The Language of the Tacana Indians (Bolivia).

By RUDOLPH SCHULLER †.

a) Literature.

The only known vocabulary of the Sapibocona ¹ dialect is that which has been inserted by the ex-Jesuit Lorenzo Hervas in the works listed below ².

- # "Aritmetica delle nazioni e divisione del tempo fra l'orientali". Opera dell'abbate don Lorenzo Hervas. Cesena, per Gregorio Biasini, 1786, p. 102³;
- # "Vocabulario poligloto con prolegomeni sopra più CL. lingue dove sono delle scoperte nuove", &c. Cesena, 1787 ⁴.

This material has been partially reprinted by ADELUNG in his

"Mithridates, oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in beynahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten, von Johann Christoph Adelung... bearbeitet von Dr. Johann Severin Vater. Dritter Theil. Erste Abtheilung. Berlin, 1812, p. 571 and p. 576 ⁵.

The Sapibocona glossary has likewise been reprinted in Balbi's "Atlas Ethnographique du Globe", Paris. Rey et Gravier, 1826, Tab. XLI, No. 467.

According to Ludewig 6 vocabularies and grammatical notes on the Tacana and Maropa are to be found in D'Orbigny's "L'Homme Américain", I, p. 359 and p. 376 (Tacana); p. 380 (Maropa).

LUDEWIG related the Tacana and the Maropa to their neighbors, the Xuracaré, whose language, however, differs from that spoken by the former.

The Sapibocona numerals 1—10, from Balbi, op. cit., p. 74, were reprinted by Prof. Pott 7 in his

"Die Quinäre und Vigesimale Zählmethode bei Völkern aller Erdtheile." Halle, 1847.

¹ Ludewig, "The Literature of American Aboriginal Languages". London, 1858, p. 168, gives erroneously the Sapibocona as related to the Kétšua.

² Regarding to the items signed with # I relied on Ludewig, op. cit.

³ Vol. XIX of the work "Idea dell' Universo, che contiene la storia della vita dell' uomo", etc.

⁴ Vol. XX of the same work.

⁵ See also "Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa, August, (Catherina II) cura collecta (a P. S. Pallas digesta)". Petropoli, 1786—1789. — "Das Gebeth des Herrn oder Vaterunsersammlung in 152 Sprachen." Herausgegeben von Gustav von Bergmann. Gedruckt zu Ruien 1789. — "Oratio Dominica CL linguis versa", etc. Edente Marcel. Parisiis, Anno repar. sal. 1805.

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 206-207.

⁷ Op. cit., "Addenda" by Prof. WM. W. TURNER, p. 238.

Thirty-nine words and the numerals 1—20 were gathered by WEDDEL from Tacana Indians, probably at the Mission of Guanay, on the river Mapiri. These data are found in the following work:

"Voyage dans le Nord de la Bolivie et dans les parties voisines du Pérou ou visite au district aurifère de Tipuani." Paris and London, $1853~^{\rm s},~p.~456.$

Weddel's glossary and the numerals were reprinted by Lafone Quevedo 9 .

The earliest known printed text in Tacana is a small octave of forty-one pages, "Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en Idioma Tacana", por un Misionero del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de La Paz de Ayacucho. 1859. Imprenta de Vapor. — Calle de la Aduana, No. 356 10.

The text is entirely in Tacana, without the corresponding Spanish. The Lord's Prayer and the Creed in Tacana were reