidt (1926) adopted the term *Cochabot*, the *Enimagá* self-name, which is preferred also by Métraux herein; most of the others stick to *Enimagá*. Of recent years the name *Macá* or *Makká* has had some vogue. Max Schmidt (1936 a) demonstrated that the modern *Macá* or *Towothli* speak a language related to the old *Enimagá* and are probably the descendants of the latter (*Enimagá-Macá*). Nimuendajú (map and index), however, although admitting an *Enimagá* family, puts *Macá* with *Mataco*, *Toosle* (*Towothli*) with *Enimagá*. Much of the confusion is due to the *Lengua*, a name applied to several different groups. The "old" *Lengua* are *Cochaboth*; the "new," *Lengua Mascoi*. (See fuller discussion in Métraux, Handbook, vol. 1, pp. 236-237.)

MATACO-MACA

I. *Mataco*A. *Mataco-Mataguayo*1. *Mataco*a. *Guisnay*b. *Nocten (Octenai)*2. *Mataguayo*a. Northern: *Hueshuo, Pesatupe, Abucheta*b. Southern: *Vejoz*B. *Chorotí-Ashluslay*1. *Chorotí (Yofuaha)*2. *Ashluslay (Chulupí, Chonopí, Suhin, Sotiagay, Tapieté)*II. *Macá (Enimagé, Cochaboth, Guaná, Lengua)*A. *Enimagé*1. *Macá (Towothli, Toosle)*B. *Guentusé*C. *Cochaboth-Lengua*

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Chorotí-Ashluslay.—Henry, 1939; Hunt, 1915 a; Karsten, 1932, pp. 225–230; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1910–11, 1936–37; Nordenskiöld, 1912, pp. 28–31; Pape, 1935; Rosen, 1904, p. 13.

Macá.—Belaieff, 1931–34, 1940; Brinton, 1898 a (*Enimagé*); Hunt, 1915 b (*Towothli*); Huonder, 1902 (*Enimagé*); Kersten, 1905 (*Lengua, Enimagé, Guentuse*); Koch-Grünberg, 1902 b (*Enimagé*); Kysela, 1931; Métraux, 1942 b; Schmidt, M., 1936 a, 1937 b.

GUAICURÚ (WAICURÚ)

Guaicurú was an important linguistic family of the Chaco region, but most of the languages are now extinct, and the surviving groups reduced to three or four with relatively few speakers.

The family has always been accepted as independent, though several arguments for wider relationships have been made. When more careful linguistic studies are made it is not unlikely that *Guaicurú* and *Mataco* will fall together into a larger phylum to which *Chiquito* may also be added. This is the opinion of Lafone-Quevedo (1910), who considers *Mataco* a subgroup of *Guaicurú*, and both related to *Chiquito*; he also believes *Quechua* related to *Guaicurú*. All these languages have a superficial *Hokan*-like aspect which is not borne out by a

hasty comparison of vocabularies; phonetics, morphology, and pronominal systems are somewhat similar.¹⁵

Guaicurú, of course, must be distinguished from the Baja California language of identical or similar name. The languages fall into two, possibly into three, main groups. There is little disagreement among the various authorities regarding the relationships, and the adjoined table, compiled from these, varies little from any. Names of small groups or bands, ignored here, may be found elsewhere (Lozano, 1941, p. 62). The affinities between the various "dialects" are said to be very close.

Possible or doubtful members of the family are:

Guachi.—Traditionally included but of doubtful affiliation. They may originally have had their own language, later abandoned for *Mbayá*. Loukotka (1935) considers it a language mixed with *Chiquito*. Omitted by W. Schmidt (1926).

Layaná.—Generally considered *Arawak*, but placed by Nimuendajú (map and index) in *Guaicurú*.

Juri (Suri).—Perhaps *Guaicurú*, probably sedentary *Tonocoté*.

Querandí (q. v.).—Placed by Rivet (1924 a) in *Guaicurú* without any certainty. Others include *Charrúa* (q. v.).

Mahoma or Hohoma.—Judging by linguistic position, according to Metraux (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 225), they may have been related to *Toba* or *Mocoví*.

The relationships of *Aguilot* and of *Cocolot* are based on historical, not on linguistic, evidence.

Brinton (1891 a, p. 315) adds to his *Guaicurú* Family: *Chica*, *Orejón*, *Churumata*, *Malbalai*, *Matagayo-Churumata*, *Quiniquinaux*, *Tereno*, and *Yapitilagua* or *Pitilaga*. Some of these are probably synonyms, others generally placed in other families. Loukotka (1935) lists the language *Karrai*, apparently mentioned by no other of the authorities consulted.

A number of the tribes in this region seem to have adopted *Guaicurú* relatively recently. Prominent among these are the *Tereno*, *Kinikinao*, *Layaná*, and some of the scattered groups of *Guaná* (q. v.), who apparently originally spoke *Arawakan*. They might therefore be classified in either of these "families," and are often differently classified by different authorities. On the accompanying linguistic map they are given as *Arawakan*.

¹⁵ See especially J. P. Harrington's opinions (1943) on *Quechua*.

GUAICURÚ

I. *Guaicurú*

A. Northern

1. *Mbayá-Guaicurú*

- a. West: *Caduveo* (*Cadiguegodí*), *Guetiadegodí* (*Guetiadebo*)
- b. East: *Apacachodegodegí* (*Mbayá Mirim*), *Lichagotegodegí* (*Icachodeguo* ?), *Eyibogodegí*, *Gotocogegodegí* (*Ocotoguebo* ?)
- c. *Payaguá* (*Lengua*):
 - a. North: *Sarigué* (*Cadigué*)
 - b. South: *Magach* (*Agacé*, *Siacuás*, *Tacumbú*)

II. *Frentones*

A. Middle

1. *Toba* (*Tocowit*)

- a. *Toba*: *Guazú*, *Komlék*, *Michi* (*Miri*), *Cocolot*, *Lanyagachek*, *Mogosma*, *Chirokina*, *Natica*
- b. *Pilagá*
- c. *Aguilot*

B. South

1. *Abipón* (*Callaga*)

- a. *Mapenuss* (*Yaukanigá*)
- b. *Mepene*
- c. *Gulgaissen* (*Kilvasa*)

2. *Mocoví* (*Mbocobí*)

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Mbayá—Caduvéo—Payagua.—Adam, 1899; Aguirre, 1898, pp. 490-501 (*Lengua*); Boggiani, 1895, 1900; Castelnau, 1852, pp. 280-282; Gilij, 1780-84, pp. 367-371; Kersten, 1905; Koch-Grünberg, 1903, pp. 45-70; Lafone-Quevedo, 1892 b, 1896 c, 1897 b; Loukotka, 1929-30, pp. 99-106, 1933; Sánchez Labrador, 1896; Vellard, 1937; Vellard and Osuna, 1934.

Toba.—Adam, 1899; Aguirre, 1898; Anonymous, 1933 a; Barcena, 1893; Cardus, 1886, p. 321; Ducci, 1904, 1905, 1911-12; Karsten, 1923, 1932, pp. 127-223, Kersten, 1905 (*Toba*, *Pilagá*, *Aguilot*); Koch-Grünberg, 1903, pp. 70-82; Lafone-Quevedo, 1893; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1925 a; Loukotka, 1929-30 (*Toba*, *Pilagá*); Nusser-Asport, 1897; Palavecino, 1931-33 (*Pilagá*); Tebbboth, 1943.

Abipón—Mocoví.—Adam, 1899; Adelung and Vater, 1806-17; Aguirre, 1898, pp. 491-504; Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Ducci, 1911-12; Kersten, 1905; Lafone-Quevedo, 1892 a, 1892 b, 1892-93, 1893 a, 1893 b, 1896-97; Larrañaga, 1924 a; Tavolini, 1856.

Guachi.—Castelnau, 1852, pp. 278-280; Kersten, 1905; Martius, 1867, 2:131-133.

Tereno.—Baldus, 1937.

LULE-VILELAN

"*Lulela*" would be a good mellifluous hybrid term for this "family" if its validity is finally definitely established. The two groups have been linked in classifications since earliest days, but Loukotka (1935) separates them into two families. This suggests that they differ

greatly, with a possibility of nonrelationship. The terms applied to the joint group, however, have been many: Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a) called it *Lule*, Nimuendajú (map, index) prefers *Vilela*; Loukotka (1935) uses both *Lule* and *Vilela*. Rivet (1924 a) and Pericot (1936) term it *Vilela-Chunupí*; W. Schmidt (1926) and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 227) prefer *Lule-Vilela*, here adopted.

Though it may be possible that a few *Vilela*-speaking Indians remain, the languages of the group are practically extinct. The linguistic data are relatively few. There is so much disagreement regarding the affiliations of languages in this region that it is not unlikely that many "families" will eventually be found to be related. Métraux suggests that a careful comparison with *Mataco* might prove significant. Other possible distant relatives are *Diaguíta*, *Macá*, *Sanavirón*, *Comechingón*, *Charrúa*, etc.

Even for this region there is an unusual amount of disagreement and question regarding the component languages of the group. Some authorities place *Tonocoté* (q. v.) with *Lule*; others put this language under *Diaguíta*, but most consider it related to *Mataco*. There were two groups of *Lule*; the sedentary mountain *Lule*, the *Lule* of Barcena, spoke *Quechua*, *Tonocoté*, and *Diaguíta*; the *Lule* of Machoni spoke *Lule-Vilela*. The *Lule-Vilelan Chunupí* (*Chulupí*, *Sunupí*) of the Bermejo River must be distinguished from the *Mataco Chunupí* (*Choropí*) of the Pilcomayo River. Loukotka (1935) includes *Cacán* (*Diaguíta*) and *Sanavirón* (q. v.) with *Vilela*; Jijón y Caamaño includes *Sanavirón*. Nimuendajú (map and index) apparently includes *Güenoa*, which all others consider as *Charrúa*. Possible members of the family, according to Métraux, are *Matará* (q. v.) (Rivet, 1924 a: *Vilela-Chunupí*; Nimuendajú: unclassified), who were probably related to the *Tonocoté* (q. v.); *Malbalá* (Rivet, 1924 a: *Mataco*; Nimuendajú: unclassified), who were associated with the *Vilela*; *Palomo*.

LULE-VILELA

I. *Lule*

A. *Great Lule* (of Miraflores, of Machoni)

B. *Small Lule*

1. *Isistiné*
2. *Tokistiné*
3. *Oristiné*

II. *Vilela*

A. *Atalalá*

B. *Chunupí* (*Sinipé*, *Chulupí*)

1. *Yoo* (*Yoo*, *Wamalca*)
2. *Ocolé*
3. *Yecoanita*

LULE-VILELA—Continued

II. *Vilela*—Continued

- C. *Pasain* (*Pazaine*)
- D. *Omoampa* (*Umuapa*)
- E. *Vacaa*
- F. *Vilela*
- G. *Ipa*
- H. *Takete*
- I. *Yoconoampa* (*Yecunampa*)
- J. *Wamalca*
- (K. *Malbalá* ?)

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Lule.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17; Brinton, 1898 a; Calandrelli, 1896; Huonder, 1902; Kersten, 1905; Lafone-Quevedo, 1894; Machoni de Cerdeña, 1732, 1894; Techo, 1673.

Vilela-Chunupí-Choropí.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17; Lafone-Quevedo, 1895 a; Lizondo Borda, 1938.

TONOCOTÉ, MATARÁ, AND GUACARÁ

These three extinct languages had best be left unclassified. All may be related. Rivet (1924 a) places them under *Vilela-Chunupí*, others with *Mataco*. *Tonocoté* is especially in dispute. Métraux (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 232) believes that the *Matará* spoke *Tonocoté*, which is included in the *Lule* region in the linguistic map herewith. Nimuendajú places *Tonocoté* with *Mataco*; the resemblance between the terms *Tonocoté* and *Nocten* is suggestive. They might also have been related to *Diaguíta*, as Schmidt (1926) suggests. (See also Handbook, vol. 2, p. 657.)

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ARAWAKAN

Arawak is probably the largest and most important linguistic family in South America, both in extent and in number of component languages and dialects. It extends, or extended, from Cuba and the Bahamas, perhaps even from Florida, to the Gran Chaco and the sources of the Xingú, possibly even to Uruguay (*Chaná*), and from the mouth of the Amazon to the eastern foothills of the Andes, possibly to the highlands (*Uru*), or even to the Pacific (*Chango*). In various groups, sometimes continuous, sometimes isolated, it ranges throughout this area. The distribution is very similar to that of the other great family of the tropical lowlands, the *Carib*. The original home and point of distribution is supposed to have been the Orinoco and Rio Negro region of the borders of Guiana, Venezuela, and Brazil. If the *Uru-Puquina* languages are actually related to *Arawak*, that may

have been the first migration. *Arawak* languages seem to have been supplanted in places by *Carib* tongues, in other parts by Highland languages, *Aymara* and *Quechua*. The numbers of *Arawak*-speaking peoples are rapidly diminishing, and many tribes and languages are now extinct.

Other names applied to the family have been *Maipure* (Gilij, 1780-84) and *Nu-Aruac* (Steinen, 1886). Several suggestions for wider relations have been made. If *Arawak* is ever linked in a phylum with other recognized families other than with small groups of present questionable independence, it will probably be with the *Carib*. A suggested tie-up with *Tupí* is less likely. Schuller (1919-20 a, 1928) believes in a great phylum including at least *Arawak*, *Carib*, *Chibcha*, and *Maya*, but he never presented cogent proof; his opinion has been accorded little consideration.

A typical *Arawakan* language (*Campa*) shows absence of nominal incorporation. The pronominal subject is prefixed, the object suffixed. There are temporal suffixes and modal prefixes. Verbal suffixes precede the pronominal object. The nominal plural is expressed by a suffix. The same stem is generally employed for verb, noun, and adjective, the distinctions made by affixes. *Arawakan* languages generally have gender distinctions. The first person pronoun is usually *nu*, whence the generic name *Nu-Arawak*; the second person is generally *p* or *pi*.

The correct grouping of the hundred-odd *Arawak* languages is an impossible task. Many of the extinct ones will never be classified with certainty, and the data on most of the living tongues are insufficient. No comprehensive classification on a linguistic basis accompanied by evidence has ever been attempted.¹⁶

Probably because of the large number of *Arawak* languages, and the poverty, both quantitative and qualitative, of the data upon them, no comparative *Arawak* grammar has yet been published. Rivet (1924 a), W. Schmidt (1926), and Loukotka (1935) have presented classifications. These vary greatly; each contains certain languages considered independent by the others. Schmidt's is the most detailed, with 7 main divisions and 16 subgroups. Loukotka has 14, 4 of which consist of a single "mixed" language. Rivet makes seven principal divisions. The main points of difference are: One of Schmidt's groups is the *Jivaro* (q. v.), generally accepted as independent. Loukotka makes an independent family, the *Araúá*, of some of the languages of the *Araúá* or *Jurúá-Purús* group. Schmidt considers the *Tacana* group as an independent family. Loukotka includes the *Chamicuro*, generally considered as *Pano* or *Aguano*. Rivet links the *Goajiro* and the languages of the Orinoco and the

¹⁶ One may be expected in one of the promised volumes by Perea y Alonso (1942 *et seq.*).

northern branches of the Amazon to those of the upper Xingú and the *Paressí* and *Saraveca* of Bolivia. In another division he joins the *Arua* group of the Juruá-Purús region with the *Guaná* Group of the Paraguayan Gran Chaco. Since Rivet seems not to have presented the evidence for these unexpected groupings, and since they were not accepted in the later classifications of Schmidt and Loukotka, the more common geographical grouping has been herein accepted as the basis for classification, using the more detailed and less radical divisions of Schmidt as a base. There is general, but far from complete, agreement on the composition of the minor subdivisions.

ARAWAKAN CLASSIFICATION

I. Northern

A. Insular ¹

1. Lesser Antilles

- a. *Igneri*
- b. *Cabre* ²

2. Greater Antilles

- a. *Taino*
- b. *Sub-Taino*
- c. *Ciquayo*
- d. *Lucayo*

B. Northwestern

1. *Goajiro* ³

- a. *Goajiro: Cosina*(?),⁴ *Gobuxegual, Gimboxegual*
- b. *Guanebucan*
- c. *Parauhano: Toa, Alile*
- d. *Tairona*(?) ⁵
- e. *Chimila*(?) ⁵

2. *Caquetío*

- a. *Caquetío*:⁶ *Guaicari*
- b. *Achagua: Tayaga, Yaguai, Chucuna, Amarizana,* ⁷
Caouri
- c. *Tecua*(?)
- d. *Motilón* of Catatumbo and Rio de Oro (?) ⁸

3. *Guayupé*

- a. *Guayupé*
- b. *Eperigua*
- c. *Sae*

¹ Rivet (1924 a, pp. 249-250) does not mention this group in his classification of *Arawak* languages.

² Probably identical with the *Cabre* or *Caberre* of the Orinoco.

³ Rivet puts *Goajiro, Paressí*, and *Saraveca* of Bolivia, the languages of the upper Xingú, and those of the Orinoco and northern Amazon in the same group.

⁴ Reichel-Dolmatoff (personal communication) says that, although located in the middle of the Goajira Peninsula, surrounded by *Goajiros* and always considered as *Goajiran*, the *Cosina* are not *Goajiro* and do not speak *Arawakan*.

⁵ See separate article on "Tairona and Chimila" in the *Chibchan* section. Reichel-Dolmatoff (personal communication) believes that the *Chimila* are *Arawakan*; if so, the *Tairona* probably were also.

⁶ W. Lehmann (1920) considers *Caquetío* as *Chibchan*, related to *Betoi*.

⁷ W. Schmidt (1926) classifies *Amarizana* as *Carib*.

⁸ Reichel-Dolmatoff (personal communication) says that, although the *Motilón* of the Sierra de Perijá are pure *Cariban*, those of Catatumbo and Rio de Oro are very different and seem to be *Arawakan*, though the linguistic materials are very scarce.

ARAWAKAN CLASSIFICATION—Continued

I. Northern—Continued

B. Northwestern—Continued

4. *Piapoco* (Dzase)a. *Piapoco*b. *Cabre* (Caberre) ⁹c. *Mitua*II. Northern Amazon ¹⁰A. *Arawak*1. *Arawak*2. *Araua* (n) ¹¹B. *Palicur*1. *Palicur*2. *Marawan*

C. Rio Branco

1. *Wapishana* (*Wapiana*, *Wapityan*)a. *Wapishana*b. *Amariba*2. *Atoraí* (*Dauri*)a. *Atoraí*b. *Mapidian* (*Mayopityan*)D. Orinoco Group ¹²1. *Guinau* (*Quinhao*, *Inao*)a. *Guaniare*2. *Maipure* ¹³3. *Mawacué*4. *Yavitero* (*Paraene*, *Yavita*)E. Indeterminate Group ¹⁴1. *Baniva* ¹⁵a. *Avani*b. *Quirrua*2. *Baré* ¹⁶a. *Baré*b. *Baraúna*3. *Arekena* (*Warekena*)4. *Cariaya*⁹ Related to and probably identical with the *Cabre* of the Insular Group.¹⁰ Most of the languages below are listed by Gillin (Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 801-804). A few are added from other sources. Quite a number given by Gillin are here omitted. *Tarumá* and *Paraiien* are considered later herein. In addition to those that Gillin admits to be of questionable *Arawak* affinities—*Apirua*, *Aramisho*, *Macapa*, *Marourioux*, *Pino*, *Purui*, *Tocoyen*—other authorities doubt three more. Nimuendajú leaves *Arekena* unclassified, Rivet considers *Parauana* as *Cariban*, and Nimuendajú believes *Pauishana* to be *Cariban*.¹¹ The *Araúá* migrated from Marajó Island to Guiana. (See Nimuendajú, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 195.)¹² This group contains only those languages that Rivet (1924 a) and W. Schmidt (1926) place in their Orinoco Group and Loukotka (1935) in his Guiana Group, except for *Guinau* which Loukotka places in the present Group C, the Rio Branco languages.¹³ Giliġ (1780-84) applied the name *Maipure* to the *Arawak* family.¹⁴ Consisting of languages placed by Schmidt (1926) in his Orinoco Group, by Rivet (1924 a) in his Northern Amazon Group.¹⁵ *Baniva* is a generic term employed for all *Arawak*-speaking groups in the Northwest Amazon region. The larger number of so-called *Baniva* languages are listed in the Rio Negro Group and the entire bibliography is therein.¹⁶ Distinguish *Baré* from Bolivian *Bauré*.

ARAWAKAN CLASSIFICATION—Continued

II. Northern Amazon—Continued

F. Rio Negro Group

1. *Izaneni* (*Baniva*) Division

- a. *Carútana* (*Cazuzana*): *Yawarete-Tapuya*, *Baniva do Icana*, *Wadzoli dakenai*, *Mapache dakenai*, *Urubu-Tapuya*, *Dzawi-minanei*, *Adaru-Minanei*, *Arara-Tapuya*, *Yurupari-Tapuya*.
- b. *Catapolitani* (*Kadaupuritana*)
- c. *Caua-Tapuya* (*Maulieni*)
- d. *Cuati* (*Costi-Tapuya*, *Capité-Minanei*)
- e. *Huhuteni* (*Hohodene*)
- f. *Mapanai* (*Ira-Tapuya*)
- g. *Moriwene* (*Sucuriyü-Tapuya*)
- h. *Payualiene* (*Payoarini*, *Pacú-Tapuya*)
- i. *Siust* (*Walipéri-Tapuya*): *Ipeca-Tapuya* (*Cumata-Minanei*)

j. *Tapüira*2. *Miritiparaná* Division

- a. *Cauyari* (*Karyari*)
- b. *Malapi*
- c. *Yucuna*
- d. *Menimehe*

3. *Mawaca* Division

- a. *Adzaneni* (*Tatu-Tapuya*)
- b. *Mandawaca*
- c. *Masaca*
- d. *Yabaana*

4. *Tariana* Division

- a. *Tariana*
- b. *Itayaine* (*Iyaine*)

5. *Yapurá* Division A

- a. *Wainumá* (*Uainumá*)
- b. *Mariaté*

6. *Yapurá* Division B ¹⁷

- a. *Cayuishana* (*Cawishana*)
- b. *Pasé* (*Passé*)
- c. *Yumana* (*Chimana*)
- d. *Manao*
- e. *Aruaki*

7. *Wiriná* ¹⁸ (*Uirina*)III. Pre-Andine ¹⁹

A. Amazonian

- 1. *Marawa* ²⁰
- 2. *Waraicú* (*Araiku*, *Uraicu*, *Wareku*)

¹⁷ Loukotka (1935) separates the *Yapura* Group as generally accepted, and places the last three languages in a separate group as "Languages mixed with Macú."

¹⁸ Schmidt places *Wiriná* in a group by itself.

¹⁹ W. Schmidt (1926) distinguishes between the Pre-Andine (Montaña) and the Juruá-Purús languages, but his division of these is greatly at variance from that of Métraux and Steward (q. v.) generally accepted herein. Loukotka (1935) considers them all as Pre-Andine. The division is probably purely a geographical one, with border-line instances; linguistically probably all fall together. The Pre-Andine languages are said to differ little from those of the North Amazon. (See Rivet and Tastevin, 1919-24.)

²⁰ Distinguish from *Marawan* of Guiana.

ARAWAKAN CLASSIFICATION—Continued

III. Pre-Andine—Continued

B. *Cutinana* Group

1. *Cutinana*
2. *Cuniba* ²¹
3. *Cujisenayeri* (*Cujigeneri*, *Cushitineri*)

C. Juruá-Purús

1. *Canamari* ²²
2. *Catukina* ²³
3. *Catiana*
4. *Inapari*
5. *Ipuriná* ²⁴ (*Hypurina*)
 - a. *Cangutu*
 - b. *Cashararí*
6. *Maniteneri*
7. *Wainamari* (*Uainamari*)

D. Montaña (Chuncho)

1. *Campa*
 - a. *Antí*
 - b. *Antaniri* (*Unconino*)
 - c. *Camatica*
 - d. *Campa* (*Atirí*)
 - e. *Catongo*
 - f. *Chicheren*
 - g. *Chonta*
 - h. *Kimbiri*
 - i. *Kirinairi*
 - j. *Pangoa*
 - k. *Tampa*
 - l. *Ugunichiri*
 - m. *Unini*
2. *Piro*
 - a. *Manatinavo*
 - b. *Chontakiro*
 - c. *Simirinch*
 - d. *Upatarinavo*
3. *Machiguenga* (*Amachengue*)
4. *Masco* ²⁵
5. *Sirineri*
6. *Wachipairi* (*Huachipari*)
7. *Puncuri*
8. *Pucpacuri*

IV. South

A. Bolivia

1. Bolivia
 - a. *Mojo* (*Moxo*): *Muchojeone*
 - b. *Bauré*
2. Chiquito
 - a. *Paiconeca*, *Paunaca*

²¹ Distinguish from *Panoan Conibo*.

²² Distinguish from *Panoan* and from *Catukinan Canamari* or *Canamare*.

²³ Distinguish from *Catukina* "family."

²⁴ Formerly considered an independent family by Chamberlain (1913 a) and Brinton (1891 a).

²⁵ Aza (1935) writes of the "Arasaire or Mashco." The former are generally regarded as *Panoan*.

ARAWAKAN CLASSIFICATION—Continued

IV. South—Continued

B. *Paresí*²⁶ (*Ariti*)1. *Cashiníti*a. *Waimaré*2. *Iranché*²⁷a. *Sacuriú-iná*b. *Takuru-iná*c. *Timaltiá*3. *Cozárini*a. *Wild Cabishí*b. *Paresí-Cabishí*c. *Mahibarez*C. *Saraveca*D. *Paraná*²⁸1. East: *Guaná*²⁹ (*Chuala, Chaná*)a. *Layaná* (*Niguecactemigí*)b. *Tereno*c. *Echoaladi* (*Echenoana, Chararana*)d. *Kinikinao* (*Equiniquiná*)2. West: *Chané*²⁹a. *Izoceño*E. *Xingú*1. *Xingú*a. *Mehinacú*b. *Yaulapiti* (*Jaulapiti*)c. *Custenau* (*Kustenahú*)d. *Waurá* (*Uaure*)²⁶ Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 349, fn. 1) says that *Paresí* is closer to *Mehinacú* than to *Mojo*.²⁷ M. Schmidt (1942) claims that *Iranché* is not *Arawakan* (Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, fn. 2, p. 349).²⁸ Many of these groups, such as the *Layaná*, *Tereno*, *Kinikinao*, and probably some others have abandoned their former *Arawak* speech and now speak *Guaicurú*. They are, therefore, properly placed under *Guaicurú* in some classificatory systems.²⁹ See following article on "Chané and Chaná."

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Insular.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17 (Haiti); Goeje, 1939; Martius, 1867, 2:314–319 (Cuba, Haiti); Tastevin, 1919.

Goajiro.—Candelier, 1893; Celedón, 1878; Isaacs, 1884; Jahn, 1914, 1927, pp. 355–376; Marcano, 1890 b; Oramas, 1913 a, 1918 a; Tello, 1913 b; Uteaga, 1895.

Parauhano.—Jahn, 1914, 1927, pp. 190–197; Oramas, 1918 a, 1918 b.

Caquetío.—Jahn, 1927, pp. 199–223.

Achagua.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17; Alemany y Bolufer, 1929 a, 1929 b; Gilij, 1780–84, p. 346; Jahn, 1927, pp. 377–378; Oramas, 1916.

Piapoco.—Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 242–249; Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 287–301; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 85–95.

Cabre.—Gumilla, 1745; Roth, 1924.

Arawak.—Brinton, 1871; Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882; Ferreira-Penna, 1881 (*Aruan*); Goeje, 1928 a; Martius, 1867, 2:307–311; Mordini, 1935 (*Aura'an*); Penard, T. E., 1926–27; Stahel, 1944; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 333–335.

Palicur-Marawán.—Martius, 1867, 2:324; Nimuendajú, 1926; Rivet and Reinburg, 1921.

Wapishana.—Coudreau, H., 1887, pp. 477–87; Farabee, 1918 b, pp. 13–132, 183–274; Grupe y Thode, 1890, p. 254; Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 220 (*Amariba*); Koch-Grünberg and Hübner, 1908, pp. 35–39, 44; Schomburgk, 1847–48, (*Amariba*).

Atorai-Mapidian.—Farabee, 1918 b, pp. 158–164, 274–277, 283–286; Schomburgk, 1847–48, pp. 515–523.

Yavitero and Orinoco Group.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17 (*Maipure*); Chaffanjon, 1889 (*Guinao*); Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882; Gilij, 1780–84, pp. 185–90, 202–13, 375–82 (*Maipure*); Koch-Grünberg, 1909–10, 1928 (*Guinao*); Loukotka, 1929–30, p. 85; Martius, 1867, 2:312–313 (*Guinao*); Montolieu, 1882, pp. 281–284; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 63–74.

Baré Group.—Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 330–333; Chamberlain, 1910 a (*Cariaya*); Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 251–252; Koch-Grünberg, 1909–10, pp. 56–153 (*Baré*, *Warekena*), 1913, p. 455 (*Arecuna*), 1928, pp. 246–257 (*Arecuna*), pp. 272–278; Martius, 1867, 2:230–231, 285–286, 231–232 (*Cariay*); Montolieu, 1882, 1895; Nimuendajú, 1931–32, pp. 592–595 (*Baré*, *Uarekena*); Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 63–84 (*Baré*, *Uarekena*); Tello, 1913 b.

Baniva.—Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 337–341; Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 253–255; Gumilla, 1745; Koch-Grünberg, 1909–10; La Grasserie, 1892; Martius, 1867, 2: 261–263; Montolieu, 1882, pp. 276–280; Nimuendajú, 1931–32, pp. 590–592; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 53–62.

Baniva-Tapuya Group.—Cardona Puiz, 1945 (*Karro*); Koch-Grünberg, 1909–10, 1911, pp. 56–153, 203 (*Carutana*, *Katapolitani*, *Siusi*); Nimuendajú, 1931–32, pp. 596–618 (*Karútana*, *Kadaupuritana*, *Moriwene*, *Waliperi-Dakenai*, *Hohodene*, *Mapanai*, *Maüliení*, *Payualiene*, *Kumada-Mnanai*, *Kapité-Mnanei*); Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 76–84 (*Carútana*); Wallace, 1853.

Cauyari-Yucuna.—Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882; Koch-Grünberg, 1909–10, 1911, pp. 56–153, 203–257; Martius, 1867, 2: 253.

Adzaneni-Mandawaca.—Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 288–301; Loukotka, 1929–30, p. 85; Nimuendajú, 1931–32, pp. 613–614; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 63–74.

Tariana.—Coudreau, H., 1887; Koch-Grünberg, 1909–10, 1911, pp. 268–281; Martius, 1867, 1: 628–629 (*Yaboana*), 2: 260; Wallace, 1853.

Wainumá-Mariaté.—Martius, 1867, 2: 245–249, 266–268; Wallace, 1853.

Yapura Group.—Brinton, 1892 a (*Manao*); Martius, 1867, 2: 221–222 (*Manao*), 229 (*Uirina*), 250–252 (*Jumana*), 254–256 (*Passé*), 257–260 (*Cauixana*).

Marawa-Waraicú.—Martius, 1867, 2: 223–225, 233–234.

Cuniba.—Nimuendajú and Valle Bentes, 1923, pp. 215–217.

Juruá-Purús.—Chandless, 1866 (*Canamari*, *Maniteneri*); Martius, 1867, 2: 161–163 (*Catukina*), 235–236 (*Canamari*); Rivet, 1920 b (*Catukina*); Rivet and Tastevin, 1919–24; Stiglich, 1908 (*Inapari*).

Ipuriná.—Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 188; Chandless, 1866, p. 118; Ehrenreich, 1897 b; Koch-Grünberg, 1914–19; Nusser-Asport, 1890, p. 795; Polak, 1894; Steere, 1903, pp. 378–380; Tello, 1913 b.

Campa-Anti.—Adam, 1890 b; Cardus, 1886, p. 325; Carrasco, 1901, pp. 205–211; Castelnau, 1852, pp. 290–291; Delgado, E., 1896–97; Farabee, 1922, pp. 21–52; Marcoy, 1875, 1: 548; Pauly, 1928, p. 151; Reich, 1903, p. 135; Sala, G., 1905–06; Steinen, 1906; Tello, 1913 b; Tessmann, 1930, p. 83; Touchaux, 1908; Weiner, 1880.

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Masco.—Aza, 1935; Farabee, 1922, pp. 77–78.

Mojo-Bauré.—Adam and Leclerc, 1880 (*Bauré*); Adelung and Vater, 1806–17 (*Moxo*); Cardus, 1886, pp. 317–318; Magio, 1880 (*Bauré*); Marban, 1894 (*Mojo*); Métraux, 1942 a, pp. 53–80; Pauly, 1928, pp. 157–158; Tello, 1913 b.

Paiconeca-Paunaca.—Cardus, 1886, pp. 319–320, 327; Pauly, 1928, pp. 164–166.

Paressí.—Rondón, 1910, pp. 19–28; Schmidt, M., 1914 a, pp. 242–250; Steinen, 1894, pp. 542–547.

Saraveca.—Cardus, 1886, p. 327; Pauly, 1928, pp. 164–166; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913 c.

Paraná Region.—Bach, 1916; Baldus, 1937 (both *Tereno*); Boggiani, 1896; Castelnau, 1852, pp. 274–276; Martius, 1867, 2: 129–131; Schmidt, M., 1903 (all *Guaná*); Taunay, 1868, pp. 131–148.

Xingú Group.—Steinen, 1886, pp. 357–360 (*Custenau*); 1894, pp. 523–532 (*Mehinacú*, *Yaulapiti*, *Custenau Waura*).

CHANÉ AND CHANÁ

The name *Chané* is applied especially to several small isolated enclaves of *Arawak*-speaking peoples, the southernmost *Arawak* groups. It is, however, unfortunately, frequently confused with *Chaná*. Thus Brinton (1891 a) lists the *Chané* among the *Charrúan* (q. v.) tribes of Uruguay; these are today known as *Chaná* (q. v.). It was probably this analogy that led Perea y Alonso (1942) to claim the *Charrúa* to be *Arawak*. On the other hand, certain *Arawak* groups, especially the *Layaná*, seem to be known as *Chaná*. *Guaná* is probably a term related to *Chaná*.

LANGUAGES OF PROBABLE ARAWAKAN AFFINITIES

ARAUÁ GROUP¹⁷

The nature and composition of the group of *Arauá* languages are much disputed. Brinton (1891 a, p. 293) made an *Arauá* stock, composed of *Arauá*, *Pama*, *Pammary*, and *Purupurú*. Loukotka, in his 1935 classification, also proposed an *Arauá* family, but made it composed of *Arauá*, *Yamamadi*, and *Pammari*; however, in 1939 he put the group back under *Arawak* and added the languages *Kulina* and *Madiha*. Nimuendajú (map) accepts *Yamamadi*, *Pammary*, *Purupurú*, *Yuberi*, and *Culino* as *Arawak* but refuses to classify *Arauá*, *Sewacu*, *Pama*, and *Pamana*. Rivet (1924 a) includes all these in his *Arauá* group of *Arawak*, and considers the languages to fall with

¹⁷ The *Arawakan Arauá* must be distinguished from a small *Panoan* group on the Madre de Dios River and from several other groups with somewhat similar names.

the *Guaná-Tereno-Layaná* group of Paraguay. The following classification is, therefore, very tentative:

ARAUÁ GROUP

1. *Araúá*
2. *Culino*
 - a. *Culina*
 - b. *Curia*
 - c. *Curiana*
 - d. *Culiña*
3. *Pama*
 - a. *Pama*
 - b. *Pamana*
4. *Yamamadí*
 - a. *Yamamadí: Capaná, Capinamari, Colo*
 - b. *Purupurú: Paumari (Pammari)*
 - c. *Yuberi*
5. *Madihá*
6. *Sewacu*
7. *Sipó*

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APOLISTA OR LAPACHU

Chamberlain (1910 a) established an independent *Apolistan* family, based on early data. Crequi-Montfort and Rivet (1913 d) joined this to the Pre-Andine group of *Arawak*, mainly on the basis of a small vocabulary collected by Nordenskiöld from one of the last speakers. This classification has been accepted by all recent authorities. Loukotka (1935) finds vestiges of *Leco* in the language which was known as *Lapachu* (*Lapaču, Lapatšu*) and has now been replaced by *Quechua*. The *Apolista* may be descendants of the *Aguachile* (Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 506).

Bibliography.—Cardus, 1886; Chamberlain, 1910 a, pp. 179–180; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913 d; Métraux, 1942 a, pp. 29–30; Nordenskiöld, 1905; d'Orbigny, 1839, pp. 173–174.

AMUESHA

Synonyms: *Amagues, Amage, Amaje, Amoeshe, Amoiše, Amoische, Amoixa, Amueixa, Amuesa, Amueša, Amuese, Armueshe, Lorenzo, Omaje, San Lorenzo*.

The *Arawak* affiliations of *Amuesha* are questioned. Chamberlain (1913 a) considered it an independent family, the *Lorenzan*. Tello (1913 b) first suggested its *Arawak* affinities, but despite this Rivet (1924 a) preferred to classify it as independent. Loukotka (1935) places *Amoiše* with the Pre-Andine *Arawak*; Tessman (1930) sees *Tupí* elements in a mainly *Arawakan* language. Jijón y Caamaño

(1941-43) gives it independent status as a phylum. Steward and Métraux herein (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 536) call the *Amuesha* "linguistically similar to the *Campa*"; this statement does not seem to be borne out by the evidence. Mr. Louis Rankin writes (personal correspondence) from personal acquaintance, that, "The Amuexias to the west of the Campa are said to be a subtribe, but their language is quite different." They have for some time spoken *Quechua*. The *Lorenzo* and *Panatawa* are, or were probably related.

Bibliography.—Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 191 (*Lorenzan*); Farabee, 1922; Izaguirre, 1927-29; Sala, G., 1897, 1905-06; Tello, 1913 b; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 367-368, 617.

TUCUNA (TIKUNA)

Nimuendajú (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 713) advances arguments for his opinion that, following Chamberlain (1910 a) and Tessmann²⁷ (1930), *Tucuna* should be considered independent or isolated, not placed under *Arawak*, following Rivet (1912 b, 1924 a), who thinks it a very altered *Arawakan* tongue. However, W. Schmidt (1926), Krickeberg (1922), Loukotka (1935), and Igualada and Castellví (1940) accept the *Arawakan* connection. Loukotka thinks it is mixed with *Mura* and *Tucano*.

Bibliography.—Brinton, 1892 a, pp. 7-20; Castelnau, 1852, pp. 298-299; Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 198; Marcoy, 1875, p. 379; Martius, 1867, 2:159-161 (*Tecuna*); Nimuendajú, 1931-32, pp. 573-580 (*Tikuna*); Rivet, 1912 b; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 564-565, 617 (*Tikuna*).

TARUMÁ

Tarumá has been generally classed as an *Arawakan* language (Rivet, 1924 a; Loukotka, 1935; W. Schmidt, 1926; Gillin, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 803), but Nimuendajú (map) places it among his isolated languages; this opinion is apparently based on no new published data. If *Arawakan*, it is apparently an unusually variant form, since Loukotka (1935) puts it in a subgroup of its own as a mixed language (other element not stated), and with vestiges of *Camacón*; the latter is most doubtful. Rivet (1924 a) states that it was related to the extinct *Parauien*.

Bibliography.—Farabee, 1918 b, pp. 135-138, 277-283.

TACANA

Synonyms: *Takana*, *Tecaná*.

There are three linguistic groups in northwestern South America known by variations of the *t-k-n* phonetic combination; with the inevitable vowel modifications they are, therefore, liable to confusion. The standard spellings of these three tribes are *Tacana*, *Tucuna* or

Tikuna, and *Tucano*; each has been formerly accorded independent position.

The linguistic position of the *Tacana* group is a most uncertain and controversial question, and one that will require much intensive study for a definitive opinion. *Tacana* was accorded independent status by the early authorities, Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a). As a result of an exhaustive comparative study, Créqui-Montfort and Rivet (1921-23) put it under *Arawak*, in which opinion they are followed by Rivet (1924 a), Pericot y García (1936), and Loukotka (1935). W. Schmidt (1926), Krickeberg (1922), K. G. Grubb (1927), and the authors of the monographs in this Handbook wisely prefer to leave it as independent, or at least unclassified and doubtful.

Coterminous with both *Panoan* and *Arawakan* languages, the *Tacanan* languages show resemblances to both; the resemblance to one should be genetic, to the other the result of borrowing. Morphologically, the resemblance is much greater with *Panoan*, a fact that should carry great weight for genetic connection. Some 65 of the 101 words compared by Rivet are either identical or very similar in *Tacanan* and *Panoan*, so similar that the presumption is for recent borrowing, although the words are mainly basic ones, and few are in modernistic categories. Of the 101 words compared, 60 occur in only one language, or in one small group of languages, either *Panoan* or *Tacanan*, and are, therefore, presumably not original in these stocks; another 17 seem to be common also to *Arawakan*, leaving only 24 really pertinent cases.

Regarding the *Arawakan* resemblances, since 25 *Tacanan* vocabularies are compared with 65 *Arawakan* ones, a large number of fortuitous apparent resemblances would be expected; many of them occur in only one language; in many others the meaning is greatly changed. Of the 178 examples only a dozen or so would qualify as apparent certainties, and half of these are of domesticated plants or animals, such as dog, cotton, maize, manioc, and tobacco. No rules of sound change are suggested and none are apparent. The genetic relationship of *Tacanan* to *Arawakan* requires much more careful study before it can be accepted. *Tacanan* has also many words in common with *Aymara* and *Quechua*, but these are almost certainly borrowings, mainly from *Aymara*.

Armentia (1902) gives the names of some 40 subtribes or dialects of *Araona*, some of which are also found in the table below. *Araona* and *Caviña* are inextricably mixed, but some groups are pure *Araona*, and some pure *Caviña*. *Caviña* and *Cavineño* are not synonymous, according to Rivet, and the latter not a subdivision of *Araona*. Rivet also does not group *Guacanagua*, *Sapibocona*, or *Maropa* with any other languages. He distinguishes between *Toromona* and *Turamona*, the

latter a *Tacana* subgroup. There are no data on *Guacanahua*, but the *Tacana* affinities are vouched for by Cardus (1886) and Norden-skiöld (1905). The extinct *Sapibocona* are probably the same as the *Maropa*. Rivet considers *Chiragua* a subgroup of *Tacana*. Some of the *Arasa* speak *Tacanan*, but the group is really *Southwestern Pano* (*Arasaire*), and is also classified under *Pano*; the habitat is the same. Nordenskiöld's (1905) *Arasa* vocabulary is *Tacanan*; Llosa's (1906) *Arasaire* vocabulary, *Pano*.

Brinton (1891 a) also gives as subtribes *Equari*, *Samachuane*, *Carangue*, *Hucumano*, and *Torocoey*, which Rivet claims cannot with certainty be identified with *Tacanan*, as being extinct without recorded data, or known by other names.

No one has attempted to subdivide the *Tacana* group or to classify the component languages on a scientific linguistic basis. The following table incorporates the opinions of all authorities consulted, and greatly contravenes none.

TACANA

- A. *Araona Arauna, Arahuna*
 - 1. *Capachene* (*Kapaheni*)
 - 2. *Caviña* (*Kavina*)
 - 3. *Cavineño*
 - 4. *Mabenaro*
 - 5. *Machui* (*Machuvi*)
- B. *Arasa*
- C. *Chirigua* (*Chiriba, Tširigua, Tširiba*)
 - 1. *Chumana*
 - 2. *Maropa*
 - 3. *Sapibocona* (*Sapiboka*)
- D. *Guariza* (*Guaziza*)
- E. *Tacana* (*Takana, Tucana*)
 - 1. *Ayaychuna*
 - 2. *Babayana*
 - 3. *Chiliuvo*
 - 4. *Chivamona*
 - 5. *Idiama, Isiama*
 - 6. *Pamaino*
 - 7. *Pasaramona*
 - 8. *Saparuna*
 - 9. *Siliama*
 - 10. *Tumapasa* or *Maracani*
 - 11. *Turamona* (*Toromona*)
 - 12. *Uchupiamona*
 - 13. *Yabaypura*
 - 14. *Yubamona*
- F. *Tiatinagua* (*Tambopata-Guarayo*)
 - 1. *Guacanahua* (*Guanacanhua, Guarayo*¹)

¹ Distinguish from *Tupí-Guaraní Guarayo* (*Huaraya, Guarayu*, etc.; some of the bibliographical references there noted possibly apply here instead, or vice versa).

TACANA—Continued

F. *Tiatinagua* (*Tambopata-Guarayo*)—Continued2. *Chama*3. *Baguaja* (*Baguajairi*)4. *Chunchu*5. *Echoja*6. *Huanayo*7. *Kinaki*8. *Mohino*G. *Yamaluba*

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LANGUAGES OF POSSIBLE ARAWAKAN RELATIONSHIPS

TUYUNERI

The most recent compilers, Nimuendajú (map and index) and Loukotka (1935), prefer the spelling *Tuyoneri* to the standard *Tuyuneri*. This group is of later and less generally accepted standing than *Itonama*, *Canichana*, *Cayuvava*, *Movima*, and *Yurucare* (q. v.) in this region, and distant from them; it was discovered by Nordenskiöld (1906) in the early years of this century. *Tuyumiri*, assigned by Brinton (1891 a) to *Tacanan*, is probably an orthographical error; it is not mentioned by Chamberlain (1910 a, 1913 a). Markham (1910) identifies the *Tuyuneri* with the *Chunchos*, a generic name for Indians of the Montaña and hence a meaningless association. Rivet (1924 a), Pericot y Garéia (1936), Loukotka (1935), and Nimuendajú (map and index) accept it as an independent family or as isolated; Loukotka sees vestiges of *Panoan* in it. However, Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 541) place it unequivocally among the *Arawakan* groups.

Bibliography.—Nordenskiöld, 1905, pp. 275-276.

JIRAJARA

Not mentioned by earlier writers, *Jirajara* has been accorded independent position by Rivet (1924 a), Loukotka (1935), and some other recent authorities. W. Schmidt (1926) follows Oramas (1916) in considering it related to *Arawak*, which may well be found to be

the case when more scientific studies are made on its vocabulary and grammar. Hernández de Alba (Handbook, vol. 4, p. 469) dogmatically states that "the *Jirajara* . . . speak an *Arawakan* language (Oramas, 1916)." The most recent opinion, however, that of Febres Cordero (1942) is that it is not *Arawakan*, though containing many *Arawak* words, probably borrowed. Also about 10 percent of the words seem to show *Chibchan* connections. The *Ajágua*, given as a component language, may be synonymous with the *Achagua*, generally considered as *Arawak*. They may, however, be a separate group. The *Cuiba*, probably distinct from the *Guahibo* group of the same name, may be an *Ajagua* dialect.

JIRAJARA

1. *Gayón* (*Cayon*)
2. *Ayomán*
3. *Xagua*
 - a. *Cuiba* (?)
4. *Jirajara*

Bibliography.—Febres Cordero, 1942; Jahn, 1927, pp. 379–395; Oramas, 1916.

JÍVARO

The *Jívaro* family has always been known by orthographic variants of this name, such as *Xivaro* and *Chiwaro*; it is probably a corruption of *Shuara* or *Shiwora*, their own term. The resemblance to the name of a neighboring family, *Záparo*, may be significant, but no genetic relationship with the latter has been suggested. The name apparently became used to imply a wild rustic person and is applied in Puerto Rico to the native countryfolk of the interior mountains. They must be distinguished from the *Cavapanan Chébero* (*Xébero*) and from the *Hibito*. The language is still spoken by some thousands of Indians, but several groups have adopted *Quechua*.

Except for a few borrowed words, *Jívaro* seems to have nothing in common with *Quechua*, *Tupían*, *Cavapanan*, *Záparoan*, or *Panoan*. There are, however, a large number of apparent correspondences with *Arawakan*, the resemblance with *Campa* being especially strong. This may possibly be due to borrowing, especially since there are some important morphological differences. Beuchat and Rivet (1909–10) hesitatingly decided to place *Jívaro* in the *Arawakan* family, but in his later classification (1924 a) Rivet again gave it independent status, in which he has been followed by all other authorities except W. Schmidt (1926). J. P. Harrington (personal correspondence), however, believes that the *Arawak* resemblances are genetic and that *Jívaro* is a very divergent form of *Arawak*.

Jívaro is said to be clear and harmonious. The phonetic pattern is more like that of Amazonian than that of Andean languages. There

is a quasi-inflection, that is, terminal changes or suffixes for person and tense. Mechanism for pluralization is absent, and there is no trace of gender. Both classificatory prefixes and suffixes are found, and postpositions. Monosyllables are rare, and accent unimportant.

There may be said to be but one *Jivaro* language, relatively homogeneous, but very many dialects. Apparently no attempt has ever been made to subdivide the language, or to group the dialects. The subdivisions as generally given are presumably political and geographic, but the presumption is that the linguistic division would be roughly similar.

JÍVARO

I. *Jivaro*

A. *Shuara*

1. *Aguaruna*
 - a. *Alapico*
 - b. *Indanza*
 - c. *Iransa*
 - d. *Maranza*
 - e. *Santiago*
 - f. *Patocuma*
 - g. *Chiguasa*
 - h. *Yuganza*
2. *Wambisa*
 - a. *Uambisa*
 - b. *Cherembo*
 - c. *Chirapa*
 - d. *Chiwando*
 - e. *Candoa*
 - f. *Cangaime*
 - g. *Mangosisa*
3. *Achuale*
 - a. *Capawari*
 - b. *Copatasa*
 - c. *Machine*
 - d. *Pindu*
 - e. *Wampoya*
4. *Antipa*
5. *Maca*
 - a. *Walakisa*
 - b. *Zamora*
 - c. *Pintuc*
 - d. *Ayuli*
 - e. *Morona*
 - f. *Miazal*
6. *Upano*
7. *Bolona*
8. *Bracamoro (Pacamuru)*

B. *Palta*¹

1. *Malacata*

¹ See Murra, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 80.

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URU-CHIPAYA-PUKINA

The relationship of *Uru* (*Uro*) and *Pukina* (*Puquina*) to *Arawakan* is quite illogical. The *Uru-Puquina* inhabit the region of Lakes Titicaca and Poopó in Bolivia, about the highest, coldest, and most inhospitable area in South America; the majority of the *Arawak* languages are in the Tropic lowland forested regions. The evidence advanced for the affiliation (Tello, 1913 b; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1921, 1925-27) falls far short of proof, but it has been accepted by practically all the recent authorities on classification: W. Schmidt (1926), Pericot y García (1936), Loukotka (1935), Jijón y Caamaño (1943), etc. The relationship was first suggested by Tello (1913 b), the data for proof presented by Créqui-Montfort and Rivet (1925-27). Several of the "Handbook" authors (see La Barre, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 575), including the present one, consider the evidence advanced insufficient, doubt the connection, and think that the data should be reviewed. Dr. J. P. Harrington, however, is convinced of its validity. Uhle (1896) suggested a relationship to *Yunca-Mochica*, and Loukotka (1935) calls them mixed languages, with vestiges of *Pano* and *Mose-tene*. Many writers believe that the present *Uru* group is but a tiny remnant of a very early or autochthonous population that once occupied a much larger region, extending to, and including a large area on, the Pacific Coast. (See Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43, map 3.) If the result of an *Arawak* migration, it was probably the first of these.

Three languages, *Uru*, *Pukina*, and *Chipaya*, are ordinarily placed in this group. The published vocabularies, however, show such differentiation that even the interrelationship of these is not beyond question. Uhle (1896), Polo (1901), and Boman (1908) believed *Pukina* and *Uru* distinct, and Chamberlain (1910 a, 1913 a) distinguished *Puquinan* and *Uran* families. Posnansky (1915) considers *Chipayan* an independent family distinct from the others. La Barre (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 575) says that the *Uru* "call their language

Puquina," but that the *Uru* language "is not the same as the *Puquina-Uro* of La Grasserie (1894)."

The data on the *Uru* group of languages seem to be exclusively lexical; grammatical material is a great desideratum.

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OCHOSUMA

Ochosuma or *Uchuzuma* may be a dialect of *Uru*, but had best be left with the unclassified languages.

CHANGO AND COAST URU

Insufficient data are available to classify *Chango*, an extinct language of miserable fishermen on the Chilean coast. As probable remnants of an early archaic population, an independent language is not unlikely, but this possibility is insufficient to justify the establishment of a separate family for them as Chamberlain (1913 a) did. The only data seem to be place and personal names, and the statement that they spoke a language different from their neighbors. Different opinions have placed them with the *Atacameño*, *Chono*, and *Alacaluf*. The most recent and thorough studies link them with the *Uru* (q. v.) of the Bolivian lakes, which linguistic group Rivet believes to be of *Arawakan* affinities. The argument is apparently based mainly on the fact that some groups adjacent to the *Chango* were known as *Uru*, and on a comparison of *Chango* names with Bolivian *Uru*. It is probable that the name *Uru* was applied to a number of nonrelated linguistic groups, just as the *Lacandón* in *Chiapas* are locally called "*Caribs*," and Puerto Rican countryfolk "*Jívaros*," and the existence of a group of true *Uru* on the Chilean coast is unlikely. At any rate the sources do not equate *Chango* and *Uru*. The suggestion that the Bolivian *Uru* had seasonal fishing colonies on the coast is improbable. Brand (1941 c) distinguishes between the *Northern Chango* or *Uru*, whom he believes to be linguistically *Uran*, and the *Southern* or *True Chango*, sometimes wrongly termed *Uru*, who were of unknown language. (See Handbook, vol. 2, pp. 575, 595-597.)

Bibliography.—Boman, 1908; Brand, 1941 c; Chamberlain, 1910 a; Cúneo Vidal, 1913; Garcilaso de la Vega, 1723; Knoche, 1931; Latcham, 1910; Lozano-Machuca, 1885; Santa Cruz, 1913.

CARIBAN

The *Carib* is one of the great linguistic families of South America, both in number of component languages and dialects and in extent, which is only less than that of the *Arawak* and *Tupí*. *Carib* languages are (or were) found from the Greater Antilles to central Mato Grosso, and from eastern Perú to central Pará. *Cariban* and *Arawakan* groups have much the same distribution, but isolated *Carib* groups are much fewer. The great mass of the *Cariban* are north of the Amazon, occupying a great area that includes much of the Guianas, Venezuela, northern Brazil, and lowland Colombia. Nevertheless, the point of origin and dispersion is claimed to have been the region between the upper Xingú and the Tapajóz.

Suggestions have been made that *Carib* and *Arawak* may eventually be tied up in one great phylum. Schuller (1919-20 a, 1928) proposed the further inclusion of *Chibcha* and *Maya*. Though comparative studies on the *Carib* languages have been made by Adam (1893) and De Goeje (1910), the classification of the many *Carib* languages is still to be done on a thorough linguistic basis, and those proposed are mainly arranged geographically. Rivet (1924 a), W. Schmidt (1926), Loukotka (1935), and Simpson (1940) have offered such classifications, with major and minor subdivisions. Those of Schmidt and Simpson are the most detailed and have been here adopted as a basis, incorporating also some of the opinions of the others as well as those of Gillin and the other Handbook authors. Disagreements are, on the whole, few and minor.

In addition to many languages, mostly extinct, on which data are insufficient and the classification, therefore, in doubt, there are several large groups whose *Carib* affiliation is questioned. One such is the *Yagua-Peba* group (q. v.), long considered independent and so still regarded by Loukotka (1935) and Nimuendajú (index) but accepted as *Cariban* by W. Schmidt (1926) and Simpson (1940) on the basis of Rivet (1911 b). Rivet (1943) has also presented cogent arguments for the inclusion of *Chocó* (q. v.) and many other languages of Colombia formerly considered as affiliated with *Chibcha* (q. v.).

In the Guiana-Venezuela region, Gillin (Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 804-813) lists some 80 tribes—and presumably dialects—that he considers of *Cariban* affinity, as well as some 30 more, probably all extinct, that are questionably *Carib*. Most of these are small groups, many of them mentioned by no other authority except Nimuendajú, who includes them on his map. Not all of these groups will be listed here again. Among those considered as *Cariban* by Gillin, and this affiliation not disputed by others, are:

Acuria, *Cashuena*, *Chikena*, *Cuacua* (*Mapoyo*), *Gabinairi*, *Heurá*, *Kirikiripe*, *Panare*, *Paraviyana*, *Puricoto* (*Catawian*), *Saluma*, *Terecumá*, *Tivericoto*, *Tonajena*, *Waiwai*.

Other *Carib* groups of undisputed relationship mentioned by Nimuendajú, Loukotka, and others, but not by Gillin, are:

Azumara, *Carib* of Maturin, *Mutuan*, *Wayewe*¹⁸, *Zurumata*.

A number of Guiana groups, considered as *Carib* by Gillin and others, are left unclassified by Nimuendajú, probably for lack of sufficient linguistic data. Among these are:

Acokwa, *Aracaret* (*Racalet*), *Ichu*, *Nourage* (*Norak*), *Parikí*, *Pirio* (*Apouroui*), *Pishaucó*, *Sapai* (*Suppaye*), *Taira*, *Wai* (*Ouaye*), *Waikeri* (*Guaiqueri*), *Wayaculé* (*Oyaricoulet*, *Amibouane* (?)), and *Yapacoye*.

The *Carib* affinities of the following groups are disputed, mainly by Nimuendajú:

Attaraya.—Given by Gillin both as *Carib* and as a synonym of *Arawakan* *Atorát*.

Asepangong.—Nimuendajú apparently considers *Arawakan*.

Cariniaco.—Remarks same as for *Seregong*.

Pawishana (*Paushiana*).—*Carib* according to Nimuendajú and Loukotka; *Arawakan* according to Gillin and Rivet.

Serecong.—*Arawakan* according to Nimuendajú; generally considered *Carib*.

Yao.—*Carib* according to most; Nimuendajú believes *Arawakan* or unclassified.

Taparito.—Nimuendajú and Rivet agree with Gillin in considering *Taparito* as *Carib*. Kirchoff (Handbook, vol. 4, p. 439) makes *Taparita* a variety of *Otomacan* (q. v.). W. Schmidt (1926) considers *Taparito* as isolated.

CARIB CLASSIFICATION

I. Northern

A. Coastal

1. Insular

Carib, *Calino*

2. Mainland

- a. *Carib*: *Caribisi*, *Calinya*, *Galibi*
- b. *Cumanagoto*
- c. *Palank* (*Palenque*, *Guarine*)
- d. *Pariagoto* (*Paria*, *Guayuno*)
- e. *Oyana* (*Upurui*, *Wayana*): *Rucuyen*, *Urucuiana*
- f. *Chacopata*
- g. *Piritu*
- h. *Cunewara*
- i. *Shiparicot*, *Chipa*
- j. *Core*
- k. *Chaima* (*Sayma*, *Warapiche*): *Tagare*, *Cuaga*
- l. *Carinapagoto*

B. Central

1. Roraima Group

- a. *Acawai*: *Patamona*
- b. *Purucoto*¹ (*Porocoto*)
- c. *Arecuna*² (*Jaricuna*, *Pemon*): *Camaracoto*, *Taulipang*

¹ Loukotka (1939 a) distinguishes *Parukatu* from *Purukoto*.

² Nimuendajú lists an *Arawakan Arecuná* in the same region.

¹⁸ Loukotka distinguishes *Wayewe*, *Wayaway*, and *Vayamar*.

CARIB CLASSIFICATION—Continued

I. Northern—Continued

B. Central—Continued

1. Roraima Group—Continued

- d. *Arinagoto*
- e. *Macushi* (*Macusi*): *Teweya*
- f. *Waica*³
- g. *Ingaricó*
- h. *Sapará*
- i. *Wayumará*
- j. *Paraviyana*
- k. *Kenóloco*
- l. *Monoicó*
- m. *Azumara*
- n. *Paushiana*
- o. *Mapoyo*
- p. *Taparito*

2. *Ventuari* Group

- a. *Makiritare*: *Yecuaná* (*Mayongong*), *Mailsi*, *Ihuruand*,
Decuaná (*Wainungomo*), *Cunuaná*
- b. *Yabarana*: *Curasicana*, *Wókiare*

C. Amazon

1. Eastern

- a. *Pianocotó*
- b. *Apalaí*: *Aracuayu*⁴
- c. *Waiwai* (*Ouayeoné*)
- d. *Pauxi*
- e. *Trio*
- f. *Diau*
- g. *Shikiana* (*Chikena*)
- h. *Tivericoto*
- i. *Catawian* (*Parucutu*)
- j. *Cumayena*
- k. *Urucuena*

2. Western

- a. *Carijona* (*Umawa*, *Omagua*):⁵ *Hianacoto*, *Guake*,
Tsahatsaha (*Saha*), *Guagua*, *Riama* (?), *Caicushana*,
Mahotóyana, *Yacaoyana* (?)

D. *Bonari*

- 1. *Bonari*
- 2. *Yauaperi* (*Crishaná*)
 - a. *Atroahy*
- 3. *Waimiry*
- 4. *Mutuan*

³ Distinguish from *Shirianán Waica*.⁴ Rivet (1924 a) believes that the *Apalaí* are identical with the extinct *Aracuajú*, but the language of the latter seems to be mixed with *Tupí*, and Loukotka (1935) has put it in an independent subgroup for that reason.⁵ Distinguish from *Tupian Omagua*.

CARIB CLASSIFICATION—Continued

II. Southern

A. South

1. *Arara*a. *Arara (Ajujure)* ⁶b. *Apiacá (Apingui)* ⁷c. *Parirí (Timirem)*

B. Xingú

1. *Bacairi*2. *Nahucua (Anauqua)*a. *Guicurú (Cuicull)*b. *Apalakiri (Calapalo)*c. *Mariape-Nahuqua*d. *Naravute*e. *Yarumá*f. *Yamarikuma*g. *Akuku*

III. Northwestern

A. Maracaibo-Magdalena

1. "*Motilonés*" ⁸a. *Chaké: Macoa, Tucuco, Parirí, Chaké*b. *Mapé: Macoa, Macoita, Manastara, Yasa, Chapara, Sicacao, Tucuco, Cunaguasata, Maraca, Aguas Blancas, Aricuaísá, Catatumbo, Irapeno*c. *Carate*d. *Zapara* ⁹2. *Bubure (Coronado)*3. *Yarigui*a. *Quiriquire (Kirikire): Topocoro, Topoyo, Chiracota, Araya, Guamaca, Tholomeo*4. *Opón*5. *Carare* ¹⁰a. *Colima (Tapas): Murca, Marpapi, Curipa*b. *Naura*c. *Nauracoto*6. *Muso (Muzo)*7. *Burede*8. *Guanao*9. *Pemeno*10. *Patagón*11. *Camaniba*

⁶ Distinguish between *Panoan*, *Chapacuran*, and *Cariban Arara*. Nimuendajú (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 214) states that the speech of the *Arara* is very close to that of the *Yarumá* (vide infra).

⁷ Distinguish from *Tupian Apiacá* of the *Tapajóz*.

⁸ *Motilón* classification according to Jahn, 1927, p. 80. Reichel-Dolmatoff (personal communication) states that the *Motilón* of Perijá, of Bolinder and de Booy, are pure *Cariban* of the *Chaima-Cumanagoto* group, but those of Catatumbo and Río de Oro are very different and seem to be *Arawakan*, though the linguistic data are scarce.

⁹ Hernández de Alba (Handbook, vol. 4, p. 469) calls *Zapara Cariban*; Rivet (1924 a) considers it *Arawakan*.

¹⁰ Nimuendajú (map) leaves *Carare* unclassified. W. Schmidt (1926) places *Amarizano* in this Northwestern Group; most other authorities consider this language *Arawakan* (q. v.).

CARIB CLASSIFICATION—Continued

B. *Chocoan*1. *Chocó*

a. North

a. *Empera*: *Funucuná, Dabeibe*,¹¹ *Urubá*b. *Catio*: *Ibexico, Pequi, Norisco, Ituango, Teco, Peneco, Cararita, Cuisco, Araque, Pubio, Guacuseco, Tuin, Nilana, Peveré*

b. South

a. *Nonamá (Noanumá)*: *Chanco*2. *Cenú*a. *Nutabare (Nutabé)*: *Tahamí*b. *Cenufana*3. *Cauca*a. *Quimbaya*: *Quimbaya, Carrapa, Picara, Paucura*b. *Ancerma*: *Ancerma, Caramanta, Cartama, Nori, Guaca*c. *Antioquia*: *Antioquia, Buritica, Corome, Evéjico*d. *Arma*: *Arma, Pozo*

C. Southwest

1. *Gorrón*¹¹2. *Buga*3. *Chanco*¹¹

D. Southeast

1. *Arvi*2. *Patángoro (Palenque)*:¹²a. *Tamana*b. *Guarino*c. *Guagua*d. *Zamana*e. *Doyma*3. *Panche*a. *Guazquia*b. *Gualí*c. *Marqueton*4. *Pijao*a. *Quindio*b. *Cutiba*c. *Irico*d. *Toche*e. *Cacataima*¹¹ Rivet, 1943, excludes these from his *Chocó* group.¹² Kirchhoff (Handbook, vol. 4, p. 339) groups *Amaní, Palenque, Zamaná, Punchina*, and *Marquesote* with *Patángoro*, and considers them of *Chibchan* relationship.

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Insular and Honduras.—Adam, 1906; Berer dt, 1874 a; Breton, 1665, 1666, 1669, 1877; Conzemius, 1930 b; Galindo, 1834; Henderson, A., 1847, 1872;

Lehmann, 1920; Rat, 1897-98; Rochefort, 1658 (1667), pp. 652-680; Sapper, 1897; Stoll, 1884, pp. 35-36; Taylor, 1938, 1946.

Coastal Mainland.—Adelung and Vater, 1806-17 (*Tamaraco*); Coudreau, H., 1887, 2:491-492 (*Rucuyen*), 1892; Coudreau, O., 1903 a (*Ouayana, Rucuyen*); Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882 (*Rucuyen, Galibi*); Giliĭ, 1780-84, pp. 375-389 (*Tamanaco*); Goeje, 1906 (*Upuruĭ*); Martius, 1867, 2:327-370 (*Galibi*); Tastevin, 1919 (*Galibi*); Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 325-332, 1921-22 (*Tamanaco, Palenke, Guaykeri, Chaima, Chacopata, Piritu*).

Cumanagoto.—Platzmann, 1888; Ruíz Blanco, 1888 a, 1888 b, 1892, 7:161-168, 191-228; Tapia, D., 1888; Tauste, 1888 (*Chayma, Core, Paria*); Yangués, 1888.

Roraima group.—Adam, 1905 (*Acawai*); Armellada, 1936; Armellada and Matallana, 1942 (*Arecuna, Pemon*); Barboza-Rodríguez, 1885 (*Purucoto*); Farabee, 1924 (*Purucoto, Azumara*); Koch-Grünberg, 1913, 1915, 1928 (*Purucoto, Taulipáng, Ingarico, Sapara, Wayumara*); Martius, 1867, 2:227-228 (*Paraviyana*); Salathé, 1931-32 (*Paushiana, Carime*); Simpson, 1940 (*Camaracoto*); Tavera-Acosta, 1907, 1921-22 (*Mapoyo, Arecuna, Waica*).

Macushi.—Barboza-Rodríguez, 1885; Coudreau, H., 1887, pp. 487-491; Farabee, 1924, pp. 121-152; Grupe y Thode, 1890; Koch-Grünberg and Hübner, 1908, pp. 15-35; Martius, 1867, 2:225-227; Schomburgk, 1847-48, 2:515-523; Williams, J., 1932.

Ventuari group.—*Makiritare*: Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 342-344; Oramas, 1913 b; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 109-119, 1921-22, pp. 226-227. *Yabarana*: Koch-Grünberg, 1928, 4:233-242.

Eastern Amazon.—Coudreau, H., 1887, pp. 491-492 (*Uayeye*); Coudreau, O., 1901, pp. 165-168 (*Pianacoto*); Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 39-40 (*Trio*); Farabee, 1924 (*Waiwai, Urucuenta, Trio, Diau, Chikena, Cumayena, Catawian-Parucutu*); Martius, 1867, 2:17-18 (*Aracayu*), 312-313 (*Pianacoto, Waiwai, Tivericoto*).

Apalai (Aparai, Yauapiri).—Coudreau, H., 1887, 1892, pp. 60-75; Coudreau, O., 1903 b, pp. 41-51; Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 32-34; Farabee, 1924, pp. 229-241; Hübner, 1907; Payer, 1906; Rice, 1931.

Western Amazon.—Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 35-38 (*Carijona*); Koch-Grünberg, 1906 c, p. 203 (*Carijona*), 1908 c, 1909 (*Hianacoto-Umaua*).

Bonari group.—Barboza-Rodríguez, 1885, pp. 247-260 (*Crishana*); Brinton, 1892 a, p. 44 (*Bonari*); Hübner, 1907, pp. 238-246 (*Yauaperi*); Payer, 1906, p. 222 (*Waimiry*); Pompeu Sobrinho, 1936 (*Mutuan*); Souza, A., 1916 a, pp. 77-78 (*Bonari*).

Arara group.—Coudreau, H., 1897 c, pp. 199-210 (*Arara*); Ehrenreich, 1888, 1894-95, pp. 168-176 (*Apingĭ*); Krause, 1936, pp. 39-41 (*Apingĭ*); Nimuendajú, 1914 b (*Pariri*), 1931-32, pp. 549-551 (*Arara*), 1932 a, pp. 116-119 (*Pariri*).

Xingú group.—Abreu, 1895, 1938 a (*Bacaĭri*); Krause, 1936 (*Bacaĭri, Nahucua, Yaruma*); Souza, A., 1916 b, pp. 71-73 (*Bacaĭri*); Steinen, 1892, pp. 1-160 (*Bacaĭri*), 1894, pp. 524-527 (*Nahucua*).

Northwestern group.—*Motilón-Macoa-Chake*: Bolinder, 1917, 1925; Booy, 1929; Ernst, 1887 b; Goeje, 1929-30; Isaacs, 1884, pp. 213-216; Jahn, 1927, pp. 340-354; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1945 b (*Motilón*); Tavera-Acosta, 1921-22, pp. 221-230.

Jahn, 1927 (*Kirikire, Bubure*); Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, pp. 28-30 (*Patagón*); Lengerke, 1878 a (*Opón*), 1878 b (*Carare*); Oramas, 1918 a (*Kirikiro*).

LANGUAGES OF PROBABLE CARIBAN AFFILIATIONS

Naturally, *Cariban* relationships have been proposed for several other important linguistic groups and smaller languages by certain

scholars, whose opinions have been accepted by some of their colleagues, rejected by others. Among these are the large *Chocoan* and *Peba-Yagua* groups, and the smaller languages *Yuma*, *Palmella*, *Yuri*, *Pimenteira*, and *Ochucayana*. For discussion of *Ochucayana* or *Tarairiú*, see "Small Unclassified Languages of the Pernambuco Region."

CHOCÓ AND CARIBAN OF COLOMBIA

Recent researches of Rivet (1943, 1944) and Jijón y Caamañó (1941-43) have advanced considerable evidence that many of the languages of Colombia formerly considered as *Chibchan* are (or were, since many of them are extinct) actually *Cariban*. These include *Chocó* and *Pijao*. They form a relatively solid group in north-western Colombia, separated from the main mass of *Carib* in eastern Venezuela and Guiana by belts of *Arawakan* and *Chibchan* peoples paralleling the cordillera to the Caribbean Sea. Rivet divides these into Eastern (*Motilón*, etc.) and Western (*Chocó-Quimbaya*) groups, separated by the *Pijao-Panche-Patángora*. The *Cariban* affinities of *Motilón* (q. v.) have always been accepted. The *Carib* migration here is presumed to have been relatively late and to have supplanted former peoples of *Chibchan* speech.

The *Cariban* affinities of *Chocó* are apparently more obvious and generally accepted than those of the *Pijao-Panche-Patángoran*, and the *Quimbaya*. Hernández de Alba (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 922) places the *Pijao*, *Panche*, *Quimbaya*, and *Patángora* in the *Páez* subgroup, *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group of *Chibchan*. He also states (ibid., p. 923) that the "dialects of *Pijao*, *Páez*, *Timana*, and *Yalcón* were classed together." Reichel-Dolmatoff (personal communication) considers the *Cariban* relationship of *Chocó* (*Chami*, *Catio*, *Nonoama*) as proved, but is less convinced of those of *Pijao*, *Quimbaya*, and the other former inhabitants of the Magdalena and Cauca Valleys.

Cuna and *Chocó* are linked culturally and by inference linguistically in the Handbook (vol. 4, pp. 257-276).

Chocó has generally been considered an independent family (Brinton, 1891 a; Chamberlain, 1913 a; Loukotka, 1935; Pericot y García, 1936; Rivet, 1924 a; Ortíz, 1940 b). Mainly on account of the large number of *Chibcha* words, W. Lehmann (1920), followed by W. Schmidt (1926), believed it to be related to *Chibcha*. W. Lehmann (1920) thought it intermediate between the *Barbacoan* and the Central American groups of *Chibcha*. Jiménez Moreno (map, 1936) left it unclassified.

The various dialects seem to be slightly differentiated. *Chocó* has adopted a large number of words from *Chibcha* and, like many *Carib* languages, from *Arawak*.

Chocó languages or dialects mentioned by authorities, other than those given on the preceding chart, are *Citará*, *Andagueda*, *Bandó*, *Chamí*, and *Tadá* or *Tado*. *Cholo*, *Paparo*, and *Tucura* are placed by some in the *Citará* subgroup. Other groups mentioned by only one writer, Brinton (1891 a) in particular, are *Cañasgordas*, *Chiamu* (*Chocamu*), *Chochama*, *Murindo*, *Necodade*, *Pato*, *Río Verde*, and *Sambo*.

In the accompanying linguistic map the following groups appear in the area that is presumably Colombian *Carib*, probably *Chocó* or *Senú*: *Caramari*, *Fincenú*, *Guamoco*, *Malambo*, *Mompox*, *Pacabueye*, *Pancenú*, *Tamalamequi*, *Tolú*, *Turbaco*, *Yamici*, *Zamba*, and *Zondagua*.

Other *Pijao* subtribes given by Rivet are *Aype*, *Paloma*, *Ambeina*, *Amoya*, *Tumbo*, *Coyaima*, *Poina* (*Yaporoge*), *Mayto* (*Maïto*, *Marto*), *Mola*, *Atayma* (*Otaïma*), *Tuamo*, *Bulira*, *Ocaina*, *Behuni* (*Beuni*, *Biuni*), *Ombecho*, *Anaitoma*, *Totumo*, *Natagaima*, *Pana* (*Pamao*), *Guarro*, *Hamay*, *Zeraco*, *Lucira*, and *Tonuro*.

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PEBA-YAGUA

The classification of the *Yagua* or *Peba* group, generally agreed to consist of *Yagua*, *Peba*, and *Yameo*, has seen a recent return to belief in its independence. Hervás y Panduro (1800) had proposed a *Yamea* family, composed of *Amaono*, *Nahuapo*, *Napeano*, and *Masamae*. Brinton (1891 a) called the family *Peban*, the component languages *Caumari*, *Cauwachi*, *Pacaya*, *Peba*, and *Yagua*. Rivet (1911 b) then published his thesis that the group is affiliated with *Carib*; this opinion has been accepted in the classifications of Pericot y García (1936), Krickeberg (1922), W. Schmidt (1926), Simpson (1940), and Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43). Much earlier, however, Chamberlain (1913 a) decided that more proof of this relationship is needed, and continued the use of *Peban* as an independent family. The more recent authori-

ties agree with this conclusion; Nimuendajú (map), Loukotka (1935) and Iguatada and Castellví (1940) accord it independent family status, the first terming it *Peba*, the second *Yagua*. Métraux also doubts the *Carib* affinities. Loukotka (1935) calls *Yagua* (*Yegua*, *Yahua*) a "pure" language, *Peba* mixed with *Carib*, *Yameo* mixed with *Arawak* and *Carib*. Tessmann (1930) calls them both "mixed-stem languages," *Yagua* mixed *Pano-Carib*, *Yameo* mixed *Arawak-Pano*; *Peba* he seems to consider a synonym of *Yagua*. The group had best be left unclassified until further linguistic researches are made upon it.

A number of component languages and subdivisions of *Peba-Yagua* are mentioned in literature. Most of these are probably extinct, and the whole *Yameo* group is on the verge of extinction if not already gone.

A. *Yagua*

1. *Yagua*
2. *Peba*
 - a. *Cauwachi*
 - b. *Caumari*
 - c. *Pacaya*

B. *Yameo*

1. *Yameo*
 - a. *Napeano*
 - b. *Masamai*
 - c. *Nahuapo*
 - d. *Amaona*
 - e. *Mikeano*
 - f. *Parrano*
 - g. *Yarrapo*
 - h. *Alabono*
 - i. *San Regino* (?)
 - j. *Mazan* (?)
 - k. *Camuchivo* (?)

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Peba-Yagua.—Castelnau, 1852, pp. 296–298; Chamberlain, 1910 a, pp. 195, 200–201; Fejos, 1943; Marcoy, 1867, pp. 131–132; Martius, 1867, 2:296–297, 300–301; Orton, 1871; Rivet, 1911 b, 1912 a; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 459, 577–580.

Yameo.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17; González Suárez, 1904, pp. 67–68; Tessmann, 1930, p. 565.

ARDA

Arda was accepted as an independent linguistic family by all authorities from 1858 to 1924, including Rivet (1924 a) and Schmidt (1926). This opinion was based upon a *Doctrina* in a language of this name, the Lord's Prayer of which was published by Ludewig in 1858. This obviously bore no relationship whatever to any adjacent language. Paul Rivet (1925 e) examined the original manuscript in Madrid and found that it made no reference to the country in which *Arda* was

spoken. Following some suspicions, he compared the words with modern *Dahomean* in Africa and determined their close relationship, especially to the *Popo* dialect. The text was evidently taken in the Slave Coast Kingdom of Arda, and the language has therefore no relation to that of the *Arda* tribe of southeastern Colombia, an extinct group probably related to the *Peba*, *Yagua*, and *Yameo*. Nimuendajú (map) continues to regard *Arda* as an isolated language.

Bibliography.—Chamberlain, 1910 a; Ludewig, 1858; Rivet, 1912 a, 1925 e.

YUMA

The *Yuma*, with one relatively large group and a small enclave in the state of Amazonas, are rather isolated from any other *Carib* groups. Accepted as of *Carib* affiliation by all other authorities, Nimuendajú leaves them unclassified, a conservative opinion herein followed.

PALMELLA

No authority, not even Nimuendajú, doubts the *Carib* affinity of *Palmella*, but as the linguistic data are very poor, as the *Palmella* are a tiny group, and far removed from any other *Carib* people, even much farther south than the doubtfully *Carib* *Yuma* (q. v.), they might well be left unclassified. If of *Carib* affiliation, they form the southwesternmost *Carib* group, near the Brazil-Bolivia border.

Bibliography.—Fonseca, J. S. da, 1880–81, pp. 193–196.

YURI (JURI)

Opinions regarding the relationship of the small *Yuri* (Chamberlain, 1913 a, and W. Schmidt, 1926, prefer the spelling *Juri*) group are very contradictory. Markham (1910) claimed a linguistic connection with the *Arawakan Passé*; Brinton (1891 a) accepted this classification. Loukotka (1935) and Iguarada and Castelví (1940) consider it *Carib*. The more conservative recent opinions, Rivet (1924 a), Nimuendajú (map), W. Schmidt (1926), Tessmann (1930), Krickeberg (1922), follow Chamberlain's (1913 a) classification as independent or isolated. Possibly several *Jurí* or *Yurí* languages are here confused. Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 708) describes one as one of the "Arawakan tribes of the left middle Amazon." The data seem to be limited to the vocabulary in Martius (1867). There is apparently only one language, but there are said to have been 10 dialects. As the language is almost extinct, spoken today by a very few individuals, a modern grammar of *Yurí* is a great desideratum. It is a reasonable guess that if such a grammar is ever prepared, *Yurí* will be found to fall with either *Arawak* or with *Carib*. This *Yurí* must not be con-

fused with an unclassified *Jurí* or *Surí* language of the Gran Chaco region.

Bibliography.—Cabrera, P., 1924; Chamberlain, 1910 a; Martius, 1867, 2:268-272; Rivet and Tastevin, 1921; Tessmann, 1930, p. 584; Wallace, 1853, pp. 528-529.

PIMENTEIRA

All the older standard authorities consider *Pimenteira* a *Cariban* language. Nimuendajú (map) places it with *Botocudo* (q. v.) and Lowie (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 381) calls it a separate family. It is far to the east of any other *Carib* group.

Bibliography.—Martius, 1867, 2:219-220.

MACRO-TUPÍ-GUARANIAN

A *Macro-Tupí-Guaraní* phylum is here diffidently proposed for the first time. It consists of *Tupí-Guaraní*, *Miranya* (*Bora*), *Witoto*, *Záparo*, and a number of less important languages which are generally placed in one or another of these "families." It is not advanced with any claim to certainty or with any evidence of proof, but as a result of opinions, deductions, and intuitions of the several authorities and of the present writer, plus the fact that there is great difference of opinion concerning into which of these families many of the small languages fall. Rivet (1911 a) has presented evidence for the inclusion of *Miranya* (*Bora*) in *Tupí-Guaraní*. This has been accepted by some, rejected by others. Dr. J. P. Harrington is convinced that *Witoto* also belongs with *Tupí-Guaraní*. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) establishes a *Witoto-Bora-Záparo* phylum separate from *Tupí-Guaraní*. *Záparo* is the most doubtful member of the phylum. Nimuendajú (map) and Loukotka (1935) keep all separate. As these families are contiguous a genetic connection is not unreasonable.

TUPÍ-GUARANIAN

Tupí-Guaraní, like *Arawak* and *Carib*, is one of the great widespread linguistic families of South America. The languages were, or are, spoken from easternmost Brazil to the foot of the Andes in Perú, and from Guiana to Uruguay. Though in many isolated groups, the bulk is in eastern Brazil. The distribution is mainly fluvial and maritime, most of the groups restricted to the coast or the river valleys. The original home seems to have been in the region of the Paraguay-Paraná, from which they spread, following the rivers. Soon after the time of the Conquest they held the entire Brazilian coast from the Amazon nearly to Buenos Aires. Much of this migration was recent and probably even post-Conquest, and largely during the sixteenth century. Other migrations up to and including the present century are of historical record. (See Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 97-99.) Many of these migrations were at the expense of *Ge* groups, especially on the Brazilian coast. The distribution of languages at the time

of the Conquest is, therefore, most difficult to determine; branches of the same group, sometimes bearing the same or similar names, are found in very widely separated regions, and present geographical propinquity carries no presumption of close linguistic relationship. Tribes of other linguistic affinities frequently adopted *Tupí-Guaraní* tongues, especially after the Conquest. Northern *Tupí*, *Tupí* Proper or *Nhengatu*, was adopted by the Spanish missionaries and traders as the lingua geral, which aided its spread and vogue. The use was probably largely due to the fact that it is said to be a relatively simple language morphologically, and easy to learn.

Though *Tupí-Guaraní* may eventually form the body of one of the great phyla into which South American languages may be grouped, it is unlikely that it will be found to be related to any of the other major families.

No documented study of the divisions of *Tupí-Guaraní* on a linguistic basis has ever been made. Rivet (1924 a) lists them geographically. W. Schmidt (1926) and Loukotka (1935) group them into subdivisions with geographic terminologies, but with great mutual disagreement, since many isolated intermediate groups may be placed in any one of several subdivisions. The present classification is based on all of them, modified by opinions of more recent observers regarding the relationship of certain groups. It makes no claim to correctness or finality, and will doubtless be modified greatly by future researches. The two main divisions are into *Tupí* and *Guaraní*, but, even in these, apparently the relationship is relatively not very distant.

TUPÍ-GUARANÍ CLASSIFICATION

I. *Guaraní*

A. *Paraná*

1. *Guaraní* (*Carijó*, *Carió*, *Chandule*)
 - a. *Arechane*, *Itatín*, *Tapé*, *Tobatine*, *Guarambaré*, *Taioba*
2. *Caingúá* (*Kaiguá*, *Montese*)
 - a. *Apapocuva*, *Caingúá*, *Carima*, *Chiripá*, *Guayaná*,¹
*Mbya*² (*Mbühá*, *Apiteré*, *Baticola*, *Boaberá*),
Oguana (*Oguaiuva*), *Pañ'*, *Tanyguá*, *Tarumá*,³
Cheiru, *Avahuguái*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yvytyiguá*, *Avachiripá*,
Catanduva Jatahy
3. *Paranáé*
4. *Guayakí*⁴
5. *Aré* (*Setá*, *Ivaparé*, *Shocleng*, *Notobotocudo*,⁵ *Pihtadyovac*)

¹ Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 69) uses *Caingúá* to distinguish the modern primitive from the civilized *Guaraní*. Distinguish from two other *Guayaná* in the same general region, one *Ge* and one unclassified, according to Nimuendajú (map). (See Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 70-71.)

² Distinguish from *Guaicurú Mbayá*.

³ Distinguish from *Arawak* (?) *Tarumá*.

⁴ Closely related to *Guaraní* linguistically, according to Métraux and Baldus (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 435). Most modern authorities agree, but a few consider it independent or refuse to classify it.

⁵ The *Aré* or *Setá* are erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo*, but have no connection with *Botocudo* proper (*Macro-Ge*).

TUPÍ-GUARANÍ CLASSIFICATION—Continued

I. *Guaraní*—Continued

B. Bolivia

1. *Chiriguano* (*Aba, Camba, Tembeta*)a. *Guarayú*

a. *Pauserna: Itatin, Carabere, Araibayba, Moterequoa (Moperacoa), Varai, Piralaguari (Pilaquari), Cario, Kiriticoci, Guarayú-Tá*

b. *Sirionó*⁶ (*Chorí*)

a. *Nyeoze-Née, Tirinié, Jandé, Qurungúa*

2. *Torá*⁷3. *Porokicoa*4. *Palmares* (?)⁸5. *Tapieté*⁹ (*Tirumbae*)a. *Yana (Yanaigua)*6. *Uegua* (?)¹⁰7. *Chané*¹¹C. *Araguaya*¹²1. *Tapirapé*¹³2. *Canoeiro (Avá)*II. *Tupí*A. Coastal (*Nyeengatu*)1. *Tupina (Tupiguae)*a. *Aricobé, Amoipira*2. *Tupinamba*

a. *Apigapigtanga, Araboyara, Caeté (Caheté), Guaracaio (Itati), Muriapigtanga, Potiguara (Pilonara), Rariguara, Tamoyó, Timimino, Tabayara,¹⁴ Tupinikin, Viatan-Pernambuco*

B. Guiana

1. *Apoto (Aponto)*2. *Calianá*¹⁵3. *Oyampí*a. *Camacom*4. *Wayapi (Guayapi)*5. *Emerillon*6. *Paikpiranga (Parichy)*

⁶ The former language of the *Sirionó* is unknown.

⁷ A number of the tribes mentioned below have adopted *Guaraní* in recent centuries. *Torá* was formerly classified as *Chapurana*; a large vocabulary gathered by Nimuendajá shows beyond doubt that it is impure *Tupí* (Nimuendajá, 1925; Nimuendajá and Valle Bentes, 1923).

⁸ *Palmares* and *Uegua* were placed by Brinton (1898 a) among the *Guaraní* groups of the Gran Chaco; other authorities do not mention them.

⁹ The former language of the *Tapieté* may have been *Arawak*.

¹⁰ See footnote 9.

¹¹ The *Chané* (q. v.) formerly spoke *Arawak*.

¹² These two groups (*Tapirapé, Canoeiro*) apparently migrated here from the south in historical times. Both are slightly known. The *Canoeiro* are said to be descendants of the *Carijó (Guaraní)*. Lipkind (personal communication) thinks that they may not be extinct, and may not be *Tupí*.

¹³ Wagley (personal letter) says that the *Tapirapé* language resembles *Guaraní* more than northern *Tupí* in its use of specific pronominal prefixes, suffixes of time, place, and condition, and in high development of nasalization.

¹⁴ See Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, page 96.

¹⁵ Distinguish from independent *Caliana* (q. v.).

TUPÍ-GUARANÍ CLASSIFICATION—Continued

II. *Tupí*—Continued

B. Guiana—Continued

7. *Cusari* ¹⁶8. *Wara-Guaçu* (*Araguaçu*) ¹⁷ (?)

C. Southern Amazon

1. Araguaya Division (*He*-group)a. *Nyengahiba*b. *Ararandewara*c. *Miranyo* (?) ¹⁸d. *Amanayé* (*Manazo*): *Anambé*, *Paracanã*e. *Tenetéhara*: ¹⁹ *Guajajára*, *Tembé*, *Guajá*f. *Urubú*: *Turiwara* (*Turuara*)g. *Pacajá*: *Pacajá*, *Jacundá* (*Amiranha?*), *Anta* (*Tapiraua*)h. *Cubenepre*: *Kupé-rób* (*Jandiahí*)i. *Asurini* (?) ²⁰

2. Xingú Division

a. *Yuruna* Group ²¹a. *Yuruna*: *Yuruna*, *Shipaya* (*Ashipaye*)b. *Manitsawá*c. *Arupai* (*Urupaya*) ²²b. *Tacunyapé* (*Pewa*)

c. Upper Xingú Group

a. *Auetö*: *Arawiti* ²³b. *Arawine*

3. Tapajóz Division

a. *Cawahib* Groupa. *Cabahyba*: *Cawahib*, ²⁴ *Parintintin*, *Apairande*, *Odyahuibe*b. *Apiacá* ²⁵a. *Tapanyuna* (*Arino*)c. *Mundurucú* ²⁶a. *Kuruaya* (*Kuruahé*)

¹⁶ Probably originally *Carib*, acculturated to *Tupí*, according to Gillin (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 814). Sub-tribe of *Oyampi*, according to Rivet (1924 a). Nimuendajú (map) leaves *Kussari* unclassified.

¹⁷ Nimuendajú (map) distinguishes two groups of *Aracajú* in this region, a *Carib* group on the Rio Paru and an unclassified group on the Rio Pacaja. (See also Nimuendajú, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 209.)

¹⁸ See Nimuendajú, Handbook, vol. 3, page 208.

¹⁹ According to Wagley (personal correspondence), the *Guajajára* and *Tembé* form one tribe and call themselves *Tenetéhara*. The *Guajá* are neighbors of the *Guajajára* who say that they speak "our" language *Urubú* is grammatically like *Guajajára*, with a slight phonetic difference governed by regular sound shifts.

²⁰ Nimuendajú (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 214) says that *Asurini* is reported to be like *Guajajára*; as there is no record of the speech, most of the other authorities who have mentioned the language have left it unclassified.

²¹ According to Nimuendajú (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 214), *Yuruna*, *Shipaya*, and *Manitsawá* form a group of impure *Tupí*, to which *Arupai* may also belong. It differs considerably from *Tupí* proper by reason of *Arawak* and *Carib* influences. *Yuruna* and *Shipaya* are almost mutually intelligible, differing by regular sound shifts. Martius (1867) and Adam (1896) doubt the *Tupí* relationship generally accepted. Loukotka (1935) considers *Manitsawá* as mixed with *Ge*; *Yuruna* and *Shipaya* as mixed with *Arawak*. Lévi-Strauss (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 322) says that *Manitsawá* includes much from *Suya* (*Ge*).

²² Distinguish *Arupai* from *Gurupá* of Tocantins, and from *Urupá* of Gy-Parana.

²³ *Arawiti* is a mixture of *Auetö* and *Yawalapiti*, according to Lévi-Strauss (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 322).

²⁴ Lévi-Strauss has a large unpublished vocabulary of *Cawahib*. *Cawahib* and *Parintintin* are very similar and both have strong affinities with *Apiacá*. They are remnants of the ancient *Cabahyba* (Nimuendajú, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 283).

²⁵ See Nimuendajú, Handbook, vol. 3, page 313.

²⁶ According to Loukotka (1935, 1939 a), *Mundurucú* and *Kuruaya* are mixed with *Arawak*, *Maué* mixed with *Carib* and *Arawak*. Nimuendajú (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 246) says that *Maué* contains non-*Tupí* elements that cannot be traced to any other linguistic family.

TUPI-GUARANI CLASSIFICATION—Continued

II. *Tupi*—Continued

C. Southern Amazon—Continued

3. Tapajóz Division—Continued

d. *Maué* ²⁶e. *Wirafed*f. *Cayabi*: ²⁷ *Camayurá*g. *Tupinambarana*h. *Paranawát*i. *Ramarama* (*Itanga*) ²⁸a. *Itogapuc* (*Ntogapid*)j. *Catukinarú*

D. Upper Amazon

1. *Cocama* Group ²⁹a. *Cocama*: *Cocamilla*, *Xibitaona*b. *Omagua* (*Campeva*)2. *Aizuaire* Group ³⁰a. *Aysuari*: *Curuzicari*b. *Bonama* (*Ibanoma*)c. *Pawana*d. *Soliman* (*Yoriman*)²⁶ For footnote 26, see page 239.²⁷ Rivet considers *Cayabi* as *Carib*. (See Nimuendajú, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 307.)²⁸ *Ramarama* and *Ntogapid* are mixed with *Arawak* and *Arikem*, according to Loukotka (1935, 1939 a).²⁹ *Cocama* and *Omagua* are not mutually intelligible; they also speak *Quechua* and Spanish. *Cocamilla* is the southern or Ucayali dialect of *Cocama*, the difference negligible.³⁰ These languages are all extinct. Nimuendajú (map) leaves the first three, the only ones there listed, unclassified; he considers *Curacari* a synonym of *Aysuari*.

Nimuendajú lists a number of groups under the *Tupí* designation that are not found in the above outline. Some of these may be synonyms; a few others are put in other families by other authorities, or left unclassified. Most of these are in the southern Amazon region. Of these languages, found in a prevalingly *Tupí* region, the following are left unclassified by Handbook authors for lack of sufficient information: *Amniapé*, *Guaratagaja*, *Kepkiriwat*, *Macurap*, *Tuparí*, *Arikem* (q. v., infra), and *Buruburá* (*Puruborá*, generally considered *Huari* or independent).

Others in this general region, considered *Tupí* by Nimuendajú, are: *Aruá*, *Guarayo*, *Ipotwat*, *Jabotifed*, *Mialat*, *Paranawat*, *Sanamaica*, *Taipō-shishi*, *Takwatib*, *Tucumafed*, and *Wayoró*.

YURIMAGUA (ZURIMAGUA)

Yurimagua is generally considered *Tupian*; Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 704) gives his evidence for believing that it is not related to *Omagua* and possibly independent; Nimuendajú leaves it unclassified.

ARIKEM

Though generally placed in the *Chapacuran* family, Loukotka (1935, 1939 a,) considers the *Arikem* (*Ariqueme*, *Arikême*, *Arikeni*,

Akhôpovo) language sufficiently distinct to form a separate family, with intrusions of *Tupí* and *Arawak*. Nimuendajú (map) classifies it under *Tupí*, and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 406) believes that he (Nimuendajú) has proved the *Tupian* relationship.

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MIRANYAN OR BORAN

Synonyms: *Miranhan*, *Miraña*, *Bora*, *Boro*.

Not recognized by Brinton's (1891 a) classification, *Miranyan* was first proposed as a separate family by Chamberlain (1913 a), on the basis of publications by Mochi (1902-03), Koch-Grünberg (1906 c, 1909-10), and Rivet (1911 a). Although Rivet had already published his study with his conclusion that *Miranya* is a very much modified and differentiated *Tupí-Guaraní* dialect, Chamberlain, with the comment that "more evidence is needed," preferred to leave it unaffiliated with any other large group. Krickeberg (1922) and Pericot y García (1936) accept Rivet's classification; Loukotka (1935) and Igualada and Castellví (1940), preferring to call the family *Bora*, class it as independent. W. Schmidt (1926) outlines the problem and begs the question. Tessmann (1930) calls it a mixture of *Ge-Tupí*; Nimuendajú (map) considers it independent. Steward (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 749), considers it under *Witotoan*, which latter he accepts as Tupian. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) makes it a member of his phylum *Witoto-Bora-Záparo*, distinct from *Tupí*.

A grammar of some *Miranyan* language is a great desideratum; the data available for comparison are purely lexical. While the evidence of *Tupí* relationship presented by Rivet (1911 a) is not entirely convincing—witness its nonacceptance by many authorities—it is nonetheless highly probable and is herein accepted. Dr. J. P. Harrington has made an independent comparison and is convinced of the relationship. *Miranya* seems to be most closely related to *Witoto*, and several languages, such as *Muinane*, *Coeruna*, *Nonuya*, and *Imihita*, are placed by some under *Miranya*, by others under *Witoto*. Harrington's conclusions (personal communication) are:

The Witotoan probably includes *Miranya* and is certainly an outlying member of *Tupí-Guaraní*. *Miranya* and *Witoto* are distantly related and both are related to *Tupí*. The *Tupí* affinity is not one of admixture. *Miranya* shares a very considerable number of etyma with both *Tupí-Guaraní* and *Witoto*. The percentage is larger than Rivet thought and extends to fundamental words.

Rivet (1911 a) believes that *Miranya* is the northwesternmost of the *Tupí-Guaraní* languages, the remains of a very early invasion, before that of the not-far-distant and more purely *Tupí* languages such as *Omagua* and *Cocama*, and, therefore, more affected by borrowings from adjacent languages. The same remarks would doubtless apply to *Witoto*, and possibly even to *Záparo*.

There is great difference of opinion regarding the component languages of the *Miranya-Bora* group. Igualada and Castellví (1940) subdivide the *Bora* into the True *Bora* (*Bora*, *Miraña*), and the False

Bora (*Imihita*, *Nonuya-Bora*, *Muinane-Bora*); these last languages are considered *Witotoan* by several authorities. Tessmann (1930) lists 20 bands, Whiffen (1915) 41. Harrington (personal communication) says that Koch-Grünberg's *Imihita* words are typically *Miranyan*, controverting Iguálada's and Castellví's (1940) opinion of them as "false." Koch-Grünberg (1906 a) gives four *Miranya* languages: *Imihita*, *Fã-ãi*, *Miranya*, and *Miranya-Oirá-Açu-Tapuya*. Martius' (1867) "*Hawk*" and "*Mosquito*" vocabularies are also *Miranyan*, according to Harrington (personal communication). *Orejón* and *Coeruna* have also been considered as *Miranyan* languages. Martius' (1867) *Miranya-Carapana-Tapuya* vocabulary is apparently closer to *Witoto*.

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WITOTOAN

Though the independent position of *Witoto* has not to date been abandoned, certain languages—for instance, *Nonuya*, *Minuane*, *Ocaina*, and *Miranya-Carapana-Tapuyo*—have been placed by some authorities in the *Witoto* family, by others in *Miranya* or *Tupí-Guaraní*, suggesting possible relationship with the latter. It was originally believed to be *Cariban*. Dr. J. P. Harrington has compared *Witoto*, *Cocama*, proved. Ortíz (1942) does not accept the relationship to *Bora*, *Miranya*, and *Tupí-Guaraní*, and is convinced of the relationship of all. Dr. Harrington's unpublished treatise indicates a general resemblance in morphological type, and close resemblance of morphological elements in position, meaning, and phonetic type; the lexical relationship, as presented, is not so convincing. The relationship of *Witoto* to *Tupí-Guaraní* is accepted herein, though not as incontrovertibly proved. Ortíz (1942) does not accept the relationship to *Bora* (*Miranya*) but Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) makes it a member of his *Witoto-Bora-Záparo* phylum.

The native name for the language is *Komiuveido*. Castellví (1934 b) believes that the historical *Quiyoya* were the ancestors of the *Witoto*; Ortíz (1942) thinks they were the *Cambeba* or *Omagua* (*Cafuane*). *Orellado* and *Orelludo* are probably synonyms for *Orejón*; their language was known as *Mativitana*.

No methodical attempt seems to have been made to subdivide *Witoto* on a linguistic basis. There seems to be a group of true or proper *Witoto*, and one more closely related to *Miranya*. The classification of Ortíz (1942) is adopted as the basis herein. The *Miranya-Carapana-Tapuyo* vocabulary of Martius (1867) is *Witotoan*.

Pinell (1928) mentioned 136 *Witoto* subdivisions, Tessmann (1930) 50-60, Ortíz (1942) 39, Farabee (1922) 16. Probably each of these had its particular dialect or variety; Pericot y García (1936) copies Farabee's subdivisions, names not mentioned, except as synonyms, in the classificatory table.

The several authorities quoted, especially Ortíz (1942), mention a number of *Witoto* groups in addition to those given above, without indicating their relationships with other groups. Those that are not synonyms probably each has or had its own dialect. Among these are: *Aefuye*, *Aipui*, *Ajayú*, *Bodyánisai*, *Gayafeno*, *Emenani*, *Eraye*, *Fayagene*, *Fusigene*, *Gibuñe*, *Idekofo*, *Itchibuyene*, *Jetuye*, *Jidua*, *Joyone*, *Kanieni*, *Kotruene*, *Meresiene*, *Mobenidza*, *Nequerene*, *Nofuiqüe*, *Orotuya*, *Uitoto Piedra*, *Uiyókoe*, *Yane*, *Yari* (*Jómane*, *Neimade*), *Yusigene*, and *Yauyane*.

WITOTO ¹

I. *Witoto*

A. *Witoto*

1. *Witoto*

- a. *Kaime* (*Caimo*)
- b. *Xúra*
- c. *Séueni*
- d. *Jayruya*
- e. *Mekka*: *Yaboyano*
- f. *Menekka*
- g. *Búe*
- h. *Ifikkuene-Caimito* (?)

B. *Miranyan*, *Boran*

1. *Miranya-Carapana-Tapuyo*
2. *Nonuya* (*Achiote*)²
3. *Ocaina-Muenane*
 - a. *Ocaina* (*Ducaiya*); *Fitita* (?)²
 - b. *Muenane* ²

C. Southeastern

1. *Orejón* ²
2. *Coeruna* (?) ²

D. *Andoke* (?) ²

1. North
 - a. *Araracuara*
2. South

E. *Resigero* (?) ²

¹ This classification is exceedingly and unusually controversial and uncertain.

² See independent short articles on these.

NONUYA

Nonuya is considered a *Witotoan* language by Nimuendajú (map). Tessmann (1930) leaves it as unknown or independent. Loukotka (1935) places it, with *Muenane*, in his *Bora* (*Miranya*) family.

MUENANE

Steward (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 750) treats *Muenane* under *Witoto*. Nimuendajú (map) omits it. Few writers have mentioned them (Whiffen, 1915; Preuss, 1921-23). Loukotka (1935) places it under his *Bora* family (see *Miranya*), with *Tupí* intrusion and vestiges of *Witoto*. Tessmann (1930) gives a vocabulary of 38 words from which, by his comparative method, he deduces that it is a mixture of *Ge* and *Carib*, a doubtful conclusion. They should be considered as unclassified.

FITITA

Steward (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 750) treats the *Fitita* culturally under *Witotoan*, possibly a subdivision of *Ocaina*; the linguistic evidence has not been presented. Nimuendajú leaves them unclassified, a decision herein accepted. Tessmann (1930) could find almost no information on them and no clue to their linguistic affiliation.

OREJÓN

The Spanish word "orejón," "big ears," was applied to native groups that wore large earplugs, distending the lobes, and, therefore, is applicable to several unrelated linguistic groups. The more important of these are in the *Witoto-Tucano* region. Here, the name seems to be applied to two adjacent groups, resulting in inevitable confusion. One group, apparently known by no other synonym, is southern *Witoto* and apparently extinct. Another tribe known as *Orejón* is the *Coto* (q. v.), which is generally agreed to be of *Tucano* linguistic affinity.

COERUNA

Though grouped with *Witoto* by all other authorities, including Rivet (1924 a) and Nimuendajú (map and index), *Coeruna* seems to be so different lexically that Loukotka (1935) makes it an independent family (with *Witoto* and *Tucano* intrusions). Apparently extinct, the lexical data seem restricted to the old vocabulary in Martius (1867). It is most often linked with *Orejón*.

ANDOKE

Tessmann (1930), Castellví (1934 b), and Igualada and Castellví (1940) from first-hand acquaintance with the language of the *Andoke* consider it independent or of unknown affiliations. Rivet (1924 a) places it in the *Witoto* family and thinks that it may be identical with *Miranya-Carapana-Tapuyo* and *Nonuya*. Steward herein accepts it as *Witotoan*, but of unknown subclassification. Ortiz (1942) does not accept the *Witoto* relationship. Most of the other authorities do not mention it. Dr. J. P. Harrington (personal correspondence)

believes in the affiliation with *Witoto*. Though in the southern Colombian forests, it is not far distant from the extinct *Andakí* of the southern Colombian Highlands with which it is liable to be confused.

RESIGERO

The position and affiliations of *Resigero* are most uncertain. Tessmann (1930) thinks it may be *Bora* (*Miranya*); Loukotka does not seem to mention it. Nimuendajú (map) leaves it unclassified. Igualada and Castellví (1940) believe it related to *Arawak*. Ortíz (1942) doubts the *Witoto* relationship.

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Witoto.—Anonymous, 1919 e, 1930 a; Castellví, 1934 b; Farabee, 1922, pp. 148-151; Hardenburg, 1910, 1912; Harrington, J. P., 1944; Igualada and Castellví, 1940; Kinder, 1936; Koch-Grünberg, 1906 a, 1906 c, 1909-10, 1910 b; Martius, 1867, 2:277-279; Murdock, 1936; Ortíz, 1942; Pinell, 1928; Preuss, 1921-23; Rocha, 1905, pp. 202-206; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 311-329, 547-559 (*Ocaina*); Whiffen, 1915.

Nonuya.—Tessmann, 1930, pp. 583, 617.

Muenane.—Ortíz, 1942; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 329-337; Preuss, 1921-23; Whiffen, 1915.

Fitita.—Ortíz, 1942; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 583, 617; Whiffen, 1915.

Orejón.—Martius, 1867, 2:297-298.

Coeruna.—Martius, 1867, 2:273-275.

Andoke.—Castellví, 1934 b; Igualada and Castellví, 1940; Ortíz, 1942; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 584, 617.

Resigero.—Igualada and Castellví, 1940; Ortíz, 1942; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 583, 617.

ZÁPAROAN

Záparoan is an important group that has been accepted as an independent family in all the major classifications since the earliest. However, while yet to be proved, it is not unlikely that it will be found to be related to *Witoto*, *Miranya*, and *Tupí-Guaraní*, and it is tentatively accepted herein as a member of the *Macro-Tupí-Guaraní* phylum. Rivet (1911 a) noted a large number of related words in these four languages and suggested the possibility of relationship but withheld final opinion. The most recent writer, Ortíz (1940 a), also continues to grant it independence, but Jijón y Caamaño, in his 1941-43 classification, makes a *Witoto-Bora-Záparo* phylum, distinct from *Tupí-Guaraní*. Loukotka (1935) finds a "Tupí intrusion" and Tessmann (1930) considers the *Záparo* language a *Carib-Tupí* mixture.

The linguistic data on *Záparoan* are very deficient, consisting of a few short vocabularies on a half dozen of the many component languages, and a few short translated religious prayers. Almost nothing is known of the grammar and only a few points were deduced by Beuchat and Rivet (1908). The grammar is, probably mistakenly, said to be simple, the phonetics nasal and guttural, though the effect

is "agreeable." There are said to be pronominal possessive prefixes, pluralizing suffixes and pronominal "case" suffixes.

The classification of the component languages and dialects of the *Záparoan* family is in utter confusion; no attempt has ever been made to do this on a scientific linguistic basis, and the available data are insufficient. Most compilers have merely given a list of names of groups, many of them geographical, and such suggestions as are made are based mainly on travelers' published remarks regarding linguistic relationships. These, as well as the deductions based upon them, are highly equivocal and contradictory.

The earliest authorities, Velasco (1840) and Hervás y Panduro (1800), were in practical agreement on three main divisions of the *Záparoans* proper (excluding the *Iquito*, not included by Hervás), and on the dialects composing these:

<i>Andoa:</i>	<i>Simigae</i> of Curaray (Velasco); <i>Simigaecurari</i>	<i>Simigae</i> of Tigre (Velasco); <i>Jinori</i> (Hervás):
Araro (H.)	lasco); <i>Simigaecurari</i>	co); <i>Jinori</i> (Hervás):
Bobonazo H.)	(Hervás):	<i>Acamori</i> or <i>Acamaori</i>
Chudaviña or Chuuda-viño	Araza or Arazo	<i>Comacori</i>
Frascarina (V.)	Ginori (V.)	<i>Conejori</i> (V.)
Gae (H.)	Iginori or Ijinori	<i>Iqueconejori</i>
Guazaga or Guazago	Incuri (V.)	<i>Itremoajori</i> (V.)
Macavina (V.)	Napotoa (V.)	<i>Panajori</i>
Murata or Murato	Nepa or Nevo	<i>Tremoajori</i>
Pava or Pabo	Oa	
Pinche	Ynúri (V.)	
Quirivina (V.)	Zapa	
<i>Semigae</i> (H.)	Zapara or Zaparro	

Velasco divided the *Iquito* into two groups:

<i>Iquito</i> of Tigre:	<i>Iquito</i> of Nanay:
Aicore	Blanco
Ayacore	Huasímoa
Erileyne	
Himuetaca	
Neracamue	

Most of these groups are not mentioned, and probably are extinct or amalgamated today, as well as the dozens of small groups listed by other writers (Brinton, 1891 a, listed 62). No recent compiler has attempted to classify these small groups, but Rivet (1924 a), Pericot y García (1936), and W. Schmidt (1926) recognize five main subdivisions; Loukotka (1935), four, which more or less agree with the earlier divisions:

Andoa
Conambo (Combo)
Gae (not accepted by Loukotka)
Iquito (*Ikito*)
Záparo

Ortíz (1940 a) gives the main dialects as *Gae*, *Semigae*, *Iquito*, *Iginorri*, and *Panocarri*.

Tessmann (1930) considers the *Iquito* independent, divided into two groups, the *Iquito* or *Iquito* Proper and the *Cahuarano* or *Kawarano*; he calls it a mixed *Tukano-Pano* language. Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 636) believe that this is erroneous, that the *Iquito* language is very similar to *Gae*, and that Tessmann's *Cahuarano* may be *Maracano*. Nimuendajú (map) places *Iquito* as *Záparoan*. Tessmann believes the *Gae* to be strongly *Carib*: he calls the *Záparo Carib-Tupí* and the *Andoa Carib-Ge*. He also considers the *Murato* to be a *Candoshi* (*Maina*) subtribe.

According to other evidence (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 634), the *Coronado* were kinsmen of the *Oa* and must be distinguished from the totally unrelated (*Tucano*?) *Coronado* on the Aguarico River. "*Auca*" is the generic name for "pagan." *Andoa*, *Gae*, and *Semigae* are closely related, but *Andoa* and *Semigae* are not synonymous, as Tessmann thought. The vocabulary supposed to be *Murato* (Anonymous, 1928 b) has no resemblance to *Záparoan*. *Soronotoa* may be a synonym for *Semigae*; the latter is very similar to *Andoan Murato*. Many of the *Roamaina* and *Záparo* also speak *Quechua*. *Comacor* may be a subtribe of *Semigae*, of *Roamaina*, a synonym for *Iquito*, or a distinct tribe. Of doubtful affiliation with *Záparo* are *Aunale*, *Alabano*, *Curizeta*, *Sucumbio*, and *Neva*.

Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 634) make a *Roamaina* group of *Záparoan*, apparently including *Pinche*, *Zapa*, *Pava*, *Arazo*, and some subsidiary languages. *Roamaina* is generally placed with *Omurano* (q. v.), whose affiliations are so disputed that it probably should be considered unclassified.

Tiputini (*Tiwacuna*) and *Chiripuno* are considered by Tessmann (1930) and Loukotka (1935) as languages akin to *Sabela* (q. v.), to which Loukotka accords independent status.

ZÁPARO

I. *Coronado* Group

A. *Coronado* (*Ipapiza*, *Hichachapa*, *Kilinina*)¹

1. *Taroqueo*
2. *Chudavina* (?)
3. *Miscuara* (?)

B. *Oa* (*Oaki*, *Deguaca*, *Santa Rosina*)

II. *Andoa* Group

A. *Andoa*

1. *Guallpayo*
2. *Guasaga*
3. *Murato*²

¹ Beuchat and Rivet, 1909, classified the *Coronado* as *Cahuapanan*.

² See separate article, *Candoshi* and *Murato*.

ZÁPARO—Continued

II. Andoa Group—Continued

B. *Gae* (*Siaviri*)C. *Semigae*

1. *Aracohor*
2. *Mocosiohor*
3. *Usicohor*
4. *Ichocomohor*
5. *Itoromohor*
6. *Maithiore*
7. *Comacor* (?)

D. *Iquito* (*Amacacora*, *Kiturran*, *Puca-Uma*)

1. *Iquito*
2. *Maracana* (*Cawarano* ?)
3. *Auwe*

E. *Asaruntoa* (?)

III. Záparo Group

A. *Záparo*

1. *Muegano*
2. *Curaray*
3. *Matagen*
4. *Yasuni*
5. *Manta*
6. *Nushino*
7. *Rotuno*
8. *Supinu*

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Andoa.—Brinton, 1898 b; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 530, 617.

Semigae.—Anonymous, 1930 b; León, A. M., 1930 b; Tessmann, 1930, p. 534.

Iquito.—Castelnau, 1852, pp. 295–296; Gonzáles Suárez, 1904, pp. 69–74; Martius, 1867, 2: 302; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 512, 617.

OMURANO (ROAMAINA?)

Synonyms: *Numurana*, *Hunurana*, *Roamayna* (?).

Tessmann (1930) gives an *Omurano* vocabulary of about 250 words, large enough for Loukotka (1935) to decide to give it a position as an independent family consisting of *Omurana* (with vestiges of *Chimu*) and the extinct *Maina*. To Tessmann it is a mixture of *Arawak* and *Carib*, rather strongly *Arawak*. He identifies them with the historical *Roamaina* (*Roamayna*). Brinton (1891 a) classifies *Humurano* (evidently the same as *Hunurana*) and *Roamaina* as belonging to the *Maina*; this classification follows Hervás. The *Maina* stock of Hervás y Panduro (1800), Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a) is the

modern *Cahuapana* (q. v.), and Beuchat and Rivet (1909) classified *Roamaina* as *Cahuapanan*. Loukotka (1935) seems to have found little *Cahuapana* resemblance in *Omurana*.

Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 634) consider the *Roamaina* as a division of *Záparoan* (q. v.) and to be totally distinct from the *Maina*. It is believed to be represented by the extinct *Zapa*, and today by the *Pinche*, with the dialects *Pava*, *Arasa*, *Uspa* or *Llepa*, and *Habitoa*. (See Steward and Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 634.) With such difference of opinion, *Roamaina-Omurano* and *Pinche* had best be considered as unclassified.

Bibliography.—Tessmann, 1930, pp. 444 (*Omurana*), 582 (*Pinche*).

SABELA

Sabela is a new group, discovered and named by Tessmann (1930) and mentioned by no other compilers except Loukotka (1935) and Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43). Tessmann considers it a mixed "stem," *Ge-Arawak-Pano*. The data for linguistic classification seem to be limited to less than 30 words published by Tessmann, surely not enough on which to award it a status as an independent family, as Loukotka (1935) has done. "Uncertain affiliation" is the better decision for the present. The group now speaks *Quechua*. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) follows Loukotka in considering *Sabela* an independent "phylum."

The two divisions are *Tihuacuno* (*Tibakuna* and orthographic variants) and *Chiripuno* (*Tschiripuno*, *Schiripuno*); the degree of linguistic variation between them is not stated. *Tiputini* is close to or identical with *Tihuacuno*.

Steward (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 747) mentions the *Sabela*, with the *Tihuacuno* and *Chiripuno* as tribes of uncertain affiliation. However, Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 629) list *Shiripuno* and *Tiputini* as dialects of *Záparo* proper. In this region are many tribal names, *Záparo*, *Sabela*, *Jívaro*, *Chebero*, *Hibito*, etc., that may well be phonetic variants of one root.

Bibliography.—Tessmann, 1930, pp. 298, 617.

CANELO

Synonyms: *Kanela*, *Napo*, *Santa Rosina*, *Loreto*.

Canelo was superseded by *Quechua* about 1580. The linguistic data are so few that its affiliations will probably never be certain; they may have been with *Záparo*, *Jívaro*, or *Chibcha*. Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 637), following Reinburg (1921), class it with *Záparoan*. Karsten (1935) believes it a mixture of *Jívaro*, *Záparo*, and *Quechua*; Rivet is (or was) convinced that it was related to *Chibcha*.

Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) does not list it in his classification but apparently includes it in the *Jivaro* area in his map. Early accounts indicate that it included *Gae*, generally considered a *Záparoan* tongue, as well as three other unknown and extinct languages or dialects: *Ymmunda* or *Ynmuda*, *Guallingo*, and *Sante* or *Santi*. Other minor groups were *Penday*, *Chontoa*, and *Canicha*.

Bibliography.—Karsten, 1935; Reinburg, 1921; Tessmann, 1930, p. 250.

AWISHIRA

The standard classification of *Awishira* (with many orthographic variants such as *Abijira*, *Avixiri*, *Abira*) in the *Tucanoan* family, accepted by Rivet (1924 a), Pericot y García (1936), and Krickeberg (1922), has been doubted in recent years. Dr. J. P. Harrington has recently examined the data and concluded that the material has so far proved insufficient for definite inclusion with *Tucanoan*. Evidence cited in the Handbook (vol. 3, p. 635) suggests its relationship with *Záparoan*. W. Schmidt (1926) leaves it unmentioned. Nimuendajú (map) puts it with the unclassified languages. Neither Tessmann (1930) nor Loukotka (1935) apparently find anything *Tucanoan* in it in their comparison of vocabularies. Tessmann (1930) calls it a mixed-stem language, *Pano-Arawak*. Loukotka (1935) gives it an independent family, *Auiširi*, finding vestiges of *Chibchan* in it. This is probably too radical; as a living language it will probably be found before many years to belong to one of the larger groups, but as that one is uncertain it had best be left unclassified for the present.

Bibliography.—Tessmann, 1930, pp. 495-489.

NORTHERN TROPICAL LOWLAND FAMILIES OF PRESUMED INDEPENDENCE

WARRAUAN

Synonyms: *Warau*, *Waraw*, *Worrow*, *Uarow*, *Guarau*, *Uarauno*, *Waraweti*, *Araote*, *Tivitiva*.

The independence of the *Warrau* linguistic family has been admitted by all authorities since earliest days. A littoral people of peculiar culture, the general feeling is that they preceded the *Carib* and *Arawak* in the Orinoco Delta and Guiana coast. No suggestions as to linguistic affiliations with other groups have been made; the *Arawak* vestiges that Loukotka (1935) finds are probably due to borrowing.

Generally only one language is assigned to the family, but Nimuendajú (map and index) places the *Mariusa* and *Chaguan*, tribes not mentioned by others, with them. The extinct *Waikeri* or *Guayqueri* may also be related; although Rivet (1924 a) considers the latter as *Carib*, Humboldt (1826) reports that they claimed that their language was related to that of the *Guarauno*.

WARRAU

1. *Mariusa*
2. *Chaguan*
3. *Waikeri* (*Guaiquerí*)

Bibliography.—Adam, 1897 b; Brett, 1868, pp. 176–199; Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 263–266; Goeje, 1930, 1930–31; Hilhouse, 1834; Humboldt, 1822–27, 3: 216; Im Thurn, 1883; Olea, 1928; Quandt, 1807; Schomburgk, 1847–58, pp. 47–48; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 120–123, 1921–22; Williams, J., 1928–29.

AUAKÉAN

Auaké (*Auaqué*, *Auqué*, *Aoaqui*, *Oewaku*) is probably the smallest of all the South American linguistic “families” accepted as independent by all authorities. It may be now extinct, at any rate spoken by only a very small group, possibly of only one family. Unknown to Brinton and Chamberlain, the independent status is based on a vocabulary of some 300 words recorded by Koch-Grünberg (1928) in 1913, which apparently shows no connection with any language with which it has been compared, though Loukotka (1935) sees in it vestiges of *Chibchan*. Consonantal endings are few. Pronominal possession is expressed by prefixes. Armellada and Matallana (1942) call the language *Arutani*.

Bibliography.—Armellada and Matallana, 1942; Koch-Grünberg, 1913, 1922, 1928, 4: 308–313, 331, 332.

CALIANAN

Calianá (*Kaliana*) is one of the small linguistic groups which, unknown to earlier authorities, was discovered by Koch-Grünberg in 1913. The small vocabulary, collected by him, shows no resemblance to any of the surrounding languages, and the language, without any known subdivisions, is, therefore, accorded independent position by all subsequent compilers. No studies have been made, or at any rate published, upon it, and no suggestions regarding relationship, except that Loukotka (1935) claims vestiges of *Chibcha* in it. It should be distinguished from the *Calianá* of Tumuc-Humac. Many of the words are monosyllables with consonantal endings. Pronominal possession is expressed by prefixes.

Bibliography.—Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 458; 1922, p. 227; 1928, 4: 313–317, 332–333.

MACUAN

The *Macu* (*Mahku*) “family” of the Uraricoera River must be distinguished from several other groups of the same or similar name: the *Sálvian Macu*, the *Puinavean Macú* (Loukotka uses *Makú* for the family name), and the *Cofán Macu* or *Maco*. The family has been accorded independent status since its discovery by Koch-Grünberg on the basis of the rather large vocabulary of nouns collected by him

(1928). Only the single language is known. No suggestions as to wider affiliations have been made, except that Loukotka (1935) finds *Arawak* intrusions. The language is said to be spoken rapidly. Possessive pronominal elements are prefixed. Armellada and Matallana (1942) call the language *Sope*.

Bibliography.—Armellada and Matallana, 1942; Koch-Grünberg, 1913, 1922, p. 227, 1928, 4: 317–324.

SHIRIANÁN

Shirianá (*Sirianá*) is one of the newer families, not recognized by Brinton or Chamberlain, but generally accepted since. Relationship with *Carib* has been suggested but uniformly rejected. The best linguistic source is Koch-Grünberg (1928); the languages are said to be "guttural," the words often with consonantal endings.

The principal languages of the family seem to be *Shirianá* and the less important *Carimé* (*Karimé*). *Waiká* (*Guaicá*, *Uaicá*) appears to be closer to *Shirianá*, possibly a dialect; it must be distinguished from a *Cariban Waika* in British Guiana, and *Shirianá* must not be confused with the *Arawakan Shiriana* nearby.

Most modern writers are agreed that *Shirianá* and *Waiká* are descended from the historically important *Guaharibo* (*Iaribu*, *Guahibo*, *Uariba*, *Uajaribo*, *Uaharibo*), though Nimuendajú (map) leaves the latter unclassified; Brinton (1891 a) assumed that they were *Carib*.

SHIRIANÁ

A. *Waharibo* (*Guaharibo*)

1. *Shirianá*

a. *Waicá* (*Guaica*, *Uaica*)

B. *Carimé* (*Karimé*)

Bibliography.—Armellada and Matallana, 1942; Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 454–456, 458, 1928, 4: 302–308, 331, 334; Salathé, 1931–32; Tavera-Acosta, 1921–22, pp. 230–331.

SÁLIVAN, MACU, AND PIARÓA

The independence of this stock has been long and universally recognized, but the names *Sáliva*(n) and *Piaróa*(n) are about equally employed to distinguish it. No suggestions for wider relationships have been made, though Loukotka (1935) sees *Arawak* intrusions in *Sáliva*, and *Carib* vestiges in *Piaróa*.

The majority of authorities agree that three languages compose the family: *Sáliva* (*Sáliba*, *Sálliba*, *Sáliua*, *Sálivi*), *Piaróa*, and *Macu* (*Maco*). Loukotka (1935) groups *Piaróa* and *Macu* in an eastern group, *Sálivi* and *Pamigua* (q. v. infra) in a western group. The *Sálivan Macu* must be distinguished from three other tribes of the

same or very similar names: the independent *Macu* of the Auari River, the *Puinave Macú* and the *Cofan Macu* (q. v.).

Sáliva was one of the nine stocks of the Orinoco Valley established by Gilij (1780–84); the component languages he names as *Ature*, *Piaróa*, and *Quagua*. The *Ature* (*Adole*) are extinct; the name is also given as a synonym of the *Piaróa*. Brinton (1891 a) says the modern *Quagua* (*Kuakua*, *Guagua*) speak *Arawak*; Rivet (1924 a) puts them with the *Carib*. Brinton (1891 a) furthermore found no resemblance between *Sáliva* and *Piaróa*; the languages must be considerably different

SÁLIVA (PIARÓA)

I. Western *Sáliva*

A. *Sáliva*

II. Eastern: *Piaróa*

A. *Piaróa*

1. *Ature* (*Adole*)

2. *Piaróa*

3. *Quagua* (*Guagua*) (?)

B. *Macu*

Bibliography.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17; Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 324–326; Chamberlain, 1910 a, pp. 195–198; Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 257–258; Ernst, 1895, Gilij, 1780–84, pp. 383–384; Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 469–472, 1922, p. 236, 1928, 4: 351–357; Loukotka, 1929–30; Marcano, 1890 a; Oramas, 1914; Rivet, 1920 a; Schuller, 1912 a; Tavera-Acosta, 1907 a, pp. 85–107.

PAMIGUA AND TINIGUA

Castellví has recently (1940) published a vocabulary of *Tinigua*. He finds no resemblance to any other family, but an evident connection with the extinct *Pamigua*. He therefore suggests a *Pamiguan* linguistic family, consisting of *Pamigua* and *Tinigua*. Rivet (1924 a) placed *Pamigua* in the *Guahiban* family, and Loukotka (1935) placed it with *Sáliva* in the western group of *Sálivan* (*Piaróan*). Igualada and Castellví (1940) considered *Tinigua* as composing a third or Southern group of *Sálivan*. The language is still spoken in the Caquetá region of Colombia.

Bibliography.—Castellví, 1940; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941–43, 2:108–109; Ernst, 1891.

OTOMACAN, GUAMO OR GUAMA, AND YARURAN

The *Otomaco* and *Yaruro*, small groups that are close neighbors in southern Venezuela, are limited to one language each. The *Otomaco* are extinct, the *Yaruro* approaching it. Both have been accorded independent linguistic status since, at the least, Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a).

Otomaco (Otomac, Otomak).—Rivet (1924 a) says the language

is called *Tarapita*.²¹ Loukotka (1935) sees *Carib* intrusions in it, a distinct possibility.

Guamo or Guama.—Loukotka (1935) establishes an independent *Guama* family of one language, the *Guama*, in which he finds vestiges of *Chibchan*. This is apparently the small tribe of southwestern Venezuela termed *Guamo* by other writers. Petrullo (1939) says that their remnants became extinct in recent years. Most authorities do not mention them; Nimuendajú (map) leaves them unclassified. Loukotka (1935) does not mention the data on the basis of which he isolates them, but it is doubtless insufficient evidence on which to establish a new family; they had better be left with the many on which we lack sufficient information for classification. Kirchhoff (Handbook, vol. 4, p. 439) believes that *Guamo* was very closely related to *Otomaco*.

Yaruro (*Yarura, Jaruri, Jaruro, Sayuro, Zavuri, Saururi, Japaria, Yapin, Yuapin, Pume, Pumeh*).—*Pumeh* is said to be their name for themselves. Loukotka's opinion (1935) regarding "*Coroado* intrusions" is to be doubted. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) considers *Yaruro* as related to *Chibcha*, forming, with *Esmeralda*, his first or "*Paleo-Chibcha*" group of his *Macro-Chibcha* phylum.

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Otomaco.—Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 194; Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 262-263; Gilij, 1780-84, 3: 262-263; Rosenblat, 1936; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 332-374.

Yaruro.—Adelung and Vater, 1806-17; Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 319-320; Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 201; Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 260-261; Müller, Frederich, 1882; 1: 360-363, 2; Oramas, 1909; Petrullo, 1939, pp. 265-289; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 120-133.

GUAHIBAN

Guahibo (*Wahibo, Goahivo, Goahiva, Guayba*, etc.) has been universally recognized as an independent family since earliest days (Brinton, 1891 a; Chamberlain, 1913 a), and no suggestions as to larger relationships have ever been made. Its true status should not be difficult to determine since, in addition to a published grammar (Fernández and Bartolomé, 1895), they form a large living group not very inaccessible. *Churoya*, generally now recognized as one of the languages forming the family, was formerly considered as the type member of another family, the *Churoyan*, accepted by Brinton (1891 a) and at first by Chamberlain (1907). Not all of Brinton's *Churoyan* languages, however, are now considered *Guahiban*; *Cofán* and *Mako* are

²¹ Rivet (1924 a) distinguishes *Tarapita* and *Taparito*, which latter Gillin and Nimuendajú agree with him in considering as *Cariban* (q. v.). Kirchhoff (Handbook, vol. 4, p. 464) calls *Taparita* a variety of *Otomaco*; possibly some confusion in names exists. W. Schmidt (1926) considers *Taparito* as isolated.

generally put with *Cofán* (q. v.). A careful comparison of *Guahibo* and *Cofán* is, therefore, indicated; Ortíz (1943, 1944) doubts the relationship.

GUAHIBO

I. *Guahibo*

A. *Wahibo*

1. *Chiricoa*

a. *Sicuané*

2. *Cuiba*

a. *Mella*

b. *Ptamo*

3. *Yamu*

B. *Churuya*

1. *Bisanigua*

C. *Cunimía*

1. *Guayabero*

Possibly: *Amorua* (generally placed with *Arawak*), *Catarro*, *Cuiloto*, *Maiba*.

Bibliography.—Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 320–323; Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 186 (*Churoya*); Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 258–260; Ernst, 1891; Fernández de San José and Bartolomé, 1895; Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 472, 1928, 4: 443–451; Loukotka, 1929–30, 1938; Marcano, 1890; Ortíz, 1943, 1944; Ossa. V., 1938; Pérez, 1935; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1944; Rivet, 1912 a, pp. 128–131; Sáenz, 1876, pp. 341–342 (*Churoya*); Schomburgk, 1849; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 85–95.

PUINAVEAN OR MACÚ

Puinave, a family of slight present extent, may have been formerly much more important and widespread. Rivet, Kok, and Tastevin (1924–25) suggest that it may be a substratum common to many adjacent languages, now so differentiated that a common origin is difficult to prove. It has been recognized as independent since at least the days of Chamberlain (1913 a). W. Lehmann (1920) suggests a possible relationship with *Witoto* (q. v.), which might tie it to *Tupí*. Loukotka (1935) terms the family *Macú* from its most important tribe, and Jijón y Caamaño (1941–43) distinguishes a “Phylum *Makú*,” but the older and more generally accepted name *Puinave* is preferable to avoid confusion; *Macú* must be distinguished not only from the *Macu* family, but also from the *Piaróan Macu* and the *Cofán Macu*.

W. Schmidt (1926) includes in the family a *Cabere* language, generally regarded as an *Arawak* dialect.

There is said to be considerable differentiation between the dialects, and much borrowing from *Tucanoan* languages. Some of the linguistic characteristics are: Accent generally on the ultima; vocalic harmony; noun-verb composition; postpositions; compound nouns; pronominal and reciprocal prefixes; gender, pluralizing, tense and mode suffixes.

PUINAVE OR MACÚ

I. *Puinave* (*Puinabe*, *Puinavis*, *Uaipunabis*, *Guaipunavos*, *Uaipsis*)A. *Puinave* (*Epined*)

1. Western

a. *Bravos*, *Guaripa*

2. Eastern

a. *Mansos*B. *Macú*1. *Macú*2. *Tikié*3. *Kerari*4. *Papurí*5. *Nadöbo*

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Puinave.—Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 196; Crévaux, Sagot, and Adam, 1882, pp. 255–256; Ernst, 1895, pp. 396–398; Koch-Grünberg, 1928, 4: 335–343; Oramas, 1913 b, pp. 20–25; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, pp. 97–107.

Macú.—Koch-Grünberg, 1906 b, pp. 885–899, 1909–10, 1913, 1922, 1928, vol. 4; Rivet, Kok, and Tastevin, 1924–25, pp. 143–185; Rivet and Tastevin, 1920, pp. 76–81; Tastevin, 1923 a.

TUCANOAN (BETOYAN)

Tucano is one of the important, though not one of the great, linguistic families of South America. It occupies two adjacent homogeneous areas in the northwestern central part of the continent, separated by *Carib* and *Witoto* groups. A small isolated third group to the north is no longer credited. The name refers to the toucan bird, a translation of the native name, *Daxsea*. There may be 10,000 speakers of the *Tucano* languages today.

The name *Tucano* or *Tukano*, generally accepted today, was first proposed by Beuchat and Rivet (1911). Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a) termed the family *Betoya(n)* from the *Betoi* or *Betoya* tribe. The latter, however, Beuchat and Rivet demonstrated to belong to the *Chibchan* family, as apparently do also a number of the other languages given by Brinton (1891 a, p. 273) as members of the *Betoyan* stock: *Anibali*, *Kilifaye* (Quilifaye), *Situfa*, *Tunebo*, and probably *Jama*.

No suggestions have been made that would connect *Tucano* with other linguistic families. The languages are said to be characterized by consonantal clusters, nasalization, unclear pronunciation, and unusual phonemes. Stems are composed, verbal modifications are by means of suffixes, there being apparently no verbal prefixes and no reduplication. Nominal plural is expressed by suffixes or by modifications of the ultima; prepositional relations are shown by postpositions. Indirect object is expressed by a suffix, as is feminine gender.

No careful attempt has ever been made to subdivide the *Tucano*

languages on a linguistic basis. It is generally assumed that linguistic divisions follow the geographical ones, adjacent tribes speaking more closely related languages than distant ones, sibs of tribes speaking dialects. This divides the family into two main groups. This classification is herein accepted as the only available one, with the realization that it may be without any basis.

The following classification is based primarily on Steward (Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 737-741) and Goldman (Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 764-766), partly on W. Schmidt (1926). It is very tentative.

TUCANO CLASSIFICATION

I. Eastern Tucano

A. *Cubeo* (*Cobewa*, *Kobeua*, *Pamiwa*)

1. *Cubeo*

a. *Hölöna* (*Holowa?*)

b. *Hahänana* (*Hehenawa*)

B. *Tucano-Tuyuca*

1. *Tucano* (*Dächsea*)

a. *Arapaso* (*Coreä*)

b. *Neenoä*

c. *Yohoroä*

d. *Uiua Tapuyo*

2. *Tuyuca* (*Dochkäfuara*)

a. *Barä*¹

b. *Tsolä*

3. *Wanana* (*Ananas*, *Kóititia*)

a. *Waiana* (*Yurutí Tapuya*)

b. *Piratapuyo* (*Waickea*, *Urubú Tapuya*)

c. *Uaicana*

d. *Uainana*

4. *Carapaná*² (*Möchda*)

5. *Wásöna* (*Pisá Tapuya*)

6. *Pamóá* (*Tatú Tapuya*)

C. *Buhágana* (*Carawatana-mira*)

1. *Macuna*

a. *Hobacana* (*Japuana*)

2. *Buhágana*

a. *Ömöa*

b. *Sära*

c. *Doä*

d. *Tsaina*

e. *Tsoloá*

f. *Yäba*

D. *Desana* (*Winá*)

1. *Yupuá*

E. *Cueretú*

1. *Cashiita* (*Kusiita*)

¹ W. Schmidt (1926) considers *Barä*, *Uaiana*, *Uasöna*, *Möchdää*, and *Pamoa* as subtribes of *Uanána*.

² Loukotka (1935) considers *Carapaná* as *Witoto*, mixed with *Tucano*

TUCANO CLASSIFICATION—Continued

I. Eastern *Tucano*—ContinuedF. *Yahuna*

1. *Opaina* (*Tanimboca*)
2. *Dātuana*

G. *Bölöa*H. *Erulia*II. Western *Tucano*³A. *Piojé-Sioni*⁴

1. *Encabellado* (*Icaguato*, *Angutera*)
 - a. *Piojé* (*Pioche*)
 - b. *Encabellado*
 - c. *Secoya-Gai*
 - d. *Campuya*
 - e. *Santa Maria*
 - f. *Guaciguaje*
 - g. *Cieguaje*
 - h. *Macaguaje*
 - i. *Amaguaje*
2. *Sioni*

B. *Correguaje-Tama*⁵

1. *Correguaje*
 - a. *Correguaje*
2. *Tama* (*Tamao*)
 - a. (*Ayrico*)

C. *Coto*

Other possible Western *Tucano* languages or dialects are: *Tetete*,⁶ *Pasto*,⁷ and *Awishiri*⁸ (q. v.).

³ See Steward (Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 737-739) for smaller *Encabellado* divisions; Beuchat and Rivet (1911) for many small *Tucano* subdivisions and synonyms.

⁴ The terminology among the *Piojé-Sioni* is greatly confused. Steward (Handbook, vol 3, p. 738) states that the five principal names *Encabellado*, *Icaguato*, *Piojé*, *Santa Maria*, and *Angutera* are synonyms for the entire group as well as names of divisions used at different periods.

⁵ The *Correguaje* and *Tama* are said to be closely linked, but Rivet (1924 a) places *Tama*, together with *Ayrico*, the latter not mentioned by other modern sources, in a third or Northern *Tucano* group, leaving *Correguaje* with the Western *Tucano*.

⁶ *Tetete* is mentioned as an important Western *Tucano* group by Castellví (Igualada and Castellví, 1940) and Loukotka (1939 a).

⁷ On grounds of toponymy Rivet (1924 a) places the extinct and peripheral *Pasto* with the Western *Tucano*; Loukotka (1935) accepts this. It is herein classified with the *Paritaco* group of *Chibchan*.

⁸ One of the doubtful questions is the inclusion of the *Awishiri* (*Abijira*, etc.) (q. v.), traditionally included with the *Tucano*. (See independent article supra under *Záparoan* classification.)

Other groups, considered by one or more authorities as *Tucano* and not disputed by others, are: *Bahukiwa*, *Corocoro Tapuya*, *Corowa*, *Palanoa*, *Patsoca*, *Usa Tapuya*, *Wantuya*, *Yi Tapuya*, *Yiboya Tapuya*. Some of these may be synonyms of others given above.

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Eastern.—Adelung and Vater, 1806-17; Coudreau, H., 1887, pp. 464-474; Giacone, 1939; Koch-Grünberg, 1906 c, 1909-10, p. 324, 1912-16; Kok, 1921-22;

Martius, 1867, 2:164-166, 275-276, 281-285; Stradelli, 1910, pp. 236-317; Wallace, 1853, pp. 520-521.

Western.—Anonymous, 1909, 1919 e; Chantre y Herrera, 1901; Crevaux, 1882; González Suárez, 1904, pp. 63-64; Rivas, 1944; Rocha, 1905, pp. 199-201; Simson, 1879 a, pp. 210-222, 1886; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 205-221.

COTO

The *Coto* (*Koto*) is one of several groups known as *Orejón*, "big ears," and sometimes *Coto* is considered the only synonym of *Orejón* (Nimundajú, index). However, an extinct group of southern *Witoto* was also known by this name (q. v.). The *Coto* (as apart from *Orejón*) are placed by all authorities under *Tucano*, and Tessmann (1930) reports that his 235-word vocabulary is nearly pure *Tucano*. He says that in addition to *Orejón* they are known as *Payagua* and *Tutapisho*. There are said to be 500 living today. They must be distinguished from the *Chibchan Coto* of Costa Rica.

Bibliography.—Marcoy, 1875; Simson, 1886; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 189-205.

CAHUAPANAN

The *Cahuapana* (*Kahuapana*, *Cawapana*, *Maina*) family is relatively unimportant, occupying a small region without enclaves, and spoken by a few thousand persons. Though it will probably eventually be found to belong to some greater family or phylum, no suggestions of larger relationships seem to have been made: Rivet, who has published the principal studies (Beuchat and Rivet, 1909; Rivet and Tastevin, 1931), made none. Within the family the classification is also difficult; little is known of many of the languages and dialects, and many, which would better be left unclassified pending fuller data, are generally included on purely geographical grounds. The name *Cahuapana*, preferred by Beuchat and Rivet, supplants the former *Mainan* or *Mayna* of Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a).

The language is said to be harsh and difficult. A kind of true inflection with different suffixes for each tense and person is found. Modal relations are expressed by either suffixes or prefixes, also some infixes, but verbal and nominal suffixes predominate over prefixes. Pronominal (except subject) and gender relations are shown by suffixes, as are nominal and verbal pluralization.

Loukotka adds an extinct *Mikirá* to the family. *Omurano* (*Humurano*) and *Roamaina* (q. v.) were long considered prominent members of this family but are not mentioned by later authorities. Hervás y Panduro (1800) gave *Chayavita* as a separate stock, consisting of *Cahuapano* and *Paranapuro*. See Handbook (vol. 3, pp. 605-608) for comments on relationships and critique of former classifications.

Steward and Métraux question the relationship of the entire *Mayna* group.

CAHUAPANAN

I. *Cahuapana*A *Cahuapana*

1. *Cahuapana*
2. *Concho* (*Chonzo*)

II. *Chébero* (*Xevero*)

1. *Chébero* ¹
2. *Chayawita* (*Chawi*)
 - a. *Chayawita*
 - b. *Yamorai* (*Balsapuertino*) ²
3. *Atagate* ³ (?)

¹*Chébero* (*Xévero*) must not be confused with the *Jivaro* (*Xivero*) (q. v.) or the *Hibito*.

² The *Yamorai* are mentioned only by Tessmann (1930), on whose opinion they are here included.

³ *Atagate* is mentioned only by Beuchat and Rivet (1909, p. 619), who also include *Cutinana* and *Tivilo*, languages apparently related to *Aguano* (q. v.).

Bibliography.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17; Beuchat and Rivet, 1909; Brinton, 1892 a, pp. 21–29; Ortiz 1941 b; Rivet, 1912 a; Rivet and Tastevin, 1931; Schuller, 1912 d; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 378, 415, 440–444; Veigl, 1785 a.

MUNICHE

Synonyms: *Munitschi*, *Muniči*, *Paranapura*.

Muniche was one of the old stocks of Hervás y Panduro (1800), quoted without comment by Brinton (1891 a). The component languages were *Muchimo* and *Otanabe*, doubtless extinct and not mentioned by any recent writer. Neither was *Muniche* until Tessmann (1930) rediscovered it. He considers it a mixed-stem language, *Ge-Pano*, with 16 resemblances, in about equal proportion, out of the 33 that he used as a criterion. Loukotka (1935), the only compiler who mentions the group, gives it independent status. Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 606–607) consider *Muniche* related to *Chébero*, of the *Mayna* branch of *Cawapana*. As Tessmann's collected vocabulary amounts to only 38 words, this is hardly enough on which to base any opinion; it should be left unclassified pending further study. Tessmann (1930) appears to be the sole source of information.

MUNICHE

1. *Muniche*
2. *Muchimo*
3. *Otanabe*
4. *Churitana*

PANOAN

Pano is one of the major linguistic families with many subdivisions. Tradition brings them from the north, but no relationship with any other family has ever been suggested, much less demonstrated.

Rivet (1924 a) observes that the *Tacana* group (q. v.), which he believes to be *Arawak*, shows considerable grammatical resemblances to *Pano*. Neighboring languages seem to have affected the *Panoan* languages little. Comparatively few of the component languages are extinct and some groups number several thousands; the total number of speakers may be about 15,000. They occupy four isolated homogeneous areas east of the Andes in far west Brazil and adjacent republics; the central one is the largest in area, number of groups, and importance. Not even vocabularies exist from many, probably from most, of the tribes, and no classification other than into the three main areas, has ever been attempted. Such comparisons as have been made indicate that the linguistic groupings on the whole follow the geographical divisions. The languages of the Juruá-Purús seem to fall with the central group rather than with the southwestern or the southeastern.

The main or central branch of the *Pano* comprises a very large number of tribes and subtribes, each of which doubtless spoke a more or less variant language or dialect. For lack of sufficient data, no one has attempted a classification of these languages, though some are said to be mutually intelligible, others not. On the presumption that adjacent and affiliated groups are linguistically more closely related than more distant groups some classification may be made, but this is a dangerous assumption, the groupings highly tentative. The two main groups are those on the Ucayali, the names of which typically end in *-bo* (a pluralizing suffix), and those on the Juruá and Purús, with the majority of names ending in *-nawa*, meaning "strangers."

THE CHAMA LANGUAGES

The *Conibo*, *Setebo*, and *Shipibo* of the Ucayali River are grouped under the *Chama* (*Tschama*, *Ćama*), and are apparently mutually intelligible. While the groups are large and important, the speech forms would probably be classed as varieties or dialects of the *Chama* language. This must be distinguished from the *Tacanan Chama* on the Madidi River. Except for the three above-named main groups there is disagreement regarding the affiliation of certain other groups with *Chama*.

According to Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 559-560), *Setibo* is divided into two subgroups, *Sensi* and *Panobo*, which, perhaps with *Puinawa*, separated from the parent group in recent days. As regards *Panobo* there is general agreement on its close association with *Setibo*. *Pano*, *Pelado*, *Manoa*, and *Cashiboyano* are given as synonyms or subdivisions. In addition to the obvious synonyms (*Sensivo*, *Ssenssi*, *Senci*, *Senti*), *Tenti*, *Barbudo*, and *Mananawa* (*Mananahua*,

Mananagua) are given as synonyms of *Sensi*. There is great diversity of opinion regarding *Mananawa*, which Rivet (1910 b) considers a branch of *Shipibo*, Tessmann (1930) a branch of *Cashibo*. Nimuendajú (index) refuses to classify *Mananawa*; K. G. Grubb (1927, p. 83), calls it a subtribe of *Remo* (q. v.) with the subdivisions *Marubo* and *Pisabo* (q. v.); the latter languages are not generally classed in the *Chama* group. Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 560) consider *Ynubu*, *Runubu*, and *Casca* as subdivisions of *Sensi*, inferentially dialects or varieties thereof. Both Tessmann (1930) and Loukotka (1935) claim that *Sensi* is not as pure *Pano* as the other *Chama* languages; Loukotka places it in a separate "mixed" group.

Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 561) say that *Shipibo* is the same language as *Setibo* and the extinct *Caliseca* (*Kaliseka*). Rivet (1910 b) agrees with the latter and adds *Mananawa* as a subtribe. The name *Caliseca* has not been used since the 17th century (Steward and Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 561) and it is disputed whether they were the modern *Shipibo* or *Cashibo*.

CASHIBO

Cashibo (*Kaschibo*, *Cachibo*, *Cahibo*, *Cacibo*, *Caribo*, *Casibo*, *Cahivo*, *Kassibo*, *Kašibo*), also given the synonyms of *Mananawa* (*Mananagua*, *Managua*, *Mananabua*), *Carapacho*, *Haqueti* (*Hagueti*), and *San Lorenzo*, is generally placed in the *Chama* language, but according to a local missionary (Rankin, personal correspondence) the speech of the *Cashibo* is unintelligible to the *Conibo-Shipibo-Setibo*. The subgroups are given as *Cacataibo* (*Kakataibo*), *Cashino*, and *Ruño* by Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 564); as *Buninawa* (*Bununahua*, etc.), *Carapacho* (*Karapatša*, etc.), and *Puchanawa* (*Putšanahua*, etc.) by Rivet (1910 b), and as *Cashinó* (*Kaschinó*) and *Shirinó* (*Ssirinó*) by Tessmann (1930). K. G. Grubb (1927, p. 84) says that the *Cashinawa* are closely related. The differences of opinion regarding *Mananawa* and *Caliseca*, listed above as synonyms of *Cashibo*, have been already considered. Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 564) consider *Carapacho* as of uncertain affiliation; P. Marcoy (1875) calls it a synonym of *Caliseca*.

Nocoman (*Nokamán*), recently identified by Tessmann (1930, p. 172), is probably now extinct. It was formerly confused with *Cashibo* (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 567). Nimuendajú (map) leaves it unclassified. Loukotka (1935) and Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) place it with *Pano*.

Other languages or dialects, generally agreed to be *Panoan*, whose closer affiliations are unknown but which probably belong in the *Ucayali* group, are *Pichobo* (*Pitsubo*, *Pichaba*, *Pitsobu*, *Pisabo*, etc.) and *Soboibo* (*Saboibo*, *Soboyo*, *Soyboibo*, *Bolbo*); *Mochobo* (*Mochovo*, *Uni-*

vitza) and *Comobo* (*Comavo*, *Comambo*, *Univitza*). K. G. Grubb (1927) calls *Pisabo* a subdivision of *Mananawa*, the latter a subtribe of *Remo*.

Considered as *Pano* by Nimuendajú (map), but not noted in other lists: *Mainawa* (distinct from *Marinawa*), *Yananawa*, and *Yumbanawa*.

Considered as *Pano* by Nimuendajú (map); listed as unidentified tribes of Ucayali by Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 567): *Puyamanawa* (*Punyamumanawa*) and *Camarinawa* (*Kamarinigua*).

Ruanawa (*Ruanagua*, *Rununawa*) and *Puynawa* (*Poyanawa*, *Poianawa*, *Puynagua*) are less often mentioned *Panoan* groups (Steward and Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 566).

The following groups of the Juruá-Purús Basin are considered as *Panoan*, without any suggestion as to their relationships inter se or with neighboring groups. Probably each is entitled to the status of a dialect or variety, though some may be radically different.

Canamari, (*Kanawari*, etc.).—These must be distinguished from the *Arawak* and *Catukina Canamari*. W. Schmidt (1926) places them with the *Catukina* in a separate Middle Group of *Pano*, a division of the *Northern Pano* not recognized by other authorities.

Curina (*Kulino*, etc.).—These must be distinguished from the *Arawak Culino* or *Kurina*.

Contanawa (*Kuontanaua*, etc.).

Espinó.

Marinawa.

Nana, probably same as *Nawa*.

Nawa.

Pacanawa (*Pakanaua*, etc.).

Shanindawa (*Shaninawà*, *Šaninaua*). Distinguish from *Saninawa*.

Shipinawa (*Šipinaua*, etc.).

Tushinawa (*Tušinaua*, etc.).

Yaminawa (*Jaminaua*, *Yuminawa*, etc.).

Yawavo (*Jauabo*, *Yawabu*, etc.). Distinguish from Southeastern *Pano Jau-
navo* or *Caripuná*.

Yura.

Remo (*Rhemo*), *Sacuya*, *Maspo* (*Impeniteri*), *Nucuini*, *Cuyanawa*, and *Niarawa* (*Niamagua*) seem to form a related group. Possibly all belong with the *Chama* language, since Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 565) call *Remo* a *Conibo* dialect. *Mananawa* is mentioned as a subtribe of *Remo*, but this is not generally accepted. *Nucuini* is considered by Loukotka (1935) as a synonym of *Remo*. *Sacuya* (*Sakuya*) is generally linked with *Remo* and probably is a subgroup. *Maspo* or *Impeniteri* is also generally linked with *Remo*. *Cuyanawa* (*Kuyanahua*, etc.) is apparently associated with *Nucuini*.

Possibly to the above group belongs *Capanawa* (*Kapanagua*, *Kapahuana*, etc.) with its subgroup *Buskipani* (*Busquipani*). The

latter name has also sometimes been considered as a synonym of *Amawaca*.

Various opinions seem to correlate the languages or dialects *Catukina*, *Arara*, *Ararapina*, *Ararawa*, *Saninawa*, *Saninawacana*, and *Shawanawa*. *Catukina* (*Katoquino*, etc.) must be distinguished from four other languages of the same name of other families. Schmidt (1926) places it with *Canamari* in a separate Middle Group of *Pano*.

Pericot y García (1936) considers *Arara*, *Ararapina*, and *Ararawa* as subgroups of *Catukina*, and Rivet (1924 a) states that these three are doubtless identical with *Saninawa*. Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 660) links *Shawanawa* with the *Arara* group, and believes that *Saninawa* is related to *Saninawacana*.

According to Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 565), the *Amawaca* (*Amaguaco*, *Amajuaka*, *Ameuhaque*, etc.) are close relatives of the *Cashinawa* (*Kachinawa*, *Cushinawua*, *Cazinagua*, etc.). Rivet (1924 a) gives *Maspo* and *Impetineri* as synonyms of *Amawaca* but Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 566) place the former in another group. *Sayaca* (*Sacuya* ?) and *Busquipani* have also been given as synonyms (or subdivisions) of *Amawaca*, but these also seem to belong to other groups (vide supra); nevertheless, the possibility of the relationship of all these must be considered. Pericot y García (1936) calls *Arawa* a subtribe of *Amawaca*; *Arawa* is generally placed with the Southwestern *Pano* group (q. v.). Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 566) believe that the extinct *Amenwaca* (*Amen-guaca*) is a synonym of *Amawaca*; it has many groups and subgroups, the best known of which are *Inuvakeu* and *Viwivakeu* (*Viwivaqueu*). W. Schmidt (1926) links *Cashinawa* with *Sheminawa*.

Of the groups mentioned above, Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 567) consider these Ucayali languages unidentified but probably *Panoan*: *Camarinawa*, *Puyamanawa*, *Saninawaca*, and *Sinabu*. Also these not before mentioned: *Awanawa* (*Aguanagua*), *Chunti*, *Diabu*, *Isunawa* (*Ysunagua*), *Ormiga*, *Trompetero*, and *Viabu*.

There is general agreement as to the composition of the *Southwestern Panoan* group in the region of the basin of the Inambari. The two important groups seem to be *Arasa* (*Arasaire*, *Arazaire*, *Aratsaira*) and *Atsawaca-Yamiaca*. The *Atsawaca* (*Atsahuaka*, etc.) or *Chaspa*, and the *Yamiaca* (*Yamiaka*) or *Hasuñeiri* dialects (?) must be very similar, as they are said to have separated in historic times. *Arasa* is probably more divergent. Some of the *Arasa* and *Atsawaca* also speak *Tacana* (*Arawak* ?) and are often classified in that group. Nordenskiöld's *Arasa* vocabulary (1908) is *Tacana*, but Llosa's *Arasaire* vocabulary (1906) is *Panoan*.

A doubtful member of this group is *Arawa*, which language must be considerably different from the others. Nimuendajú (map) leaves

it unclassified; others consider it a link between the *Southwestern* and *Northern Pano*. Stiglich (1908) considers it a small group of *Amawaca* (*Northern Pano*). It must be distinguished from the *Arawak Araua*.

The *Southeastern Pano* group is generally known as *Pacaguará* (*Pacawara*, *Pakavara*). The consensus is that the *Pacaguará* group consists of four languages, the interrelations of which are not suggested. These four are *Chacobo* (*Tschakobo*), *Caripuná*, *Capuibo* (*Kapuibo*), and *Sinabo*; the position of the latter alone is disputed. The *Caripuná* (*Karipuná*) or *Jau-navo* (*Jaûn Avô*) are divided into subtribes, the *Jacariá* (*Jakariá*, *Yacaríae*, *Jacaré-Tapuüya*, *Yacaré-Tapuüya*) and the *Pamá* (*Pamaná*).

The position of the *Sinabo* is uncertain. Two groups are mentioned in the literature, the *Sinabo* and the *Shenabu*, with intermediate orthographical variants. Rivet (1924 a) classifies them both as members of the *Pacaguará* group, and probably synonymous. One or the other is also classified as a subtribe of *Shipibo* (*Northern Pano*), as related to *Sensi*, and as unidentified. Doubtful also is the position of *Zurina*; Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 450) apparently considers it a member of the *Pacaraguá* group while Nimuendajú (map) leaves it unclassified; the others fail to mention it.

PANO

I. Central

A. *Chama* (Ucayali)

1. *Conibo*

a. *Conibo*

b. *Shipibo*

a. *Caliseca*, *Sinabo* (?)

b. *Manamabobo*, *Manava*

c. *Setebo*

a. *Sensi*: *Casca*, *Runubu*, *Ynubu*, *Barbudo*, *Tenti*, *Mananawa* (?)

b. *Panobo*: *Pano*, *Pelado*, *Manoa*, *Cashiboyano*

2. *Cashibo* (*Comabo*)

a. *Cacataibo*

b. *Cashiño*

c. *Ruño*

d. *Buninawa*

e. *Carapacho* (?)

f. *Puchanawa*

g. *Shirinó*

B. *Curina* (*Kulino*)¹

C. *Capanawa*

1. *Capanawa*

a. *Buskipani*

2. *Remo*

a. *Sacuya*

¹ Distinguish from neighboring *Arawak Culino* or *Culina*.

PANO—Continued

I. Central—Continued

C. *Capanawa*—Continued3. *Maspo*a. *Epetineri* (*Impenitari*)²4. *Nucuini*a. *Cuyanawa*5. *Niarawa*6. *Puyamanawa* (?)D. *Amawaca* (*Amenguaca* ?)1. *Amawaca*a. *Cashinawa*a. *Sheminawa*b. *Inuvakeu*c. *Viwivakeu*2. *Pichobo*a. *Pichobo* (*Pisobo*)b. *Soboibo*a. *Ruanawa*c. *Mochobo*a. *Comobo*E. *Catukina* ³1. *Arara*a. *Shawanawa*2. *Ararapina*3. *Ararawa*4. *Saninawa*a. *Saninawacana*F. *Juruá-Purús*1. *Povanawa*2. *Shipinawa*3. *Ararawa*4. *Yauavo*5. *Yaminawa*6. *Rununawa*7. *Contanawa*8. *Yawanawa*9. *Pacanawa*10. *Yumbanawa*11. *Yura*12. *Tushinawa*13. *Marinawa*14. *Espinó*15. *Manawa*16. *Canamari* ⁴

² Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 565) list *Ipitinere* as a synonym of *Amahuaca*, but in an earlier section (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 541) give *Epetineri* as a probably *Arawakan* group.

³ Distinguish from *Arawak* and from *Catukina Catukina*.

⁴ Distinguish from *Arawak* and *Catukina Canamari*.

PANO—Continued

II. Southwest

A. *Arasaire*B. *Atsawaca*1. *Atsawaca*2. *Yamiaca*C. *Araú* (?)

III. Southeast

A. *Pacawará*1. *Chacobo*2. *Caripuná* (*Jau-navo*)a. *Jacariá*b. *Pamá* (*Pamaná*)3. *Capuibo*4. *Sinabo*B. *Zurina* (?)

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Undifferentiated.—Durand, 1921, pp. 85–102; Grubb, K. G., 1927; Hestermann, 1910, 1914–19; I a Grasserie, 1890; Mitre, 1909–10, 2:316–17; Rivet and Tastevin, 1927–29, 1932; Schuller, 1911 a.

Chama languages.—Carrasco, 1901; Marqués, 1903, 1931; Navarro, 1903; Orton, 1871; Schuller, 1912 b; Tessmann, 1929, 1930, p. 103. *Conibo-Shipibo*: Alemany, 1906 b; Armentia, 1888, 1898; Farabee, 1922, pp. 80–95; Marcoy, 1875, pp. 52–53; Métraux, 1942 a, pp. 45–53; Reich, 1903, p. 135; Schmidt, W., 1905; Steinen, 1904; Tessmann, 1928. *Setibo-Sensi-Panobo-Pano*: Cardus, 1886; Castelnau, 1852, pp. 292–302; Martius, 1867, 2: 298–299; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 105, 187–189. *Cashibo*: Tessmann, 1930, pp. 124–155.

Curina-Kulino.—Carvalho, 1929, 1931; Martius, 1867, 2: 242–244.

Capanawa Group.—*Remo*: Carvalho, 1929, 1931, pp. 254–256; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 580–582. *Capanahua*: Tessmann, 1930, p. 156.

Amawaca-Cashinawa.—Abreu, 1914, pp. 524–546, 1938 b; Farabee, 1922, pp. 105–114; Stegelmann, 1903, p. 137; Steinen, 1904; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 158–170.

Catukina.—Rivet, 1920 b, p. 87; Rivet and Tastevin, 1924, 1927–29, pp. 489–516.

Juruá-Purús Group.—Carvalho, 1931, pp. 234–252; Chandless, 1866, p. 118 (*Canamari*); Rivet and Tastevin, 1927–29; Stegelmann, 1903, pp. 135–137.

Southwest.—*Arasaire*: Aza, 1933 b, 1935, 1937; Cipriani, C. A., 1902; Llosa, 1906; Rivet, 1910 b. *Atsawaca-Yamiaca*: Anonymous, 1902; Barranca, J. S., 1914; Cipriani, C. A., 1902; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913 e; Farabee, 1922; Nordenskiöld, 1905; Rivet, 1910 b. *Arawa*: Stiglich, 1908.

Southeast.—*Pacawará*: Armentia, 1888, 1898; Heath, E., 1883; Orbigny, 1839, 1:164; Rivet, 1910 b; *Chacobo*: Cardus, 1886, p. 315; Nordenskiöld, 1911 b, pp. 230–240; Pauly, 1928, p. 138; *Caripuna*: Keller, Fr., 1874, pp. 158–159; Martius, 1867, 2:240–242; Pauly, 1928, p. 143.

MAYORUNA

Synonyms: *Mujuruna*, *Maxuruna*, *Mashoruna*, *Mashobuna*, *Maioruna*, *Moriike*, *Pelado*.

Mayoruna is generally accepted as a *Panoan* language (Brinton, 1891 a; Rivet, 1924 a; Krickeberg, 1922: Schmidt, W., 1926; Nimu-

endajú, map and index; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941-43). However, Tessmann and Loukotka see nothing *Panoan* in it. Tessmann (1930) considers it a mixture of *Arawak* and *Tupí*; Loukotka gives it independent status, at first (1935) terming it *Mayoruna* family, *Morike* language, and later (1939 a) *Morike* family; he sees *Arawak* intrusions in it. Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 551) consider it a *Panoan* group. It had best be left unclassified; the linguistic data are poor.

Two subtribes are generally recognized, *Maruba* and *Chirabo* (Tessmann, 1930). However, the opinions regarding these and other possible subdivisions are very contradictory. The synonym *Pelado* is also given as a synonym for *Panobo*. *Maruba* (*Marubo*, *Moruba*, *Marova*, *Marahua*) is considered by Loukotka a synonym for *Mayoruna*; Tessmann (1930) considers it of uncertain affiliation but probably *Panoan*; K. G. Grubb (1927) calls *Marubo* and *Pisabo* subdivisions of *Mananawa* (q. v.); others agree to the *Pano* affinities. *Chirabo* (*Čirabo*, *Tširabo*) is generally accepted as *Panoan*.

Bibliography.—Castelnau, 1852, pp. 299-300; Martius, 1867, 2:236-239; Tessmann, 1930, pp. 368-378, 582.

ITUCALE, SIMACU, AND URARINA

Itucalean was considered as an independent family until at least the time of Chamberlain (1913 a), though he noted the suggestion of Beuchat and Rivet (1909) that it might be *Panoan*. The latter opinion has been accepted by most recent authorities. *Itucale*, *Urarina*, *Shimacu*, *Chambira*, *Singacuchusca*, and *Arucui* have been placed in this group by various writers; it is not unlikely that not all are related, some *Panoan*, others not. Tessman (1930) finds no *Panoan* resemblances in *Simacu*, and considers it a mixture of *Tucano* and *Arawak*, with about equal lexical resemblance to *Tucano*, *Arawak*, and *Ge*. Loukotka (1935) agrees with him, finds only vestiges of *Pano*, and makes *Simacu* an independent family. The *Itucale* and *Urarina*, at least, are probably extinct; the latter is generally classified as *Panoan*. According to Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 557), *Urarina* was once reported to be related to *Mayoruna* (q. v.), while the *Itucale* were said to have spoken the same (*Tupian*) language as the *Cocamilla*.

As the lexical resemblances reported by Tessmann (1930) total less than 10 percent of his collected vocabulary of over 300 words they may well all be borrowed words of no value for classificatory purposes. This vocabulary should be sufficient for a determination of the true relationship of *Simacu*, at least, without further field investigation. In the present status, all these languages had best be considered as unclassified.

Bibliography.—Beuchat and Rivet, 1909, p. 621; Chamberlain, 1910 a, pp. 189–190; Rivet, 1912 a; Tessmann, 1930, p. 486.

AGUANO

It is disputed whether the *Aguano* (*Aguanu*, *Awano*, *Santa Crucino*) group of languages was independent, *Panoan*, or *Cahuapanan*. Whatever the former language, it was given up in favor of *Quechua*, probably some time after the Spanish Conquest. The group apparently consisted of three divisions (see Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 557–558), the *Aguano* Proper, *Cutinana*, and *Mapurina*. Other tribes of uncertain affiliation and subclassification are *Chamicura* and possibly *Sicluna*. *Chamicura* and *Mapurina* are considered *Panoan* by Rivet (1924 a). *Cutinana* Beuchat and Rivet (1909) consider as akin to *Chebero*, that is, belonging to the *Cahuapanan* family. But the *Cutinana* are reported as having spoken the same language as the *Aguano* and *Mapurina*, and whatever affiliation can be proved for any of these languages would seemingly apply to the entire *Aguano* group.

AGUANO

- A. *Aguano* Proper
 - 1. *Seculusepa*
 - a. *Chilicawa*
 - 2. *Melikine*
 - 1. a. *Tivilo*
- B. *Cutinana*
- C. *Mapurina*

Bibliography.—Tessmann, 1930, p. 253.

CHAMICURO

Chamicuro (*Chamicura*, *Tschamikuro*, etc.) is generally considered a *Chama* (*Panoan*) language, and Steward and Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 559) call it "closely related to *Shipibo*," with the subtribe *Chicluna*, but, unless an entirely different language of the same name is referred to, some other opinions are at entire variance. While Rivet (1924 a) agrees that it is *Pano*, both Tessmann (1930) and Loukotka (1935) find nothing *Panoan* in it, but consider it a mixture of *Arawak* and *Tucano*. Elsewhere (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 558) Steward and Métraux remark that if *Chamicuro* is *Panoan*, then all the *Aguano* group of languages is.

Bibliography.—Tessmann, 1930, p. 397.

SOUTHERN TROPICAL LOWLAND FAMILIES OF PRESUMED INDEPENDENCE

UNCLASSIFIED LANGUAGES OF EASTERN PERÚ

In the forests of eastern Perú are, or were, a large number of slightly known tribes, some now extinct, assimilated or deculturized. On

most, there are little or no linguistic data. In addition to a few specifically discussed elsewhere, the more important of them are: *Alon*, *Amasifuin*, *Carapacho*, *Cascoasa*, *Chedua*, *Cholto*, *Chunanawa*, *Chusco*, *Cognomona*, *Chupacho*, *Huayana*, *Kikidcana* (*Quiquidcana*), *Moyo-pampa*, *Nindaso*, *Nomona*, *Pantahua*, *Payanso*, *Tepqui*, *Tingan*, *Tulumayo*, and *Zapazo*. Most of these spoke *Quechua* when first discovered.

SMALL "FAMILIES" OF BOLIVIA

There are at least seven languages of northern and western Bolivia that are generally considered independent: *Itonama*, *Canichana*, *Cayuvava*, *Movima*, *Moseten*, *Leco*, and *Yuracare*. Most of them are without known subdivisions, and no evidences for larger affiliations have ever been presented. Most of them have been the subject of special studies. None is known to be extinct, though the speakers are not numerous. Scientific linguistic field research and study upon them is greatly needed, and it will probably eventually be found that they are very variant members of better known families. All have always been known by minor orthographical variants of their standard name.

ITONAMAN

All authorities consider *Itonama* as independent, isolated, or unclassified. *Machoto* is given as a synonym. Markham (1910) considered it a branch of *Mojo*. Loukotka (1935) believed he saw evidences of *Arawak* intrusion.

The available linguistic data are limited to about 300 words in several collected vocabularies and prayers. The language seems to be both grammatically and lexically different from all its neighbors, rather complex in distinction to other Bolivian languages, which Rivet believes to be rather simple. The pronominal subject is said to be different for men and for women in the second person. "Prepositions" are prefixed, as are possessive pronouns. The verb employs both prefixes and suffixes.

Bibliography.—Adam, 1897–98; Adelung and Vater, 1806–17; Cardus, 1886; Chamberlain, 1910 a; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1916–17; Fonseca, J. S. da, 1880–81; Gillin, 1940; Métraux, 1942 a, p. 83; Nordenskiöld, 1915 a; Orbigny, 1839; Pauly, 1928, p. 173; Rivet, 1921 a.

CANICHANAN

Synonyms: *Kanichana*, *Kanitšana*, *Kaničana*, *Kanitschana*, *Canisiana*, *Kanisiana*, *Canesi*, *Canechi*.

Except that Markham (1910) considered it a branch of *Mojo*, there has never been any suggestion of wider affiliations for *Canichana*. The extinction of the language seems to be disputed.

The available linguistic data are limited to about 240 words in three vocabularies. These seem to show no resemblance to any surrounding language. *Canichana* shows less resemblance to *Uro* than does *Chapacura*. The pronominal possessive is prefixed. There are classificatory nominal prefixes and also apparently nominal suffixes. Pluralization is by suffix. The verb employs both prefixes and suffixes.

Bibliography.—Cardus, 1886; Chamberlain, 1910 a, pp. 182–83; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913 f; Gillin, 1940; Heath, E., 1883; Métraux, 1942 a, p. 81; Orbigny, 1839, p. 80; Pauly, 1928, p. 171; Teza, 1868.

CAYUVAVAN

Synonyms: *Kayubaba*, etc., *Cayuaba*, *Chacobo*.

Loukotka (1935) saw evidences of *Arawak* intrusion in *Cayuvava* and Markham (1910) considered it a branch of *Mojo*, but there has been no evidence presented for its wider relationships. Créqui-Montfort and Rivet (1920) found some lexical resemblance to *Guai-curú* but not enough on which to assume any relationship; some, but even less resemblance was found to *Tuyoneiri*, *Canichana*, and *Movima*.

A few hundred words are known in seven collected vocabularies, and a few short texts. The nominal plural is by means of a prefix, much similar to that in *Movima*. Also like *Movima*, there is an article or indefinite demonstrative. Pronominal possession is by prefixation; prepositions are also prefixed. Both verbal and nominal prefixes and suffixes are employed.

Bibliography.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17; Cardus, 1886, pp. 315–316; Chamberlain, 1910 a, pp. 182–184; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1917–20; Heath, E., 1883; Métraux, 1942 a, p. 83; Nordenskiöld, 1911 b, pp. 231–232, 235–239, 241; Orbigny, 1839; Teza, 1868.

MOVIMAN

This small one-language family is of doubtful validity, but on the basis of the not-too-large available lexical data it has been accorded independent status by all from Chamberlain (1913 a) and Brinton (1891 a) down. No synonyms for the group except minor orthographical variants have been used in the literature. Markham (1910) considers it a branch of the *Mojo* (*Arawak*); relationship with the neighboring *Canichana* might be suspected. There are few if any speakers left.

Bibliography.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17; Cardus, 1886, p. 516; Chamberlain, 1910 a, pp. 192–193; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1914–19; Métraux, 1942 a, p. 81; Nordenskiöld, 1922, pp. 76–77; Orbigny, 1839; Pauly, 1928, pp. 162–163; Rivet, 1929 b.

MOSETENAN

A small "family" of doubtful validity that will probably be incorporated in some larger group when more careful studies are made and/or more data available. Up until the present all authorities have granted it independent position and none has even hinted at broader relationships. Métraux suggests personally that a comparison with *Yuracare* might prove significant. It consists of two main languages, *Moseten* and *Chimane*. A number of affiliated groups are mentioned in the literature, but it is not certain how these are related, which ones are synonyms, or whether the linguistic divergences are on a dialectic level or greater. There are probably a few *Moseten* left, and several thousand *Chimane*.

MOSETEN

1. *Moseten*

- a. *Amo*
- b. *Aparono*
- c. *Cunana*
- d. *Chumpa*
- e. *Magdaleno*
- f. *Punnucana*
- g. *Rache*
- h. *Muchanes*
- i. *Tucupi*

2. *Chimane*

- a. *Chimaniza*
- b. *Chumano*
- c. *Nawazi-Montji*

Bibliography.—Armentia, 1888, 1903; Bibolotti, 1917; Cardus, 1886, pp. 310-311; Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 192; Groeteken, 1907; Métraux, 1942 a, pp. 15-17; Pauly, 1928, pp. 104-105; Schuller, 1916.

LECAN

Synonyms: *Leko*, *Leka*, *Lapalapa*, *Chuncho*, *Ateniano*.

The small *Leco* group has been accepted as independent at least since Chamberlain's day (1910 a). Brinton (1892 a), lacking any lexical material, at first placed them with *Tacanan* on geographical grounds. The language is called *Lapalapa*. It seems to have been the language spoken at the mission of *Aten*, whence the natives were referred to as *Atenianos*; the latter are sometimes considered a subgroup of *Leco*; otherwise there are no subdivisions of the family. D'Orbigny (1839) classified the *Ateniano* as *Tacanan*. Markham (1910) called them *Mositen* (*Moseten*, q. v.). Probably a few hundred still survive.

Bibliography.—Brinton, 1892 a; Cardus, 1886, p. 314; Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 190; Lafone-Quevedo, 1905; Métraux, 1942 a, pp. 27-29; Orbigny, 1839.

YURACAREAN

Synonyms: *Yurukare*, *Yurujure*, *Yuruyure*, etc.

Modern writers prefer *Yuracare* to the older standard *Yurucare*. Métraux (personal conversation) suggests that a comparison with *Moseten* might prove fruitful. Markham (1910) considered them a branch of the *Chiquito*; Loukotka (1935) sees *Pano* vestiges. However, no evidence for wider relationships has ever been presented though, like the other independent (?) small languages in this region, its isolated status is doubted and will probably eventually be disproved.

Though most authorities mention no subdivisions, the *Yuracare* are said to be divided into two main subgroups, probably of the status of languages, the eastern and the western. Their components are probably of dialectic quality.

YURACARE

1. East
 - a. *Soloto* (*Mage*)
2. West
 - a. *Mansinyo*
 - b. *Oromo*

Possibly: *Coni*, *Cuchi*, *Enete* (Brinton, 1891.)

Bibliography.—Cardus, 1886, pp. 314–315; Castillo, 1906; Chamberlain, 1910 a; Cueva, 1893; Holter, 1877; Ludewig, 1858; Métraux, 1942 a; Nordenskiöld, 1910 b, 1911 b; Orbigny, 1839; Pauly, 1928, p. 177; Richter, 1928.

SMALL LANGUAGES OF THE BRAZIL-BOLIVIA BORDER

(*Huari*, *Masáca*, *Capishaná*, *Puruborá*, *Mashibi*, etc.)

Huari, *Masáca* (*Massaka*), and *Capishaná* (*Kapišaná*) are located very close together on Nimuendajú's map, *Puruborá* (*Buruborá*) nearby. The first three, Nimuendajú considers separate isolated families. He apparently had some notes on the *Capishaná*, but it is practically unknown in ethnological literature.

Huari has long been recognized as independent (Rivet, 1924 a; Pericot y García, 1936; Schmidt, W., 1926; Loukotka, 1935), though it is too small and unimportant to have been known to Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a). There are few data on it and apparently no component languages of the family. Gillin (1940) doubts its validity, and Métraux herein leaves it unclassified. Levi-Strauss (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 372) apparently considers *Huari* equivalent to *Massaka* (*Masáca*), and both linguistically related to *Buruborá* (*Puruborá*). The latter, *Puruborá*, Loukotka (1935) considers as an independent family, consisting of one language with *Tupí* intrusions. Nimuendajú (map), however, places it in the *Tupí* family.

Koch-Grünberg (1932) published a vocabulary. With the exception of *Huari* and *Masáca* all these groups are too small and unimportant to be mentioned by Rivet (1924 a) and W. Schmidt (1926). Rivet considers *Masáca Arawakan*.

Mashubi (*Mašubi*), also in this general region, was given the status of an independent family by Rivet (1924 a) and accepted by Loukotka (1935, 1939 a). Rivet's opinion is based on a short vocabulary collected by Colonel Fawcett in 1924. This apparently passed into the possession of Nordenskiöld and was examined by Rivet; it seems never to have been published. The "family" is, therefore, of doubtful validity; Nimuendajú does not list it or place it on his map. An independent family should not be posited on such slim evidence.

Kepikiriwat, *Sanamaicá*, *Tuparí*, *Guaycarú*, *Aricapu*, *Yaputi*, *Aruashí*, and *Canoa* are languages occupying tiny areas in a small region. The data on them are few, and they had best be left unclassified pending further information. None is classified by Rivet. Nimuendajú considers *Kepikiriwat*, *Sanamaicá*, *Tuparí*, and *Guaycarú* as *Tupí*; *Aruashí* and *Canoa* he leaves unclassified.

Bibliography.—Koch-Grünberg (*Puruborá*), 1932.

CATUKINAN

Synonyms: *Katokena*, *Catequina*, etc.

The *Catukina* family is one of rather recent acceptance; Brinton (1891 a) believed that it was a jargon, and Chamberlain (1913 a) did not include it among his families. The name seems to be a descriptive *Tupí* word, not originally a proper name, and thus has been used as the name for a number of different tribes that are, therefore, liable to confusion and must be distinguished. Rivet (1924 a) lists five tribes of this name, most of them of different linguistic affinities, one *Tupí-Guaraní*, one *Arawak*, one *Pano*, and two belonging to the present group. Several of the subtribes, *Catawishí* and *Canamarí*, also have duplicates in other families so that the possibility of confusion is very great. There are *Pano* and *Arawak Canamarí*, and an unclassified *Catawishí*, according to Nimuendajú (map).

The *Catukina* family area is a large one and the component tribes very numerous, but there seems to be no general agreement regarding the grouping of these into languages and dialects. The fullest list seems to be on Nimuendajú's map, with little suggestion as to subgroupings.

Catukina, *Canamarí*, and *Catawishí* are the most important and best-known languages. The *Katokina* of Spix (Martius, 1867, 2:161–163) belongs with the *Canamarí* of the Juruá. Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a) mistakenly identified this with the *Katukinaru* of Bach (Church, 1898), a *Tupí Guaraní* language, which probably

accounts for Brinton's considering *Catukina* a jargon. If these *Catukina* and *Canamari* are *Arawak*, they belong to a new and very variant subgroup. The *Katukino* of Marcoy (1867) on the other hand go with the *Catawishí*, and may be identical with the latter.

CATUKINA

1. *Beñ-Dyapá* (*Bendiapa*)
2. *Burue* (*Buruhe*)
3. *Canamari*
4. *Catawishí* (*Hewadie*)
5. *Catukina*
 - a. *Pidá-Dyapá*
 - b. *Kutiá-Dyapá*
6. *Catukino*
7. *Parawa*
8. *Tawari* (*Tauaré*)
 - a. *Cadekili-Dyapá*
 - b. *Wadyo-Paraniñ-Dyapá* (*Kairara*)
9. *Tucun-Dyapá* (*Tucano Dyapa*, *Mangeroma*)
10. (Miscellaneous)
 - a. *Amena-Dyapá*
 - b. *Cana-Dyapá*
 - c. *Hon-Dyapá*
 - d. *Marö-Dyapá*
 - e. *Ururu-Dyapá*
 - f. *Wiri-Dyapá*

Bibliography.—Brinton, 1898 b; Marcoy, 1867 (1869); Martius, 1867, 2:161–163; Rivet, 1920 b; Tastevin, 1928 a.

CHAPACURAN

The *Chapacuran* (*Čapakura*) family has always been known by orthographical variants of the above name though Chamberlain (1912 c) proposed, but never employed, the alternative *Pawumwa(n)*. It now includes the former *Itenean* stock of Hervás y Panduro (1800) and the former extinct *Ocoronan* stock; Chamberlain (1913 a) included the latter in his definitive classification, believing that Créqui-Montfort and Rivet's identification (1913 b) of *Ocoronan* and *Chapacuran* needed more proof; this is now generally accepted.

According to Rivet, the extinct *Ocorono* group had been strongly influenced by *Arawak* and especially by *Uro* (q. v.) (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1921, p. 104). Some of the tribes had been previously classified as *Pano*. Loukotka (1935) also finds *Arawak* intrusions in all the languages except *Tora* which he considers mixed with *Carib*. Martius (1867) thought them connected with the Paraguayan *Guache*, a *Guaicurú* group, but Brinton (1891 a, p. 303) sees slight resemblance.

Wanyam (*Huañam*), the modern name for *Pawumwa*, has always been considered a member, and often the most typical member, of

Chapacura, but it has been considered by some a separate linguistic stock (see below).

No definite classification of the *Chapacura* languages and dialects has ever been proposed on a linguistic basis. As usual, it may be assumed that each group named, if not a synonym, had its own dialect, that affiliated groups had closely related languages, and that the linguistic divisions roughly followed the geographical ones. On this basis three main divisions might be proposed, the languages of the Guaporé River Basin, those of the Madeira River Basin, and the extinct *Ocorono* group.

If they are *Chapacuran*, *Wanyam*, and *Cabishi* belong in the Guaporé group. The languages or dialects of the Madeira River group cannot be very variant, as they are said to have moved there in post-Columbian days.

Arikêm (*Ariqueime*, *Ahopovo*) (q. v.) is generally considered in this group, but the language seems to be very different from the others; Loukotka (1935) gives it an independent family, and Nimuendajú (map) and Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) apparently consider it *Tupí*.

CHAPACURA

I. Guaporé Division

A. *Chapacura* Group (*Huachi*, *Guarayo*, etc.)

1. *Chapacura*
2. *Kilemoca*
 - a. *Napeca*
3. *Moré* (*Iten*)
 - a. *Itoeauhip*

B. *Wanyam*¹ (*Pawumwa*)

1. *Wanyam*
2. *Cabishi*

II. Madeira Division

1. *Torá* (*Toraz*)
2. *Jarú*
3. *Urupá*
4. *Pacas Novas*

III. *Ocorono* Division

A. *Ocorono* (*Rokorona*)

1. *Sansimoniano*² (?)

B. *San Ignacio*

1. *Borja*

C. *Herisobocona*

¹ See following separate section on these.

² Jijón y Caamaño places *Sansimoniano* under *Chiquitoan*.

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Undifferentiated.—Cardus, 1886, p. 320; Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 184; Créquien-Montfort and Rivet, 1913 b; Métraux, 1940, 1942 a, pp. 86-95; Nordenskiöld, 1915 b; Orbigny, 1839, p. 164; Pauly, 1928, pp. 168-169; Snethlage, E. H., 1931; Teza, 1868.

Guaporé division.—Cardus, 1886, p. 320; Chamberlain, 1910 a, pp. 188–189; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913 b; Orbigny, 1839; Pauly, 1928, pp. 168–169.

Madeira division.—Nimuendajú, 1925, pp. 137–140, 148–159; Nimuendajú and Valle Bentes, 1923, p. 217.

Ocorono division.—Chamberlain, 1910 a, pp. 193–194; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913 b, pp. 169–171; Snethlage, E. H., 1936.

WANYAM (HUAÑAM) AND CABISHÍ (KABIČI)

Wanyam seems to be the rediscovered *Pawumwa*, and the name has displaced the latter. To date they have always been considered one of the Guaporé *Chapacuran* groups, and are accepted by Métraux (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 398) and by Nimuendajú (map) as such. The latter considers *Abitana Wanyam* a subdivision, the former a synonym. However, Lévi-Strauss who pursued studies in their region, believed in a *Huanyam* linguistic stock, consisting of *Matawa Cujuna* (*Cuijana*), *Urunamakan*, *Cabishí*, *Cumaná*, Snethlage's *Abitana-Huanyam*, and Haseman's *Pawumwa*. Only the last four are at all known to science, and the last two probably constitute one group. All of these are generally considered as *Chapacura*, with the exception of *Cabishí*, which name seems to be applied to several groups of different linguistic affiliations. (See *Nambicuará*.)

WANYAM

1. *Cabishí*¹

2. *Cujuna*

3. *Cumaná*

a. *Cutianá*

4. *Matama* (*Matawa*)

5. *Urunamacan*

6. *Pawumwa*

a. *Abitana Wanyam*

¹Rivet (1924 a) considers *Cabishí* as *Nambicuará*; Schmidt (1926) (*Paressi-Kabici*), *Arawak*; Nimuendajú, *Nambicuará* or *Chapacura*. There may be several groups of *Cabishí*.

Bibliography.—Chamberlain, 1912 c; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913 b, pp. 141–68; Haseman, 1912; Snethlage, E. H., 1931.

MASCOIAN

A confusion of identities and of groups of the same names but of different linguistic affinities characterizes this family, which consists of one language. Ehrenreich first used the name *Machicui* or *Muscovi*; Koch-Grünberg (1902 a), *Mascoi*. Boggiani (1900) called them *Enimagá*, confusing them with the true *Enimagá* (*Cochabot*, q. v.), which name was applied to the *Mascoi* family by Chamberlain (1913 a) and by Brinton (1898 a). To avoid further confusion the *Enimagá* are now termed *Macá* (q. v.). One of the constituent dialects is the *Lengua*. These are the "new" *Lengua*, the *Lengua* of W. B. Grubb (1911); the "old" *Lengua* are a *Macá* (*Enimagá*) group.

D'Orbigny (1839) insisted that the *Mascoi* were *Guaicurú*, like the *Toba*, but Lafone-Quevedo (1896-97) compared the vocabulary with *Abipon* with a negative conclusion. Brinton (1898 a) found a few similarities to *Chon*.

There is practically no difference of opinion regarding the components of *Mascoi*, six scarcely differentiated dialects, except that W. Schmidt (1926) includes *Suhín* (*Sujén*, *Suxén*), a neighboring language, generally classed as *Mataco* and connected with *Ashluslay*, and *Toosle* (*Towothli*), now placed with *Macá* (*Enimagá*). Nimuendajú (map) differentiates *Angaité* from *Enenslet*, *Machicuy* from *Mascoi*; by others they are considered synonyms. Métraux (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 227) mentions the following extinct groups that may have been either *Mascoi*, or *Arawakan Guaná*: *Guatata*, *Nohaague*, *Empirú*, *Yaperú* or *Apirú*, and *Naperú*.

MASCOI

1. *Angaité*
 - a. *Enenslet*
2. *Caskihá* (*Guaná*¹)
3. *Lengua*² (*Gecoínlahaac*)
4. *Mascoi*
 - a. *Machicui* (*Tujetge*)
5. *Sanapaná*
6. *Sapukí*

¹ Distinguish *Mascoi* and *Arawak Guaná*.

² Distinguish *Mascoi* and *Macá Lengua*.

Bibliography.—Baldus, 1931; Boggiani, 1900; Brinton, 1898 a; Cardus, 1886, p. 271; Cominges, 1892, p. 245; Coryn, 1922; Ehrenreich, 1891; Grubb, W. B., 1911, pp. 318-321; Hunt, 1917; Kersten, 1905; Koch-Grünberg, 1902 a; Lafone-Quevedo, 1896-97; Loukotka, 1930; Orbigny, 1839.

ZAMUCOAN

The *Zamuco* (*Samucan*) "stock" occupies a relatively small area in the northern Chaco. The people and their languages are of slight cultural importance and little known, few in number and disappearing, though the names of a large number of groups are known, many of them extinct. No other name has ever been applied to the group. The differentiation between the component languages and dialects seems to be relatively slight. Brinton (1898 a) pointed out many lexical resemblances with *Arawak* but refused to posit any genetic relationship; the common elements may be largely due to borrowing. Métraux personally suggests that a comparison of *Zamuco* with *Bororo-Otuque* might prove significant, and, as in the case of most small groups at present considered independent, an intensive study will probably tie it to some large family or phylum.

The grouping and subclassification of the languages and dialects

are uncertain since the various authorities, as usual, do not agree. That adopted below follows Métraux (Handbook, vol. 1, pp. 241-245) so far as possible. Even the major divisions, apparently, do not differ greatly, and some of the names may be synonyms, or merely bands without linguistic differentiation.

The language is reported to be mellifluous.

ZAMUCO

I. North: *Zamuco*

A. *Zamuco*

1. *Zamuco* (*Samuca*)
2. *Satienyo* (*Zatieño, Ibiraya*)

B. *Morotoco* (*Coroïno*)

1. *Cucarate* (*Kukutade*)
2. *Orebate* (*Ororebate*)
- a. *Carerá*

3. *Panono* (*Panana*)

4. *Tomoeno*

C. *Guaranyoca* (*Guarañoca*)

1. *Tsiracua* (*Empelota*)

a. *Moro* (remnants of *Morotoco* and *Guarañoca*)

D. *Ugaranyo* (*Ugaroño*)

1. *Ugaranyo*

E. *Tapii* (*Tapio*) (?) ¹

F. *Poturero* (*Ninaguilá, Ninaquiguila*)

II. South: *Chamacoco*

A. *Chamacoco* (*Tumanahá, Timinihá*)

1. *Ebidoso*
2. *Horio* (*Ishira*)
3. *Tumerehá*

B. *Imono*

C. *Tunacho* (*Tunaca*)

D. *Caipotorade*

Also (Nimuendajú map): Aguiteguedichagá, Laipisi.

¹ The *Tapii* may have been *Otukean*.

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Zamuco.—Baldus, 1932; Brinton, 1898 a; Huonder, 1902; Kersten, 1905, pp. 64-66; Loukotka, 1931 a; Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 324; Oefner, 1942; Orbigny, 1839, p. 164; Steinen, 1912.

Chamacoco.—Baldus, 1927; Belaieff, 1937; Boggiani, 1894, 1929; Cardus, 1886, p. 327; Loukotka, 1929-30, 1930, pp. 560-572; Steinen, 1895.

GUATOAN

No question has ever been raised regarding the independence of the *Guató*; no suggestion has been made of relationship with any other group. No linguistic subdivisions are known, but the *Guaxarapo* (*Guachi*) are always associated with them. (See Métraux, Handbook,

vol. 1, pp. 214, 225, 409.) The *Guató* verge on extinction. The principal source is Max Schmidt (1914 b).

Bibliography.—Castelnau, 1852, pp. 283–284; Chamberlain, 1913 c; Koslowsky, 1895; Martius, 1867, 2:209–210; Monoyer, 1905; Schmidt, M., 1902, 1905, 1912, 1914 b.

BOROROAN AND OTUQUE

The *Bororo* and the *Otuque* (*Otuké*, *Otuqui*) were long considered separate and independent, and the former was once thought a *Tupí* tongue (Brinton, 1891 a). Cogent arguments for their linkage were presented (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1912, 1913 a) and all recent authorities have linked them, either under the name *Bororo* or *Otuque*. Métraux, however, is not convinced of the connection, and it needs further study and corroboration. The *Otuque* are probably extinct. Two, possibly four, extinct languages, formerly given independent status, *Covareca* and *Curuminaca*, and possibly *Corabeca*, *Curave*, and *Curucaneca* (q. v.), compose, with *Otuque*, the *Otuquean* group. Brinton (1891 a) noted a distant resemblance to *Tacana*. *Bororo-Otuke* will probably eventually be incorporated in some larger phylum. Métraux suggests that a comparison with *Zamuco-Chamacoco* might prove significant. The *Bororo* are sometimes known as *Coroado*, a name applied to a number of different groups, especially of *Ge* and *Macro-Ge*, from which they must be distinguished.

BOROTUKE ¹

I. *Bororo* (*Coroado*)

A. *Bororo*

1. Eastern
 - a. *Orarimugudoge*
2. Western
 - a. *Cabasal*
 - b. *Campanya*
3. *Acioné*
4. *Aravira*
5. *Biriuné*
6. *Coroa* (?)
7. *Cozipo* (?)

B. *Umotina* (*Barbado*)

II. *Otuké*

- A. *Otuké*
- B. *Covareca* ²
- C. *Curuminaca* ²
- D. *Coraveca* (?) ²
 1. *Curavé* (?) ²
- E. *Curucaneca* (?) ²
- F. *Tapii* (?) ³

¹ Hybrid name suggested here for group of *Bororo-Otuke*.

² See following section.

³ The *Tapii* may have been *Otuquean* or *Zamucoan*.

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Bororo.—Anonymous, 1908, 1919 a; Caldas, 1899, 1903; Castelnau, 1852, pp. 285–286; Chamberlain, 1912 b; Colbacchini, n. d., 1925; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942; Frič and Radin, 1906; Magalhães, 1919; Martius, 1867, 2: 14–15; Steinen, 1894, pp. 545–547; Tonelli, 1927, 1928; Trombetti, 1925.

Umotina.—Schmidt, M., 1929 a, 1941.

Otuke.—Chamberlain, 1910 a; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1912, 1913 a; Orbigny, 1839.

CORAVECA AND COVARECA; CURUCANECA AND CURUMINACA

The similar names in these two groups are not metathesized synonyms. In close geographic propinquity, some close relationship would seem indicated, but the available vocabularies on these extinct languages indicate that the four are separate and very different. In the older classifications all four were considered as independent families. Some authorities, such as Créqui-Montfort and Rivet (1912, 1913 a), place all under *Bororo* or *Otuké* (q. v.). The inclusion of *Covareca* and *Curuminaca* is generally accepted, but *Coraveca* (*Curave*) and *Curucaneca* (*Curucane*), showing less resemblance to *Otuké*, are included with hesitation or reservations, left unclassified, or awarded independent status. By some, *Curave* and *Coraveca* are considered as separate, not as synonymous. The arguments for the inclusion of *Covareca* and *Curuminaca* in the *Otuké* family have been published (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913 a), but not those for *Curave* and *Corabeca*, *Curucaneca* and *Tapii*. The languages are all in the *Chiquito* region, but no *Chiquito* connections have been suggested, although all four groups are said to have spoken *Chiquito* a century ago (Métraux, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 381). The names of many groups in this region have a similar ring: *Saraveca*, *Paiconeca*, *Paunaca* (*Arawak*), *Kitemoca* (*Chapacura*), *Waranyoca* (*Zamuco*), etc. The four languages in question may be closely related, the recorded vocabularies at fault, but as they are extinct their degree of relationship will probably never be known. (See *Otuké-Bororo* for table.)

Bibliography.—Chamberlain, 1910 a; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1912, 1913 a.

NAMBICUARAN

The relatively recently discovered *Nambicuara* were unknown to and not classified by the earlier authorities; they and their languages have recently been studied carefully by Claude Lévi-Strauss. No detailed comparisons with other linguistic families have been made, but Lévi-Strauss states that the logical structure is much like *Chibcha*, with also some similarities in vocabulary, but nothing conclusive. Loukotka (1935) sees vestiges of several eastern Brazilian languages in several of the component *Nambicuara* languages but nothing that

characterizes the family as a whole. The outstanding characteristic of the group according to Lévi-Strauss (personal correspondence) is an extensive use of classificatory suffixes dividing things and beings into about 10 categories.

According to Lévi-Strauss (personal correspondence), the classification of the *Nambicuara* languages by Roquette-Pinto (1917) is not good. There are two main groups, the *Nambicuara* Proper and the pseudo-*Nambicuara*. The latter, northern group, the *Sabane*, never before mentioned in literature, is considerably different from the other languages in structure and has a vocabulary rich in *Arawakan* elements probably borrowed from the *Paressí*. It may be found to belong to some other, or to be a new linguistic family.

The *Nambicuara* Proper are divided into two languages and each of these into two dialects, as shown in the following table. The endings of words is the only difference between the *Cocoquí* and *Anunzé* dialects. The *Tamaíndé* vocabulary of Max Schmidt (1929 a, p. 102) belongs to the western dialect, characterized by a new form for the verbal suffix.

In addition to orthographical synonyms, such as *Nambikwara*, they are known as *Mambyuara*, *Mahibarez*, and *Uaikoakore*; the dialect names have also many orthographical variants. A few groups not mentioned by Lévi-Strauss are included in the *Nambicuara* family by some of the other authorities, sometimes by several of them, and contradicted by none. These are *Salumá*, *Nênê*, *Congoré*, and *Navaité*; some of them may be synonyms. Métraux suggests the possible inclusion of *Guayuakuré* and *Tapanhuana*, apparently little-known groups.

NAMBICUARA

I. *Nambicuara* Proper

A. Northeastern

1. Eastern

a. *Cocoquí*

2. Northeastern

b. *Anunzé*

B. Southwestern

1. Central and Southern

a. *Uaintazu*

b. *Kabishi*

c. *Tagnani*

d. *Tauité*

e. *Taruté*

f. *Tashuité*

2. Western

a. *Tamaíndé*

II. *Pseudo-Nambicuara*

A. Northern

1. *Sabane*

Bibliography.—Rondón, 1910, pp. 52–53; Roquette-Pinto, 1912, 1917, 1935; Schmidt, M., 1929 a; Schuller, 1921; Souza, A., 1920.

CABISHÍ

Cabishí is one of those names applied to a number of different tribes. Authorities such as Nimuendajú and Rivet seem to agree that the true *Cabishí* are a branch of the *Nambicuara*, and Nimuendajú equates the term with *Waintazú* (*Uaintaçu*). Another *Cabishí* are a branch of the *Wanyam*. (See *Chapacura*.) The *Paressí-Cabishí* are *Arawak* (q. v.). The name *Cabishiana* (*Kabixiana*, *Kapišana*, q. v.) is probably related.

MURAN

A moderately small group, *Mura* is considered as forming an independent linguistic family by all modern authorities except Brinton (1891 a). He states that the majority of its words are from *Tupí* roots; as his opinions—and often his guesses—are generally good, and as no other authority has noted this resemblance, we may suspect that the vocabulary that he used was unsuitable in this connection. No other suggestions regarding larger relationships have been made, though Loukotka (1935) finds vestiges or intrusions of *Camacan* and *Caingang*—an unlikely possibility.

The *Mura* family may consist of two main divisions, *Mura* Proper and *Matanawí* or *Matanauy* (q. v.). But the latter is so divergent that Nimuendajú (map) considers it isolated. *Mura* Proper is divided into three “dialects,” those of *Bohurá*, *Pirahá*, and *Yahahi*. (See Nimuendajú, Handbook, vol. 3, pp. 255–258.)

Mura must not be confused with the Bolivian (*Chapacuran* ?) *Mure*.

MURA

- A. *Bohurá*
- B. *Pirahá*
- C. *Yahahi*

Bibliography.—Chamberlain, 1910 a; Martius, 1867, 2: 20–21; Nimuendajú, 1925, 1932 a; Nimuendajú and Valle Bentes, 1923.

MATANAWÍ

Rivet (1924 a), who uses the spelling *Matanauy*, Loukotka (1935, 1939 a), and Jijón y Caamaño (1941–43) place *Matanawí* in the *Mura* family; Loukotka sees *Caingang* intrusions. But Nimuendajú (map and linguistic index), whose vocabulary (1925, pp. 161–171) seems to be the basic source, prefers to list it among his “isolated languages.”

Bibliography.—Nimuendajú, 1925, pp. 143, 166–171; Nimuendajú and Valle Bentes, 1923, p. 222.

TRUMAIAN

Trumai has been accepted as independent ever since its discovery by Von den Steinen. No suggestion as to larger affiliations has ever been made. The linguistic data, however, are few, and when it is better known an attachment to some larger family is likely. A single language composes the "family."

Bibliography.—Chamberlain, 1910 a; Steinen, 1894, pp. 540-542.

CARAJÁN

Synonyms: *Carayá*, *Karayá*, *Karadžá*.

Universally recognized as an independent family, at least since the days of Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a), no other variant synonym has ever been proposed for the stock. Lipkind (vol. 3, p. 179), who has recently recorded and studied it, says it is unrelated to at least the four great families of *Arawak*, *Carib*, *Tupí*, and *Ge*. The speech of men and women differ. Brinton (1891 a, p. 261) found a little lexical resemblance to "*Tapuya*" (*Ge*), which may probably be ascribed to borrowing.

While no classificatory subdivisions of the family have been proposed, there is general agreement that *Carajá* (see same synonyms as for family) or *Karayaki* (*Carajahi*), *Yavahé* (*Yavahai*, *Javahé*, *Javahai*, *Zavažé*, *Shavayé*, *Jawagé*), and *Shambioá* (*Schambioá*, *Šambioá*, *Chimbioá*, *Ximbioá*) are the principal component languages. Linguistic differences in the three are slight and on a dialectic level (Lipkind, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 179). W. Schmidt (1926) also includes *Asurini* (probably *Tupian*). Brinton (1891 a) distinguishes *Carajahi* from *Carajá*. Nimuendajú (map) distinguishes from the *Carajá* of the *Araguaya* an earlier unclassified extinct group of the same name in Minas Gerais, possibly ancestral.

CARAJÁ

1. *Carajá* (*Karayá*)
 - a. *Carayahi*
2. *Yavahé* (*Shavaye*)
3. *Shambioá*

Bibliography.—Castelnau, 1852, pp. 268-269; Chamberlain, 1913 c; Coudreau, H., 1897 b, pp. 259-270; Ehrenreich, 1888, 1894-95, pp. 20-37; Krause, 1911, pp. 458-469; Kunike, 1916, 1919; Martius, 1867, 2: 264-266.

CARIRIAN

Synonyms: *Kariri*, *Kairiri*, *Cairiri*, *Kayriri*, *Kiriri*, *Cayriri*.

Cariri has always been recognized as an independent family. The suggestion has been made that it belongs with the great *Carib* stock (Gillin, 1940), but no evidence in support has been offered. As a

grammar (Mamiani, 1877) and other studies on the language (Adam, 1897) have been published, the determination should not be difficult. The family is on the verge of extinction; the few remnants of *Camurú* probably do not use their language in its former purity.

The linguistic subdivisions of the family seem to be:

A. *Cariri*

1. *Kipea*
2. *Camurú*
3. *Dzubucua*
4. *Pedra Branca*

B. *Sapuya*

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Cariri.—Adam, 1878, 1897 a; Bernard de Nantes, 1896; Chamberlain, 1913 c; Gillin, 1940; de Goeje, 1932, 1934; Mamiani, 1877; Martius, 1867, 2: 215–217; Mitre, 1909–10; Pompeu Sobrinho, 1928, 1934.

Sabuya.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17; Martius, 1867, 2: 218–219.

MACRO-GE

Macro-Ge is a term here proposed for the first time as an equivalent for the *Ge* or “*Tapuya* stock” or “family” as constituted until recent years, synonymous with Rivet’s (1924 a) *Že* and W. Schmidt’s (1926) *Ges-Tapuya*. As herein conceived, it consists of *Ge* and some eight other “families,” “stocks,” or languages, formerly considered as members of the great *Ge* family, which some recent authorities suggest as independent. Future research will have to give the final decision as to their independence; they are herein considered as far from proved. There is considerable lexical resemblance, which may or may not be a result of borrowing. Had these languages always been considered independent, articles would certainly have been written to prove their relationship with *Ge*, as cogent, and as convincing or unconvincing, as many others linking other groups, formerly considered independent, with larger entities. It may eventually be decided that some of these languages are independent, but it is more likely that other small languages will be added to make *Macro-Ge* an even more inclusive phylum.

Rivet (1924 a, p. 697) summarized the *Ge* situation well in his remarks:

This family, of all the South American families, is the one most artificially constituted. It is the *caput mortuum* of South American linguistics. Its careful and complete revision, on truly scientific grounds, is imperative.

Rivet, who made researches on most of the South American families, left *Ge* severely alone. Loukotka took up the problem and, with his usual “radical conservatism,” split the old *Ge* into nine independent families: *Zé (Ge)*; *Kaingán (Caingang)*; *Kamakán (Camacan)*; *Mašakalí (Mashacalí)*; *Coroado*; *Patašó (Patasho)*; *Botocudo*; *Opaié (Opayé)*;

Iaté (*Fornio*, *Fulnio*). He sees *Ge* "intrusions" in all but the first and last. In his earlier studies Loukotka retained *Caingang* under *Ge* Proper, but finally (1935, 1939 a) decided to separate this also. It was his intention to publish a monograph on each of these new families, with large comparative vocabularies, written in the same pattern, but to date he has published on only *Mashacali* (1931-32 a), *Camacán* (1931-32 b), *Coroado* (1937), and *Patasho* (1939 c).

Nimuendajú and Lowie herein accept all these components as independent from *Ge* Proper, either as families or as isolated languages, with the exception of *Caingang*, which they still consider as a member of *Ge* Proper. Herein *Caingang* (q. v.) is considered as separate from *Ge* Proper as the other components of *Macro-Ge*.

As conceived herein, *Macro-Ge* consists of nine groups or families as follows: (1) *Ge*; (2) *Caingang*; (3) *Camacán*; (4) *Mashacali*; (5) *Purí*; (6) *Patashó*; (7) *Malalí*; (8) *Coropó*; and (9) *Botocudo*.

It will be noted that, in addition to orthographic variations, this list, while equal in number to Loukotka's, differs slightly. The name *Purí* is preferred to *Coroado*. *Malalí* and *Coropó* have been added because their classification in some one of the other groups is so uncertain. As regards Loukotka's last two, *Opayé* and *Iaté* (*Fornio*), the resemblance to any *Ge* language seems to be so slight that they are better considered for the present as independent and non-*Ge*.

Of the nine above, Nimuendajú considers *Ge*, *Camacán*, *Mashacali*, *Purí*, and *Botocudo* as "stocks"; *Patashó* and *Malalí* as "isolated"; *Caingang* he places under *Ge*; and *Coropó* with *Purí*.

Apparently all the *Macro-Ge* groups were termed "*Tapuya*" (enemies) by the *Tupí*, and this name was formerly used as a synonym for *Ge*. They inhabit the infertile regions of eastern Brazil, off the rivers. From the coast they were displaced by the *Tupí*. Somatological and cultural evidence suggests that they were among the most autochthonous of all South American natives; as such it is unlikely that any connections will be found with other great families or phyla. As languages of people of low culture they have been neglected more than their scientific importance warrants, and the morphologies are not well known. They are said to be phonetically difficult, and harsh. Except for the *Ge* Proper and the *Caingang*, most of them were close to the Brazilian coast; most of them are now extinct, and the others practically so.

GE

The *Ge* group, as herein recognized, consists only of the *Ge* Proper, one section of the *Ge* family as previously constituted, which latter is herein termed *Macro-Ge* (q. v.). That is, a number of other groups, *Mashacali*, *Camacán*, etc., formerly considered as constituting the *Ge*

family, have been removed from it and, together with *Ge* proper, considered as constituent parts of the phylum *Macro-Ge*. The *Ge* occupy a solid large area in eastern Brazil. They were displaced in some regions by the *Tupí*, and the language is losing ground to modern Brazilian Portuguese. They were formerly known as "*Tapuya*," the *Tupí* word for "enemy." *Cran* or *Gueren*, meaning "ancients" or "natives," is another synonym; their self-name is *Nac-nanuc*. Many of the names of groups end in *zhe* (*Ge*, *Že*).

The classification of the *Ge* languages here presented is taken primarily from Lowie and Métraux (Handbook, vols. 1 and 3). These, however, are probably based principally on present political association, cultural resemblance, and geographical propinquity rather than on linguistic grounds. A thorough independent study has not been possible, but a brief comparison of vocabularies of a few of the better-known *Ge* languages suggests that a truer picture of linguistic relationships may cut across the proposed divisions. This short study indicates:

- A. A rather closely connected group consisting of: *Apinayé*, *Northern* and *Southern Cayapó*, *Carahó*, *Gradahó*, and *Mecubengocré*.
- B. *Ushikring* and *Suyá* are slightly more variant.
- C. *Ramcocamecran* and *Aponegicran* probably should also be placed in this group. (All the above languages are in the Northwestern division.)
- D. More distantly affiliated: *Shavanté*, *Sherenté*, *Tazé* and *Crenyé*.
- E. Possibly affiliated: *Acroa* and *Jeicó*.
- F. Of uncertain affiliation: *Mehín*, *Purecamecran*, *Pinkobzé*, *Capiecran*, *Crao*, *Shicriabá*. (*Crenyé* shows some resemblance to *Crao* and to *Mecubengocré*; *Capiecran* to *Northern Cayapó*.)

GE

I. Northwest

A. *Timbira*1. West *Timbira*a. *Apinayé*¹ (*Apinages*)2. East *Timbira* (*Hoti*)

a. Northern

a. *Gurupy*b. *Creyé* (*Crenye*) of Bacabalc. *Nucoecamecran* of Bacabal

b. Southern

a. *Canela*:² *Apanyecra* (*Aponegicran*), *Kencateye* (*Kencatazé*), *Ramcocamekra* (*Capiecran*)b. *Carateye*c. *Craho* (*Krao*), *Macamecran*d. *Crepumcateye*e. *Crenyé* (*Crange*) (of Cajuapara), (*Tazé*)

¹ Traditionally the *Apinayé* are offshoots of the *Krikatí*. Pericot suggests that they may be the same as the *Aenaguig*, but Lowie considers the latter independent.

² *Canela* is the Brazilian name for the savage *Timbira*. Some other groups here listed are considered as *Canela*. Rivet (1924 a) gives as additional *Canela* bands: *Temembú*, *Bucobú*, or *Mannozó*, *Poncatgé*. Some of these may be synonyms of others here listed.

GE—Continued

I. Northwest—Continued

A. *Timbira*—Continued2. East *Timbira* (*Hoti*)—Continued

b. Southern—Continued

f. *Cricati* (*Krikateye*, *Caracaty*, *Makraya*)g. *Gaviões*h. *Nyurukwayé* (*Norocoage*)i. *Porekamekra* (*Purecamecran*)j. *Pucobyé* (*Piokobžé*)k. *Chacamekra* (*Sacamecran*, *Matteiro*)l. (*Augutge*)m. (*Paicoge*)n. (*Mehín*)B. *Cayapó*1. Northern *Cayapó* (*Coroá*, *Carajá*)a. *Carahó* (*Karahó*)b. *Gorotire*c. *Gradahó* (*Cradahó*, *Gradauí*)d. *Ira-Amaire*e. *Pau d'Arco*f. *Purucarod* (*Purukaru*)a. *Curupite*g. *Mecubengokre*h. *Ushicring* (*Chicri*, *Byoré*)i. *Crúati-e*j. *Cayamo*2. Southern *Cayapó*C. *Suyá*1. *Suyá* (*Tsuwá*)

II. Central

A. *Akwé* (*Acua*, *Akwa*)1. *Shacriaba* (*Chikriaba*)2. *Shavante*³ (*Chavante*, *Crisca*, *Pusciti*, *Tapacué*)3. *Sherenté* (*Cherente*)B. *Acroá*1. *Acroá*

a. Northern

b. Southern

2. *Guegué* (*Gogué*)III. *Jeicó* (*Jaicó*, *Geicó*)A. *Jeicó*

³ The name *Shavanté* (q. v.) is applied to a number of different groups. The *Shavanté* included here are those of the Rio dos Mortes. They must be distinguished from the *Oti Chavanté* and the *Opayé Chavanté* (q. v.), of other linguistic affinities. The *Tupí Canoeiro*, the *Timbira Nyurukwayé* and the *Orajoumapré* are also termed *Chavanté*. Other names applied to the *Akwe-Chavanté* are *Criza* (*Curiza*), *Puriti*, and *Tapacué*. *Shavante* and *Sherente* are essentially the same.

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Eastern Timbira.—Etienne, 1910 (*Capiécran*); Froes de Abreu, 1931 (*Ramco-*

camecran); Kissenberth, 1911 (*Kencatazé*); Martius, 1867, 1: 525 (*Purucamecran*), 2: 149–151 (*Aponezicran*); Nimuendajú, 1914 d (*Crengéz, Tazé*), 1915 (*Crenzé, Mehín, Ramcocomecran, Tazé*), 1946 (*Timbira*); Pohl, 1832–37 (*Timbira*); Pompeu Sobrinho, 1930, 1931 (*Canela, Merrime, Mehín*); Sampaio, T., 1912 (*Mecumecran, Crao*); Snethlage, E. H., 1931 (*Ramcocomecran, Crao, Piocobzé*).

Cayapó.—Castelnau, 1852, pp. 273–274 (*Carahó*); Coudreau, H., 1897 b, pp. 271–290; Ehrenreich, 1888, 1894–95 (*Cayapó, Usicing, Gradahó*); Kissenberth, 1911, pp. 53–54 (*Mecubengocré*); Krause, 1911, pp. 461–469; Kupfer, 1870, pp. 254–255; Maria, 1914; Martius, 1867, 2: 134–135, 151–152 (*Carahó*); Nimuendajú, 1931–32 pp. 552–567; Pohl, 1832–37, 2: 447; Saint Hilaire, 1830–51, 2: 108–109; Sala, R. P. A. M., 1920; Socrates, 1892, pp. 95–96.

Suyá.—Steinen, 1886, pp. 357–360.

Central Group.—Castelnau, 1852, pp. 262–268 (*Shavanté, Sherenté*); Ehrenreich, 1894–95 (*Acuá, Shavanté, Sherenté*); Eschwege, 1830, pp. 95–96 (*Shicriabá*); Martius, 1867, 2: 139–146 (*Sherenté, Chicriabá, Acroa mirim*); Nimuendajú, 1929 a (*Serenté*); Oliveira, J. F. de, 1913 a, 1913 b (*Sherenté*); Pohl, 1832–37, 2: 33 (*Chavanté*); Saint Hilaire, 1830–51, 2: 289–290 (*Shicriabá*); Socrates, 1892, pp. 87–96 (*Sherenté*); Vianna, 1928 (*Acuen*).

Geico.—Martius, 1867, 2: 143.

“Tapuya.”—Barbosa da Faria, 1925; Ehrenreich, 1894–95; Koenigswald, 1908 a; Schuller, 1913 c.

CAINGANG

Caingang, also sometimes called *Guayaná, Coroado, Bugre, Shoeleng, Tupí, Botocudo*, etc., is still considered a member of *Ge* Proper by Nimuendajú, Lowie, and Métraux. Loukotka also placed it under *Ge* until his 1935 classification when he gave it independent status. A perusal of the lexical data indicates that it is at least as different from *Ge* Proper as most of the other components of *Macro-Ge*. Henry (1935) is also of the opinion that *Caingang* should be separated from *Ge*.

Caingang seems to show even less lexical resemblances to *Ge* than do *Mashacalí, Camacán, and Purí (Coroado)*. In spite of the large vocabularies available very few words show any resemblance to words of similar meaning in any of the other families. Nevertheless, as in the comparisons of all of these languages, there are a fair number of possible connections, and a small number of certain, close, or even identical resemblances, generally in common basic words that would not be likely to be borrowed. In spite of the apparent great lexical differences it is probable that *Caingang* is distantly related to all these languages. Though the differences are not great, either qualitatively or quantitatively, *Caingang* seems to show slightly greater resemblance to *Purí*. Loukotka considers the family as showing *Ge* intrusions, and most of the constituent languages to show *Arawak* or *Camacán* vestiges.

Bugre is an opprobrious term; *Botocudo* and *Coroado* are descriptive, and the *Caingang* groups to whom they are applied must be distinguished from the other *Macro-Ge* groups of these names. Few

Caingang languages seem to be extinct. They occupy an interior region coterminous with the *Ge* Proper, not, like the other *Macro-Ge* divisions, a coastal region.

The subdivisions are uncertain and disputed. Loukotka divides them into 10 languages: four dialects of *Caingán*, *Kadurukré*, *Kamé*, *Wayana*, *Ivitorokai*, *Ingain*, and *Aweicoma*. The classification of Métraux, herein adopted, is probably based on political and regional groups rather than on linguistic variations, but, nevertheless, gives the impression of greater reliability. According to him, *Cayurucré* (*Kadurukré*) is a moiety; the *Wayaná* (*Guayaná*) were the ancestors of the present *Caingang*; *Ivitorocai* and *Ingain* are synonyms of *Taven* and *Tain*, and *Aweicoma* a synonym of the more usual term *Shocleug*. There were apparently two groups of *Wayaná*, one speaking *Tupí-Guaraní*, the other ancestors of the *Caingang*.

The best linguistic data are found in Father Mansueto Barcatta Valfioriana, 1918 a, 1920.

CAINGANG

I. *Caingang*

A. São Paulo (*Coroado*)¹

1. *Nyacateitei*

B. Paraná

C. Rio Grande do Sul

II. *Shocleug* (*Socré*, *Chocré*, *Xocren*, *Bugre*, *Botocudo*,² *Aweicoma*, *Cauuba*, *Caahans*, *Caagua*, *Caigua*)³

III. *Taven*

A. *Tain*

B. *Ingain* (*Wayana*, *Guayaná*)⁴

1. *Patte* (*Basa*)

2. *Chowa*

3. *Chowaca*

C. *Ivitorocai*

D. *Gualacho* (*Coronado*)⁴

1. *Gualachí*

2. *Chiki*

3. *Cabelludo*

IV. *Dorin*

(Bands: *Jahuatetei*, *Venharo*)

(Moieties: *Cayurucré*, *Votoro*, *Camé*)

Possibly *Caingang*: *Aricapú*, *Yabuti*.⁵

¹ Distinguish from other *Macro-Ge* *Coroado* (*Puri*).

² Distinguish from other *Macro-Ge* *Botocudo*.

³ Distinguish from *Chiriguano* (*Tupí-Guaraní*) *Caigua*.

⁴ Distinguish from *Guaraná Guayani*. (See Métraux, Handbook, vol. 1, p. 446.)

⁵ See Lévi-Strauss (Handbook, vol. 3, p. 372).

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Borba, 1882, 1908, pp. 95-114; Chagas-Lima, 1842; Freitas, 1910; Henry, 1935, 1948; Hensel, 1869; Ihering, 1895, pp. 117-118, 1904; Martius, 1867, 2:212-214; Moreira-Pinto, 1894, p. 580; Paula-Souza, 1918; Pindorama, 1937; Saint Hilaire, 1830-51, 1: 456-457; Taunay, 1888, 1913; Teschauer, 1914, pp. 29-30, 1927, pp. 49-51; Vocabulario Comporado, 1892; Vogt, 1904.

Shocleg Group.—Gensch, 1908; Ihering, 1907, p. 232; Paula, 1924, pp. 131-134.

Guayaná.—Borba, 1908, pp. 138-139; Ihering, 1904; Lista, 1883, pp. 112-113; Martínez, B. T., 1904.

Aricapú, Yabutí.—Snethlage, E. H., 1931.

CAMACÁN, MASHACALÍ, AND PURÍ (COROADO)

On these three groups, formerly considered as members of the great *Ge* family, Loukotka has published linguistic sketches (1931-32 a, 1931-32 b, 1937), including vocabularies compiled from all known sources, and lexical comparisons with *Ge* and other neighboring languages. His deductions are that all are independent from each other and from *Ge*, but with *Ge* "intrusions." All three with their several language divisions are supposed to be extinct, though a few members may still live with other groups in some of the missions. Presumably, therefore, no new linguistic data will be found, and their relationships must be determined on the basis of the material at hand, compiled by Loukotka. Unfortunately, no grammatical studies are known, and the basic data consist of vocabularies of varying size, mainly of rather ancient date and all uncritically recorded. The few phrases afford very little morphological information.

The phonetics of the three groups are similar in general type, and the few morphological deductions made by Loukotka show no great difference; on these grounds the three might be closely related. Lexically, however, they are very different. The compiled vocabularies are large enough to afford sufficient data for tentatively conclusive results, nearly 900 words for the *Coroado* group, about 350 for *Mashacalí* and *Camacán*. Using very uncritical methods of comparison and noting every case of stems showing the slightest resemblance, many of which will doubtless be thrown out when a critical linguistic study is made, Loukotka finds the following proportion of possible stems connected with *Ge* and *Caingang* combined: *Coroado*, 10.7 percent; *Mashacalí*, 12.6 percent; *Camacán*, 17.2 percent.

My reworking of Loukotka's data, eliminating the most improbable of his correspondences, gave the following results:

Camacán showed most resemblance to *Ge* with 37 probable correspondences, 7 of them close; next to *Mashacalí* with 18 probable correspondences, 7 close; and next to *Caingang* with 25 probable correspondences, 2 close. There were 12 probable correspondences to *Botocudo*, 4 close ones. The correspondences with *Iaté*, *Patashó*, and

Opayé are ignored on account of the very slight amount of data on these languages. In spite of the large *Coroado* vocabulary, the largest of all, the correspondences are very few, only 7, with 2 of them close, less than the resemblance to *Iaté*, with 10 probable correspondences. *Camacán* obviously stands in much closer relationship to *Iaté* than to *Coroado*.

The closest resemblance of *Mashacali*, on the other hand, is about equally to *Coroado*, with 23 probable correspondences, 9 of them close, and to *Ge* with 26 probable correspondences, 8 of them close. Next follows *Camacán*, with 18 probable correspondences, 7 of them close, and then *Caingang* with 20 probable correspondences, 4 of them close.

Coroado has its closest resemblance to *Ge*, with 35 probable correspondences, 17 of them close; with *Caingang*, with 30 correspondences, 9 of them close; next with *Mashacali* with 23 probable correspondences, 9 of them close; and last with *Botocudo*, with 13 probable correspondences, 3 of them close. The slight resemblance to *Camacán*, a significant point, is noted above.

As may be deduced from the above, *Ge* shows about equal resemblance to *Coroado* and to *Camacán*, the former showing 35 possible correspondences, 17 of them close; *Camacán*, 37 possible correspondences, 7 close (but with a much smaller vocabulary to compare). Next follows *Mashacali*, with 26 possible correspondences, 8 of them close; and then *Caingang*, with 14 possible correspondences, 6 of them close.

CAMACÁN

The *Camacán* languages are all extinct, all the data being now on record. Loukotka (1931-32 b) has published a monograph on them, giving them independent rank. In this he is followed by Métraux and Nimuendajú (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 547). Rivet (1924 a), W. Schmidt (1926), and earlier authorities considered the group a component of *Ge*. It is here classified as a component of *Macro-Ge* (q. v.). It shows more and closer lexical resemblances to *Ge* Proper, *Mashacali*, *Caingang*, and *Iaté* than can be explained on grounds of borrowing. Though probably related to *Purí* also, the lexical resemblances are surprisingly slight. The resemblance is about equal to all the *Ge* Proper groups, except to *Suya* and *Jeicó*. The *Camacán* are not an *Acroa* horde, as Martius thought.

There is general agreement as to the languages composing the family. As regards the closer relationships of these languages, there is less agreement. The classification here accepted is based primarily on Métraux and Nimuendajú.

CAMACÁN

I. *Camacán* (*Kamakán*)A. *Mongoyó*¹B. *Monshocó* (*Ezeshio*)II. *Cutashó* (*Kotoxó*)A. *Catethoy* (*Katathoy*)²III. *Menián* (*Manyá*)IV. *Masacará*³

¹ Schuller's identification (1930 a) of *Iaté* or *Fulnio* (q. v.) with *Mongoyó* is certainly based on insufficient evidence. The vocabularies of Etienne and Guimarães are said to be very incorrect plagiarisms of Wied.

² No linguistic material on *Cutathoy* is extant.

³ Loukotka (1935) differentiates *Masacará* from the others as a language mixed with *Ge*, though he had earlier termed it merely a slightly variant form of *Camacán* Proper.

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MASHACALÍ

Mashacalí, an extinct language, was first separated from the old inclusive *Ge* by Loukotka, who published the standard monograph upon it (1931–32 a); it is now accepted as an independent family by Métraux and Nimuendajú (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 541). However, it has obvious resemblances with *Ge* and has, therefore, herein been considered one of the members of the *Macro-Ge* phylum. The available data are slight, old, and poor. The resemblance is about equal, and not great, to *Purí* and *Ge* Proper, slightly less to *Camacán* and *Caingang*. In the *Ge* group, *Mashacalí* seems to show the greatest connection with *Cayapó*, the least with *Northern Ge*.

Six "languages" are placed by all authorities in this family, all given equal rank, and no further subdivisions proposed. With regard to three languages, *Malalí*, *Potashó*, and *Coropó*, placed by some in the *Mashacalí* group, there is great difference of opinion. These three are treated separately.

1. *Caposhó* (*Koposó*)2. *Cumanashó* (*Kumanaró*)3. *Macuní* (*Makoní*)4. *Mashacalí* (*Mazakarí*)5. *Monoshó* (*Monoxó*)6. *Panyame* (*Pañame*)

Bibliography.—Loukotka, 1931–32 a (containing full bibliography); Martius; 1867, 2:169 (*Mashacalí*), 170–172 (*Capoxó*, *Cumanachó*, *Panháme*), 173–176 (*Macuní*); Saint-Hilaire, 1830–51, 1:47 (*Makoní*), 213 (*Mashacalí*), 423–429 (*Monoshó*); Wied-Neuwied, 1820–21, 2:319, 323–325 (*Mashacalí*, *Makoní*).

PURÍ (COROADO)

For this extinct group or family the name *Purí* is preferable to *Coroa-do*, to avoid confusion with *Caingang* and *Bororo* groups of the same

name, which means "crowned" or "tonsured." The group was formerly considered a part of *Ge*, and is herein considered one of the components of *Macro-Ge*. It was separated from *Ge* by Loukotka, the author of the principal monograph upon it (*Coroado*) (1937); Nimuendajú accepts it as independent (*Purí*), as does Métraux (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 523).

The languages are probably extinct but a number of vocabularies are extant, and the lexical data, compiled by Loukotka, amount to some 900 words (including *Coropó*). Lexically, *Purí-Coroado* shows the closest relationship with *Ge* Proper, closest with *Cayapó*, least with *Suyá*, about equal with *Northern* and *Eastern Ge*, little with *Jeicó*. Resemblances with the *Caingang* and *Mashacalí* groups are a little less and about equal. The lack of resemblance to *Camacán* is significant.

A century ago, the *Coroado* remembered when they formed a single group with the *Purí*; the differences between them must, therefore, be in the degree of dialects, that of their component bands even less. *Purí* and *Coroado* are the only certain members of the group. Other proposed members are *Coropó* and *Waitacá* (*Guaitaka*, *Goyataca*). These are treated separately herein, for reasons there given. Métraux herein (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 523) considers *Coropó* related.

PURÍ (COROADO)

I. *Coroado*

- A. *Maritong*
- B. *Cobanipake*
- C. *Tamprun*
- D. *Sasaricon*

II. *Purí*

- A. *Sabonan*
- B. *Wambori*
- C. *Shamishuna*

Bibliography.—Ehrenreich, 1886; Eschwege, 1818, pp. 165–171, 1830, pp. 233–243; Loukotka, 1937 (full bibliography); Martius, 1867, 2:194–207; Noronha Torrezão, 1889; Reye, 1884, pp. 99–101; Saint-Hilaire, 1830–51, 1:46–47; Wied-Neuwied, 1820–21.

PATASHÓ

The classification of *Patashó* is most uncertain. The older classifications of Rivet (1924 a) and W. Schmidt (1926) placed it in the *Mashacalí* group of *Ge*. Loukotka (1935) separated it and gave it independent rank on an equal footing with *Mashacalí*; in this he is followed by Métraux and Nimuendajú. Métraux and Nimuendajú say (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 54) that Nimuendajú found a close relationship between his *Patashó* and *Mashacalí* vocabularies, but that Wied-Neuwied's *Patashó* and Saint-Hilaire's *Mashacalí* vocabularies are very different.

An independent reworking of Loukotka's published comparative material left the present author doubtful of the *Macro-Ge* relationship of *Patashó*. A brief comparison of Wied-Neuwied's *Patashó* vocabulary (1820-21), however, showed a marked resemblance to *Mashacalí*, and considerable to *Coropó* (q. v.), but little to *Ge* proper. Some 20 of the *Patashó* words show apparent connections with *Mashacalí*, and more than half of these are very close, and mainly in words not likely to have been borrowed. The inclusion of *Patashó* in the *Mashacalí* group or family thus seems to be strongly indicated. However, it is quite possible that the vocabularies showing this resemblance are somehow faulty in ascription, and the example of Nimuendajú and Loukotka have been followed herein in leaving *Patashó* apart as a separate member of *Macro-Ge*.

Patashó may not be entirely extinct. No grammar or linguistic study is known. The standard vocabulary by Wied consists of only 90 words, but Loukotka possesses an unpublished study, and apparently Nimuendajú also had unpublished material.

Bibliography.—Ehrenreich, 1891, 1894-95; Loukotka, 1939 c (full bibliography); Martius, 1867, 2:172-173; Métraux, 1930 b; Wied-Neuwied, 1820-21, 2:320-321.

MALALÍ

In view of the great disagreement regarding the affinities of the extinct *Malalí* it should be regarded for the present as an independent member of the *Macro-Ge* group as do Métraux and Nimuendajú herein (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 542). Nimuendajú (map and index) puts it among the isolated languages. W. Schmidt (1926) makes it the sole member of the coastal division of his South Group of *Ge*, an opinion with which Loukotka records his disagreement. Loukotka (1931-32 a, 1935, 1939 a) and Rivet (1924 a) place it with *Mashacalí*, though the former does so with a little hesitation, as a language mixed with *Coroado*.

A hasty comparison of the available *Malalí* data suggests that its closest lexical resemblances are with *Patashó* and *Macuní* (*Mashacalí*). Its resemblances to *Purí-Coroado*, *Camacán* (mainly to *Manyá* or *Menien*), *Ge* Proper, and *Caingang* are much less, and those to *Botocudo*, *Opayé*, and *Iaté* are very slight. The available lexical material is a little over 100 words; no textual material or grammatical sketch are known. Loukotka (1931-32 a) gives a critique of the value of the three extant vocabularies.

Bibliography.—Loukotka, 1931-32 a; Martius, 1867, 2:207-208; Saint-Hilaire, 1830-51, 1:428-429; Wied-Neuwied, 1820-21, 2:321-323.

COROPÓ

The classification of the extinct *Coropó* language is uncertain and in disagreement; it is, therefore, treated separately and considered an independent member of *Macro-Ge*. Loukotka (1937) calls it the most interesting of all the languages in the old *Ge* group; he believes that it contains a large number of words borrowed from unidentified non-*Ge* languages. Unfortunately, it is extinct without any known textual material.

A comparison by the present author of the two known small vocabularies appears to indicate a fair number of stems showing relationship to the languages of the *Mashacalí* group, especially to *Maconí*, a little less to *Caposhó*, *Cumanashó*, and *Monoshó*, about the same to *Malalí* and *Patashó* (q. v.), a little less to the *Purí-Coroado* languages. Considerable resemblance was also seen to *Ge* Proper, *Caingang*, and *Botocudo*, but little to *Camacán*, *Opayé*, and *Iaté*.

The authorities disagree greatly as to whether *Coropó* should be classified with the *Purí-Coroado* group (Nimuendajú, map; Loukotka, 1935, 1937, 1939 a; W. Schmidt, 1926) or with the *Mashacalí* (Rivet, 1924 a). In view of this disagreement, Métraux's statement (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 523) that *Coropó* is "closely" related linguistically (as well as culturally) with *Coroado* and *Purí* can hardly be accepted.

Bibliography.—Eschwege, 1818, pp. 165–171; Loukotka, 1937; Martius, 1867, 2: 167–169.

BOTOCUDO

The name "*Botocudo*" signifies wearers of large lip-plugs and as such has been applied to several groups of different linguistic affinities which must be carefully distinguished. One *Botocudo* group, the *Ivaporé*, *Are*, *Sheta*, or *Notobotocudo*, is *Tupí*. The best-known *Botocudo*, however, are *Macro-Ge* peoples. Here two groups must be differentiated. One, of the State of Santa Catarina, is the *Caingang* (q. v.). The larger and better-known group, of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo, has a language formerly considered *Ge*. It is, however, quite different from *Ge* Proper, and has been accorded independent status by Loukotka (1935, 1939 a) and Nimuendajú (map) and accepted by Métraux (Handbook vol. 1, p. 532). It is here considered as a member of the *Macro-Ge* phylum.

It might be better to allow *Botocudo* independence. No study of it has been presented, and the morphology is unknown. The vocabulary shows a small number of words related to other *Macro-Ge* languages (but relatively few), and some probably due to borrowing. The greater number of resemblances are with *Coroado*, next with *Camacán*. The *Macro-Ge* affinities in the data available are greater

than those of *Opayé*, *Iaté*, and *Patashó*, but this may be due to greater amount of data.

The constitution of the *Botocudo* group, since the latter is not well known, is uncertain. The divisions are probably mainly political or geographic. At least four of the languages marked as *Botocudo* by Nimuendajú (map), *Anket*, *Nacnyanuk*, *Pimenteira*, and *Yiporok*, are considered independent by various authors herein. *Pimenteira* (q. v.) is rather distant from the main *Botocudo* group, and is considered *Cariban* by some authorities.

BOTOCUDO (AIMBORE, BORUN)

Araná (*Aranya*)

Crecmun

Chonvugn (*Crenak*)

Gucren

Gutucrac: *Minya-yirugn* (*Minhagirun*)

Nachehe (*Nakrehe*)

(*Yiporok* [*Giporok*]: *Poicá* [*Poyishá*, *Požitzá*])

(*Anket* ?)

(*Nacnyanuk* ?)

Bibliography.—Adelung and Vater, 1806–17 (*Engerekmung*); Almeida, 1846; Anonymous, 1852 (*Pozitxa*); Castelnau, 1850–59, pp. 249–259; Ehrenreich, 1887, 1896; Etienne, 1909 (*Borun*); Froes de Abreu, 1929 (*Crenaque*); Ignace, 1909; Jomard, 1846, 1847; Marlière, 1825 a, 1825 b (*Pajaurum*, *Krakmun*, *Naknanuk*); Martius, 1867, 2: 177–194 (*Encreckmung*, *Crecmun*, *Djiopouroca*); Reye, 1884; Renault, 1904; Rudolph, 1909; Saint-Hilaire, 1830–51, 1: 194–199; Silveira, A. A., 1921, pp. 529–543 (*Pozitxa*); Simões da Silva, 1924 (*Crenak*); Trança, 1882; Tschudi, 1866–69, 2: 288; Wied-Neuwied, 1820–21, 2: 305–314. (Undifferentiated items are all of the *Crecmun* group.)

SHAVANTÉ (CHAVANTÉ, ŠAVANTÉ)

Four groups of Southern Brazil of very different linguistic affinities are known to the Brazilian natives by the name *Chavanté*. They must be carefully distinguished. Three of them, the *Otí*, *Opayé*, and *Cucurá* (q. v.), form small independent (provisionally) families; the fourth, the *Akwẽ* (q. v.), is a *Ge* language.

Bibliography.—Chamberlain, 1910 a, 1913 c; Ihering, 1907; Martius, 1867, 2:135–139.

OTÍ

The extinct *Otí* (*Chavanté*, *Shavanté*, *Eochavanté*) are one of the four groups, all of different linguistic affinities, known as *Chavanté*; they must be distinguished. Now extinct, the small group was named *Eochavanté* by Von Ihering. The language has been accepted as constituting an independent family by all authorities; Rivet (1924 a) terms the family *Savanté*. No suggestions as to larger affiliations have been made by anyone.

Bibliography.—Borba, 1908, pp. 73–76; Ihering, 1912; Vocabulario Comparado . . ., 1892.

OPAYÉ

Until recently accepted as one of the *Ge* languages, *Opayé* or *Opayé Shavanté* was separated from it and considered an independent family by Loukotka (1935, 1939 a). Nimuendajú (map) also calls it isolated. Though probably not extinct the data on it are scant. No grammatical sketch and no linguistic study are known. The lexical material is limited to vocabularies collected by Nimuendajú and published first by Von Ihering (1912) and later, enlarged, by Nimuendajú (1932 a). Each consists of less than 300 words. There are very few resemblances, even distant, with *Ge*, *Camacán*, *Mashacalí* or *Coroado*, and almost all words are very different. The *Ge* and *Camacán* "intrusions" noted by Loukotka (1935, 1939 a) are not evident, and *Opayé* should be considered unclassified until future careful studies may prove otherwise.

In his vocabulary, Nimuendajú gives a few words from a variant dialect *Vaccaria*, which Loukotka terms *Guachi* (*Guači*) of *Vaccaria*.

Bibliography.—Ihering, 1912; Nimuendajú, 1932 a.

CUCURÁ

The sole evidence for this "family," and apparently for the existence of the tribe, seems to be a vocabulary of 31 words gathered by the Czech explorer Frič in 1901 and published by Loukotka (1931 b). These natives of the Rio Verde of Mato Grosso are one of a number of groups known to the Brazilians as *Shavanté* (q. v.). The *Shavanté-Cucurá* are apparently mentioned by no other writer and do not appear in Nimuendajú's map and index. The vocabulary seems to have no resemblance to any of the surrounding languages with which Loukotka compares it, *Opayé*, *Oti*, *Akwẽ*, and *Tupí-Guaraní*, but might show affinity with some more distant stock. A very few words are apparently borrowed from *Tupí-Guaraní*. At any rate such a small vocabulary, taken through an interpreter, can hardly be accepted as definitely establishing a new linguistic family. The language is now presumed to be extinct.

Bibliography.—Loukotka, 1931 b; Nimuendajú, 1932 b.

GUAITACÁN

Goyatacá (*Guaítaká*, *Waitacá*, etc.) was adopted as the name of a stock or family by Chamberlain (1913 a), and as a substock of "*Tapuya*" (*Ge*) by Brinton (1891 a); the latter included under it the *Mashacalí* languages, *Patashó* and *Coropó*. W. Schmidt (1926) accepted it for the name of his subgroup that included the *Purí-Coroado* languages, and Rivet (1924 a) included it in that group.

As *Guaítacá* became extinct before a word of it was recorded (see

Handbook, vol. 1, p. 521; Métraux, 1929 b), it cannot be regarded as anything but an unclassified language, as Nimuendajú places it. There is no reason for classing it with *Purí-Coroadó* or with any other group. It very likely, however, was a *Macro-Ge* language. Four subdivisions are known.

GUAITACÁ

1. *Mopi*
2. *Yacorito*
3. *Wasu*
4. *Miri*

Bibliography.—Ehrenreich, 1905; Koenigswald, 1908 b; Métraux, 1929 b; Steinen, 1886.

SMALL LANGUAGES OF THE PERNAMBUCO REGION

(*Fulnió*, *Natú*, *Pancararú*, *Shocó*, *Shucurú*, *Tushá*, *Carapató*, *Payacú*, *Teremembé*, *Tarairiu* or *Ochucayana*)

Along and to the northeast of the San Francisco River in the States of Alagoas, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Bahia are, or were, a number of small tribes the languages of which seem to be sufficiently variant from themselves and from others with which they have been compared to be classified by Nimuendajú (map) and accepted by Lowie (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 553) as isolated or independent. All are so small, unimportant, or newly identified that none of them is mentioned by Rivet (1924 a) or by earlier compilers, and only *Fulnió* (*Iaté*) is listed by Loukotka (1935, 1939 a), and rates especial mention. On all but the last the lexical data seem to be very slight and difficult of access; most of them seem to be in unpublished notes and observations of Estevão de Oliveira and Nimuendajú, whose opinion as to the isolated status must therefore be accepted for the present.

Fulnió.—*Fulnió* (*Fornió*, *Carnijó*, *Iaté*) is the native name; the Brazilians of Aguas Bellas call them *Carnijó*. Loukotka (1935, 1939 a) terms the family *Iaté*. There are no subdivisions. Loukotka sees *Camacán* intrusions, and this is borne out by a superficial comparison of the data published by him; *Fulnió* seems to show closer resemblance to *Camacán* than to any other of the *Macro-Ge* languages, but not enough to be itself placed in this group for the present. Schuller (1930 a) improperly identified the language with *Mongoyó*.

Pancararú.—*Pancararú* (*Pankarú*, *Pancarú*) has sometimes been classified as a *Carirí* language but is better considered as isolated in agreement with the opinions of Lowie and Nimuendajú. (See Handbook, vol. 1, p. 561.)

Shocó.—*Shocó* (*Šokó*, *Chocó*) must not be confused with the Isthmian *Chocó*.

Shucurú.—*Shucurú* (*Šukurú*) is divided by Nimuendajú (map) into

two groups, those of Cimbres and those of Palmeira dos Indios. The latter appear to be known only by the notes of Oliveira.

Teremembé.—Though more important historically than most of the above groups, nothing is known of the language of the *Teremembé* (Métraux, Handbook, vol. 1, p. 573).

Tarairiu or Ochucayana.—Though generally classified as a *Ge* language, the available linguistic data do not support the affinity, and Lowie (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 563) thinks that it may be considered a distinct stock as proposed by Pompeu Sobrinho (1939)—probably too radical a decision, Nimuendajú's preference (map) to leave it unclassified is better. Schuller (1930 a) also called it "ein stamm"; Ehrenreich (1894) believed it affiliated with *Ge* and especially with Patashó. Loukotka (1935, 1939 a) calls it *Carib*, mixed with *Ge*, which is doubtful, in view of its distance from any other *Carib* group.

Natú, Tushá, Carapató, Payacú.—Little is known of these languages. Nimuendajú leaves them unclassified; other authorities ignore them.

Lowie (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 553) speaks of "six unrelated linguistic families within the area": *Fulnió*, *Shucurú*, *Pancararú*, *Natú*, *Shocó*, and *Tushá*. Thus to accord them familial status is certainly not justified by the few data on them.

Bibliography.—See bibliographies in Handbook, vol. 1, pp. 556, 561, 566, 571, 574. Most of the more recent works (Branner, 1887; Melo, 1927, 1929; Pompeu Sobrinho, 1935, 1939; Schuller, 1930 a) refer to the *Fulnió*. Pinto, 1938, treats of the *Pancarú*; Schuller, 1913 c, of the *Tarairiu*.

SOUTHERNMOST LANGUAGES

ATAGUITAN

Ataguita is here for the first time proposed as a hybrid term for the hypothetical *Atacama-Diaguita* linguistic group. It is unproved, and no definite proof of the relationship has been offered, but the connection has been accepted by several authorities. First suggested by Schuller (1908), W. Schmidt (1926) proposed a *Cunza-Diaguita* Group, and Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) adopts it as an *Atacameño-Diaguita* phylum.

ATACAMA

Synonyms: *Atacameño*, *Cunza*, *Kunza*, *Likananta*, *Likanantai*, *Lipe*, *Ulipe*.

Though a few individuals may still speak the old *Cunza* language little is known of it. A modern study and grammar is urgently needed, though even a thorough study of the grammar of San Román (1890) might link it to one of the larger linguistic families. Most authorities from Chamberlain (1911 b) down have accorded *Atacama* an independent position. Loukotka (1935) sees vestiges of *Arawak* in it. Von Tschudi (1866-69) suggested that it is a descendant of

Calchaquí-Diaguita, and W. Schmidt (1926), accepting the arguments of Schuller (1908), proposes a *Cunza-Diaguita* group, uniting *Atacama* and *Calchaquí*. (See Handbook, vol. 2, pp. 599, 605, 606.)

Bibliography.—Boman, 1908; Brand, 1941 c; Chamberlain, 1911 b, pp. 465–467; Darapsky, 1889; Echeverría y Reyes, 1890, 1912; Maglio, 1890; Moore, 1878; San Román, 1890; Schuller, 1908; Tschudi, 1866–69; Vaisse, Hoyos, and Echeverría y Reyes, 1895.

OMAWACA (OMAHUACA)

The affinities of the extinct *Omahuaca* (*Omawaka*, *Omaguaca*, etc.) and *Humahuaca* are, and probably always will be, uncertain. It is one of the four South American languages that Loukotka (1935) declined to classify. Rivet (1924 a) places it with *Quechua*, Jijón y Caamaño (1941–43) with *Atacameño-Diaguita*.

The *Omahuaca* are said to have been a mixture of *Diaguita* and *Aymara*, and spoke *Quechua* at the time of their extinction as a tribal entity. (See Handbook, vol. 2, p. 619.)

DIAGUITA OR CALCHAQÚÍ

Since not one word of the extinct *Diaguita* or of its related languages has been positively identified, its status depending on early statements and proper-name etymologies, its independent position, relationship with other “families” and with its probably component languages will probably never be conclusively determined, unless a copy of the lost Barcena grammar is found. *Diaguita* (*Diaguite*, *Diagit*) is the term most frequently used for the group, but *Calchaquí(an)* was the earlier term employed by Chamberlain (1912 a, 1912 b) and his followers, and Brinton (1891 a) preferred *Catamareña*.

The language of the *Calchaquí-Diaguita* was known as *Cacan(a)* or *Kakan(a)*. It was replaced by *Quechua* in the 17th century. The *Calchaquí* were but one tribe or nation of the group; other affiliated languages as given in the table were probably of the status of dialects.

The *Lule* enter to complicate the problem even more. This name was probably applied to several different groups in this general region—or else to a group speaking several different languages. The *Lule* of Padre Barcena seem to have been *Diaguita*, to be distinguished from the *Lule* of Machoni, which is *Vilela*. (See *Lule-Vilela*, *Vilela-Chulupi*, etc.)

The relationship of the extinct *Sanavirón* and *Comechingón* is also in dispute. Most authorities consider these as forming the independent *Sanaviron(an)* family. Krickeberg (1922) and W. Schmidt (1926) place them under *Diaguita*. Loukotka (1935) puts *Kakana* (*Calchaquí*), *Sanavirona*, and *Vilela* together in his *Vilela* family. (See Handbook, vol. 2, pp. 657, 661–663.)

Brinton finally accepted the suggestion that *Diaguita* had affinities with *Quechua*. Relationships with the *Atacama* or *Atacameño* family (q. v.) were suggested by Schuller (1908) and accepted by W. Schmidt (1926), who lists a *Cunza-Diaguita* Group, *Kunza* being the name of the principal *Atacama* language. The *Diaguita* "dialects" he lists as *Kaka(na)*, *Tonokote* (placed by others in *Lule*, *Vilela* and *Mataco*), *Zanavirona* (though he also makes a *Sanavirón* family), and *Indamu* (generally placed with *Sanavirón*).

All of the above conflicting opinions seem to be based on the most inferential evidence, from which every seeker after knowledge may take his choice.

Diaguita subgroups:—*Abaucan*, *Amaycha*, *Anchapa*, *Andalgalá*, *Anguinahao*, *Calchaquí*, *Casminchango*, *Coipe*, *Colalao*, *Famatina*, *Hualfina*, *Paquilin*, *Quilme*, *Tafí*, *Tocpo*, *Tucumán*, *Upingascha*, and *Yocabil*. Possibly also: *Acalian*, *Catamarca*, and *Tamano*.

Bibliography.—Barcena, MS., Boman, 1908; Cabrera, P., 1927, 1931; Canals Frau, 1943 a, 1943 b; Chamberlain, 1912 a, 1912 b; Kersten, 1905; Lafone-Quevedo, 1898, 1919 a, 1927; Lizondo Borda, 1938; Schuller, 1908, 1919–20 b, pp. 572–573; Serrano, 1936 b.

CHARRUA, KERANDÍ, CHANÁ, ETC.

Synonyms: *Tšarrua*, *Čarrua*, *Chaná*, *Güenoa*.

Charrua has been accepted as an independent family from the time of Hervás y Panduro (1800), but suggestions as to affiliation with all neighboring groups—*Arawak*, *Ge*, *Guaicurú*, *Guaraní*, and *Puelche*—have been made, as well as its connection with *Querandí*, for which latter various connections have also been proposed (vide infra). Brinton (1898), D'Orbigny (1839), M. S. Bertoni (1916), Outes (1913 b), Serrano (1936 a, 1936 c), Schuller (1906), and others have entered into this argument, as well as the recent classifiers such as Rivet (1924 a), W. Schmidt (1926), and Loukotka (1935). One of the most recent writers, S. Perea y Alonso (1942), considers all the *Chané-Chaná* languages, including *Charrua*, as *Arawak*. Even the present authors herein, Lothrop, Serrano, Cooper, and Métraux, do not agree. Serrano (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 192) considers it related to *Caingang*. Nor is there any agreement as to name; most authorities use variants of *Charrua*, but Serrano herein insists that the generic name should be *Güenoa*.

Most of the arguments are based on historical evidence and inference, since all of the languages have long been extinct with little recorded data; no more than 7 words of *Charrua* were known. Recently, however, some 70 more words have been found and published (Gómez Hardo, 1937), but never scientifically compared with other languages.

The opinions of present contributors may be cited as the most

modern. Serrano is certain that *Charrua* is a dialect of *Chaná* and related to the *Caingang* of Rio Grande do Sul (cf. *Macro-Ge*). Métraux doubts the *Ge* affiliation, and suggests that a comparison with *Puelche* and other Patagonian and Chaco languages might prove fruitful; Lothrop wisely makes no suggestions as to wider affiliations. Nimuendajú's decision to leave *Charrua* unclassified is doubtless the wisest one. *Charrua* subtribes are said to be *Guayantiran*, *Palomar*, and *Negueguian*.

In the La Plata region were many other languages, now long extinct, on which the data are very deficient, with consequent great differences of opinion regarding their affiliations. All these had best be left unclassified. Most of them have been traditionally considered *Charruan*. Prominent among these is the *Querandí* (*Kerandí*), which has variously been considered of *Guaicurú*, *Het* (*Tehuelche*), *Araucanian*, and *Guaraní* affiliations. Cooper (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 137) says there is good argument for considering it *Puelche*. *Güenoa* and *Bohané* may relate closely to *Charrua*, possibly also *Caracaná*. Other of the more important groups are *Minuané*, *Yaró*, *Colastiné*, *Corondó*, *Timbú*, *Mbeguá*, and *Carcarañá*. Of lesser importance are *Kiloazá*, *Cayastá* (*Chaguayá*), and *Macurendá* (*Mocoretá*). (See Lothrop, Handbook, vol. 1, pp. 177–190.)

Bibliography.—Brinton, 1898 a; Chamberlain, 1911 b, pp. 469–471; Gómez Harlo, 1937; Kersten, 1905; Lothrop, 1932; Martínez, B. T., 1919; Orbigny, 1839; Outes, 1913 b; Perea y Alonso, 1938 b, 1942; Rivet, 1930 a; Schuller, 1906, 1917; Serrano, 1936 a, 1936 c; Vignati, 1931 d.

CHANÁ

Synonyms: *Tšaná*, *Tschaná*, *Čaná*.

One of the important groups in this area, undifferentiated in locale, is the *Chaná*. Nimuendajú accepts the *Chaná* as a linguistic entity, leaving all the other before-mentioned languages as unclassified. Affiliated with the *Chaná* seem to be the *Chaná-Mbeguá*, *Chaná-Timbú*, and the *Yaró*. Perea y Alonso (1942) relates these *Chaná* to the *Chané* (q. v.) of southern Brazil and apparently believes almost all the above-mentioned groups, including *Charrua* and all the natives of the Banda Oriental of Uruguay, to be *Arawak*. For geographic reasons this is open to doubt, pending further exposition.

Chaná is a descriptive term and as such applied to a number of distinct groups of different linguistic affiliations that are liable to be confused. It is said to be a *Tupí* word, probably meaning "my relations." It seems to have been applied to certain *Tupí*, *Guaraní*, and *Chiriguano* groups. It also seems to be a synonym for the *Layaná*, a southern *Arawak* group (according to W. Schmidt, 1926; Nimuendajú considers the *Layana* to be *Guaicurú*, q. v.).

Larrañaga (1924 b) says the language was guttural, an amateurish characterization applied to many Indian languages. Larrañaga's vocabulary and grammar was published by Lafone-Quevedo and Torres. (See also *Chané*.)

Bibliography.—Brinton, 1898 a; Cardus, 1886; Kersten, 1905; Lafone-Quevedo, 1897 a, 1922; Larrañaga, 1924 b; Lothrop, 1932; Orbigny, 1839; Outes, 1913 b; Serrano, 1936 a, 1936 c.

ALLENTIAC OR HUARPEAN

Huarpe might be a better term than *Allentiac* for this linguistic group, and is preferred by some modern writers, but the latter name is probably too well established to make a change advisable. It has been accepted as an independent family or stock by all authorities since Brinton (1891 a) and Chamberlain (1913 a), generally under the name *Allentiac* or variations thereof. *Huarpe* (*Guarpe*) is a synonym of *Allentiac*. There is general agreement that the *Millcayac* language was rather closely related.

The languages became extinct in the 18th century. However, grammars of both *Allentiac* and *Millcayac* by Padre Valdivia are known, though the first editions are extremely rare. Though the group will probably eventually be tied up with some of the neighboring languages, and probably affiliated with some one of the larger phyla, few suggestions as regards such relationships have been made, and none accompanied by good evidence. Some early statements suggest a relationship with *Puelche*, and Brinton (1891 a) placed *Huarpe*, *Puelche*, and *Araucanian* in his *Aucanian* linguistic stock.

Canals Frau (1944) presents extensive evidence and argument that the *Comechingón* (q. v.) were related to the *Huarpe*, and terms the linguistic group *Huarpe-Comechingón*. He considers the group to consist of the following languages:

(1) *Allentiac* or *Huarpe* of San Juan; (2) *Millcayac* or *Huarpe* of Mendocino; (3) *Puntano Huarpe*; (4) *Puelche* of Cuyo; (5) Ancient *Pehuenche*; (6) Southern *Comechingón*, language: *Camiare*; (7) Northern *Comechingón*, language: *Henia*; (8) possibly *Olongasta* (Indians of Southern Rioja). (See Canals Frau, Handbook, vol. 1, p. 169.)

As subgroups or dialects Pericot y García (1936) names *Zoquillam*, *Tunuyam*, *Chiquillan*, *Morcoyam*, *Diamantino* (*Oyco*), *Mentuayn*, *Chom*, *Titiyam*, *Otoyam*, *Ultuyam*, and *Cucyam*.

Bibliography.—Cabrera, P., 1928-29; Canals Frau, 1941, 1942, 1943 a, 1943 b, 1944; Chamberlain, 1912 b; La Grasserie, 1900; Márquez Miranda, 1943, 1944; Medina, J. T., 1918; Mitre, 1894; Schuller, 1913 a, 1913 d.; Valdivia, 1607 a, 1607 b.

SANAVIRÓN AND COMECHINGÓN

SANAVIRÓN

There are few linguistic data on which to classify the extinct *Sanavirón* and its affiliated languages, and the opinions are, therefore, very variant. Most authorities, such as Chamberlain (1913 a), Rivet (1924 a), and Nimuendajú (map and index), class it as an independent family. Krickeberg (1922) places it under *Diaguita*; W. Schmidt (1926) equivocates by establishing a *Sanavirón* family, but also placing *Zanavirona* in his *Cunza-Diaguita* group. Loukotka (1935) groups *Sanavirona*, *Kakana* (*Calchaquí-Diaguita*), and *Vilela* in his *Vilela* family. Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) also places *Sanavirón* in his *Vilela-Lule* phylum.

Sanavirón is omitted from the accompanying linguistic map, the occupied area being allotted to *Comechingón*.

Bibliography.—Chamberlain, 1910 a, p. 198.

COMECHINGÓN

So little is known of the extinct *Comechingón* that its affiliation may never be determined, and there is no present consensus. It has been connected with three families, also all extinct. Most authorities place it with *Sanavirón*; Krickeberg (1922) considers it related to *Diaguita*. The most recent writer, Canals Frau, (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 169; also 1944) links it with *Huarpe* (*Allentiac*). It is one of the few languages that Loukotka (1935) wisely refuses to attempt to classify. There seem to have been five subgroups or dialects. *Michilingüe* apparently belonged to the same group. *Indamá* or *Indamu* is generally associated with *Comechingón*, but W. Schmidt (1926) puts it with *Zanavirona* in the *Cunza-Diaguita* group, not with *Comechingón* under *Sanavirón*.

I. *Comechingón*A. *Comechingón*

1. *Main*
2. *Tuya*
3. *Mundema*
4. *Cáma*
5. *Umba*

B. *Michilingwe*C. *Indama*

Bibliography.—Canals Frau, 1944.

ARAUCANIAN

The *Araucanian* (*Araukan*, *Aucanian*, *Aucan*) languages occupied a moderately large solid area in northern Chile and adjacent Argentina; their modern range is considerably reduced though the language is

still vigorous, with speakers said to number upward of fifty thousand. Their relationship with *Puelche*, *Het*, and *Tehuelche* or *Chon* (q. v.), as well as with other "families" to the north of these, is likely but unproved. Considerable confusion is caused by the fact that names of certain groups in almost all of these families end in "che," and others ending in "het" are also thus divided. No one seems to have attempted to subdivide the family on a linguistic basis, or to have presented concise data on which this could be done. The linguistic divisions probably coincide with the political and geographical ones, but many groups, especially the extinct ones, are of doubtful relationship, even as to the *Araucanian* family. The classification here given is based primarily on Brand (1941 c), so far as that goes. Few of the other authorities agree with him or among themselves as regards the minor groupings. The living groups are said to be of the order of dialects, all mutually intelligible. The linguistic affinities of the *Pewenche* (*Pehuenche-Puelche*) and the *Huilliche Serrano* are questionable. (See Cooper, Handbook, vol. 1, pp. 128, 132, vol. 2, pp. 688-696; Canals Frau, Handbook, vol. 2, pp. 761-766.)

The *Araucanian* languages are said to be pleasant and harmonious.

ARAUCAIAN

I. North

A. *Picunche*

B. *Mapuche*

1. *Pewenche*

a. *Rankel(che)*

2. *Moluche*

II. South

A. *Wiliche* (*Huilliche*)

1. *Wiliche*

a. *Serrano*

b. *Pichi-Wiliche*

2. *Manzanero*

B. *Veliche* (*Chilote*)

C. *Chikiyami* (*Cuncho*)

D. *Leuwuche*

III. East

A. *Taluhet* (*Taluche*)¹

B. *Divihet* (*Diviche*)¹

¹Possibly member of separate *Het* family (q. v.).

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Adelung and Vater, 1806-17; Amberg, 1914; Ameghino, C., 1913; Anonymous, 1876; Augusta, 1903, 1916, 1922; Barbara, 1879; Brand, 1941 a, 1941 c; Cañas Pinochet, 1902, 1911 a; Darapsky, 1888; Echeverría y Reyes, 1900; Englert, 1934; Falkner, 1899; Febres, 1765, 1864, 1882; Figueroa, 1903; Groeber, 1926; Gusinde, 1936; Gutiérrez, 1871; Huaiquillaf, 1941; La Grasserie, 1898; Latham, 1942; Lenz, 1895-97, 1904-05; Lillo, 1928; Loukotka, 1929-30, pp. 75-83; Milanesio, Domingo, 1918; Mitre, 1894, 1909, pp. 311-338; Moesbach, 1929-31, 1936,

Outes, 1914; Rodríguez, Z., 1875; Santa Cruz, 1923 b; Schuller, 1908; Sigifredo, 1942-45; Speck, 1924; Valdivia, 1887, 1897; Zeballos, 1922 b.

CHONO

The *Chonoan* "family" of the Chilean coast, recognized by Chamberlain (1913 a) and his followers, is no longer accepted. Only three words seem to be known, and its independence was presumed on grounds of early statements. Affiliations have been suggested with all the neighboring groups, *Araucanian*, *Tehuelche*, and *Alacaluf*. Rivet (1924 a) placed it with the last. It had best be left unclassified. It must be distinguished from the *Chon* (*Tšon*) or *Tehuelche*, but doubtless these names are of common origin. (See Handbook, vol. 1, pp. 48-49).

Bibliography.—Chamberlain, 1911 a; Cooper, 1917 a, 1917 b; Ferrario, 1939.

PUELCHÉAN

Synonyms: *Puelłše*, *Puelče*, *Kunnu*, *Gennaken*, *Pampa*.

The group has been recognized since early days but its constitution is greatly under discussion. Brinton (1891 a) grouped *Puelche*, *Araucanian*, and some other languages in his *Aucanian* stock; Chamberlain (1911 a, 1913 a) and all subsequent authorities have accepted a *Puelche(an)* family. They are often referred to as northern *Tehuelche*, or merely *Tehuelche*, but belong to a separate family from the true or southern *Tehuelche*; the latter is the older name for the southern family but leads to confusion with the *Puelche*, so the modern name *Chon* (q. v.) is preferable for the former.

All authorities recognize but one language in the family, *Puelche*, unless *Chechehet* is related; this is now often placed in a family of its own, *Het* (q. v.). Ten dialects are said to have been spoken, but today only two, eastern and western, are reported. Relationships have been suggested with *Guaicurú*, *Araucanian*, *Het*, *Chon*, and *Charrua*, none of which would be in the least surprising. The old source, Valdivia (1607), says that *Puelche* differs very slightly from *Millcayac* (*Allentiac*), but he may have been referring to another group of *Puelche*.

Bibliography.—Adelung and Vater, 1806-17; Brinton, 1892 d; Chamberlain, 1911 b; Harrington, T., 1925; Milanese, Domenico, 1898; Outes, 1928 a; Outes and Bruch, 1910; Valdivia, 1607 a.

HET (CHECHEHET)

Although only 15 words and some place names seem to be known, Lehmann-Nitsche argued that the language of the *Chechehet* (*Tšetšehet*, *Čečehet*), formerly considered as a *Puelchean* (q. v.) language, is radically different from the latter and entitled to be considered an

independent family. He called the family "*Het*"; Rivet (1924 a) adopts the same name. Loukotka (1935) and Nimuendajú prefer their orthographic variants of *Chechehet*; the former accepts it as a family, the latter as "isolated." Together with the *Chechehet* go a group who lived with the *Araucanian Divihet* (*Divihet*) and were known by that name only. The pertinent linguistic data are based on Falkner (1774), Hervás y Panduro (1800), and Dobrizhoffer (1784). The language became extinct about the close of the 18th century.

The solution of the *Het* question is an historical, not a linguistic, one. (See also Handbook, vol. 1, p. 134.)

Bibliography.—Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Falkner, 1774; Hervás y Panduro, 1800; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918 a, 1922, 1925 b, 1930 a.

CHONAN OR TEWELCHE (TEHUELCHÉ) AND ONA

The *Chon* or *Tehuelche* (*Tšon*, *Tschon*, *Čon*, *Tsonekan*, *Tehuelchean*) has been considered independent since earliest classifications, and no suggestions of larger relationships have been made except for those of Rivet (1925 a, 1925 b, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927 b, 1927 c) whose revolutionary belief in a connection with Australian languages has been accorded ex-cathedra condemnation by all North American anthropologists, probably without sufficient scientific consideration.

The term *Tehuelche* was often used in a geographical rather than a linguistic sense, and the northernmost *Tehuelche*, the *Küni*, seem to have spoken a *Puelche* tongue. The three languages of *Tehuelche* proper were almost unintelligible, but now are less so (Cooper, Handbook, vol. 1, p. 130). The two divisions of the *Ona* could understand each other only with difficulty; the dialects differ slightly (Cooper, Handbook, vol. 1, p. 108). However, *Tehuelche* and *Ona* are rather closely related. The various classifications differ but slightly. The affiliations of the *Paya* are uncertain.

Ona was long considered as forming a separate family from *Tehuelche*. Though the names are probably connected in origin, the *Chon* must be differentiated from the *Chono* (q. v.) of the Chilean coast.

CHON

I. *Chon* (*Tehuelche*)

A. *Tehuelche*

1. *Tä'uüşhn* (*Tewesh*)
2. Northern: *Payniken* (*Pä'änkün'k*)
 - a. *Poya*
3. Southern: *Inaken* (*Ao'nükün'k*)

B. *Ona*¹

1. *Haush* (*Manekenkn*)
2. *Shelknám*
 - a. Northern
 - b. Southern

¹ Brinton (1891 a, p. 331) gives *Huemul* and *Peschere* (*Ire*) as other divisions of the *Ona*.

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YAHGANAN

The independence of the *Yahgan* (*Yagan*, *Yámana*, *Yahganan*) family or stock has never been doubted. Except from this point of view it is unimportant; it is practically extinct; probably not more than 20 *Yahgan* survive. The tongue is said to be markedly euphonic, soft, melodious, agreeable, with a rich vocabulary.

There is only one language, with five mutually intelligible dialects, of which the Central and Western are said to be most alike.

I. *Yahgan*

- A. Eastern
- B. Central-Western
 - 1. Central
 - 2. Western
- C. Southern
- D. Southwestern

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ALACALUFAN

The *Alacaluf* (*Alikuluf*, *Alukuluf*, and similar orthographical variants), the southernmost language of South America, has been recognized since earliest times as constituting an independent family. No relationships with any other group have been suggested, except Rivet's (see *Chon*) belief in their connection with Australian languages. The language is said to be harsh, with explosives and gutturals, though not so strong as in *Ona*. Three "dialects" are reported, but 10 or more groups, presumably each with its dialect, are named; how they group in subdivisions is unknown. The northernmost, *Chono* (q. v.), is of uncertain affiliation. Most of the languages or dialects are extinct. The same may almost be said of the group; estimates of their number vary from 250 to none.

The following groups or dialects are reported:

<i>Caucawe</i> (<i>Kaukahue</i> , etc.)	<i>Adwipliin</i>
<i>Enoo</i> or <i>Peshera</i> (<i>Pešera</i>)	<i>Alikulip</i> , <i>Alakaluf</i> , etc.
<i>Lecheyel</i> (<i>Lešeyel</i>)	<i>Calen</i>
<i>Yekinawe</i> (<i>Yequinahuere</i> , etc.)	<i>Taijatof</i>
<i>Chono</i> (<i>Tšono</i>) (<i>q. v.</i>), <i>Caraica</i> (<i>Karaika</i>), and <i>Poya</i> may also belong.	

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Radwan, 1929; Raimondi, 1862; Raimundo, 1934; Rat, 1897-98; Recalde, 1924, 1937 a, 1937 b; Reich, 1903; Reich und Stegelmann, 1903; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1944, 1945 a, 1945 b; Reinburg, 1921; Remedi, 1896, 1904; Renault, 1904; Restivo, 1892; Restrepo Canal, 1936; Reye, 1884; Rice, 1930, 1931, 1934; Richter, 1928; Rimbach, 1897; Ripalda, 1923; Rivas, 1944; Rivet, 1905, 1907-08, 1910 a, 1910 b, 1911 a, 1911 b, 1912 a, 1912 b, 1916, 1920 a, 1920 b, 1920 c, 1921 a, 1921 b, 1924 a, 1924 b, 1924 c, 1924 d, 1925 a, 1925 b, 1925 c, 1925 e, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927 a, 1927 b, 1927 c, 1928, 1929 a, 1929 b, 1930 a, 1930 b, 1934, 1941, 1943, 1943-44; Rivet, Kok, and Tastevin, 1924-25; Rivet and Oppenheim, 1943; Rivet and Reinburg, 1921; Rivet and Tastevin, 1919-24, 1920, 1921, 1924, 1927-29, 1931, 1938-40; Roberts, F. J., and Symes, 1936; Robledo, 1922; Robuchon, 1907; Rocha, 1905; Rochefort, 1658 (1667); Rochereau, 1926-27, 1932; Rodríguez, M. C., 1921; Rodríguez, Z., 1875; Rojas, 1942; Romano and Cattunar, 1916; Romero, C. A., 1931; Romero y Cordero, 1930; Rondón, 1910, 1915; Roquette-Pinto, 1912, 1917, 1935; Rosell, 1916; Rosen, 1904; Rosenblat, 1936; Roth, 1924; Röthlisberger, 1883-84; Rowe and Escobar, 1943; Roze M., 1938; Rudolph, 1909; Ruiz Blanco, 1888 a, 1888 b, 1892; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 a, 1876 b, 1876 c, 1876 d, 1892; Ruiz Palazuela, 1927; Rydén, 1941.

Saavedra, 1931; Sáenz, 1876; Saffray, 1872; Sagot, 1882; Saint-Hilaire, 1830-33, 1847-48, 1851; Sala, R. P. A. M., 1920; Sala, G., 1897, 1905-06; Salas, 1918, 1919, 1924; Salathé, 1931-32; Saldias, 1912; Sampaio, T., 1890, 1912; Sánchez Labrador, 1896, 1910-17; San Román, 1890; Santa Cruz, 1913, 1921, 1922, 1923 a, 1923 b; Santa Teresa, 1924; Santo Tomás, 1891; Santos, N. C. dos, 1934 a, 1934 b, Sañudo, 1923; Sapir, 1925; Sapper, 1897, 1901, 1905; Schermair, 1934; Scherzer, 1855; Schmidt, 1860, 1912 a, 1912 b; Schmidt, M., 1902, 1903, 1905, 1912, 1914 a, 1914 b, 1917, 1929 a, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1937 a, 1937 b, 1937 c, 1938, 1941, 1942; Schmidt, W., 1905, 1925, 1926; Schomburgk, 1847-48, 1849; Schuller, 1906, 1907 a, 1907 b, 1908, 1911 a, 1911 b, 1912 a, 1912 b, 1912 c, 1912 d, 1913 a, 1913 b, 1913 c, 1913 d, 1916, 1917, 1917-18, 1919-20 a, 1919-20 b, 1921, 1925, 1928, 1930 a, 1930 b, 1930 c, 1933, 1936; Schultz, T., 1816 (1850); Seemann, 1853; Seler, 1885, 1902 a, 1902 b; Selva, 1922; Senna, 1932; Serrano, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c, 1941; Sigifredo, 1942-45; Silveira, A. A., 1921; Silveira, E. da, 1935; Silveira, G., 1938; Simões da Silva, 1924; Simon, 1887; Simpson, 1940 c; Simson, 1879 a, 1879 b, 1886, 1899; Skinner, 1920; Skottsberg, 1913, 1915; Snethlage, E., 1910, 1932; Snethlage, E. H., 1931, 1932 a, 1932 b, 1936; Socrates, 1892; Solari, 1928; Solís, 1923, 1928; Solíz Rodríguez, 1926; Souza, A., 1916 a, 1916 b, 1920; Souza, C., 1875; Speck, 1924; Spegazzini, 1888; Spix and Martius, 1823-31; Squier, 1852, 1853, 1858; Stahel, 1944; Steere, 1903; Steffen, 1923; Stegelmann, 1903; Steinen, 1886, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1901, 1904, 1906, 1912; Steinthal, 1888; Stiglich, 1908; Stirling, 1938; Stoll, 1884; Storni, 1944; Stout, 1947; Stradelli, 1910, 1929; Strömer, 1932; Studart, 1926; Suárez, 1930; Suárez de Cepeda, 1923; Swadesh, 1939; Sympson, 1926.

Tagliavini, 1928; Talbet, 1926; Talbot, 1931-32; Tapia, D., 1888; Tascón, 1934; Tasso Yatahy, 1918; Tastevin, 1908, 1919, 1923 a, 1923 b, 1923 c, 1923 d, 1924, 1928 a, 1928 b; Taunay, 1868, 1888; Tauste, 1888; Tavera-Acosta, 1907, 1921-22, 1930; Tadolini, 1856; Taylor, 1946; Tebboth, 1943; Techo, 1673; Tello, 1913 b, 1923, 1931; Terán, 1917; Teschauer 1914, 1921, 1927; Tessmann, 1928, 1929, 1930; Teza, 1868; Thiel, 1882, 1886; Thomas, C., and Swanton, 1911; Thouar, 1891; Tocantins, 1877; Tola Mendoza, 1939; Tonelli, 1926, 1927, 1928; Torres, A. M., 1931; Torres Rubio, 1603, 1619, 1754; Touchaus, 1908; Traña, 1882; Triana,

1907; Trombetti, 1925, 1928; Tschudi, 1853, 1866-69, 1884, 1891; Tulcán, 1934 a, 1934 b.

Uhle, 1890, 1896, 1919, 1931; Up de Graff, 1923; Uribe, 1883; Uribe Ángel, 1885; Uricoechea, 1854, 1871, 1877; Urteaga, 1895.

Vacas Galindo, 1895, 1903 a, 1903 b; Vaisse, Hoyos, and Echeverría y Reyes, 1895; Valcárcel, 1933; Valdivia, 1607 a (1894, 1940), 1607 b (1918), 1887 (1606), 1897; Valenzuela, 1918-19; Valle Cabral, 1880; Vallejo, 1910; Vara Cadillo, 1931, 1937; Vásquez, 1902; Vázquez, 1921-24; Veigl, 1785 a, 1785 b; Velasco, 1840; Velazco Aragón, 1923; Velázquez, 1916; Vellard, 1934-35, 1937; Vellard and Osuna, 1934; Verneau and Rivet, 1912-22; Vianna, 1928; Vignati, 1931 d; Villareal, 1921; Villavicencio, 1858; Viñaza, 1892; Vocabulario comparado . . ., 1892; Voegelin, 1941; Vogt, P. F., 1902-03, 1904.

Wallace, 1853; Wassén, 1933, 1934 a, 1934 b, 1935, 1937, 1938; Wechsler, 1917; Wegner, 1934 a, 1934 b, 1934 c; Whiffen, 1913, 1915; White, 1884 a, 1884 b; Wied-Neuwied, 1820-21; Wiener, 1880; Wilczynski, 1888; Williams, J., 1924, 1928-29, 1932; Wissler, 1917 (1922, 1938); Wolfe, 1924.

Yangues, 1888; Young, T., 1842.

Zeballos, 1915, 1922 a, 1922 b; Zeledón, 1918; Zidek, 1894.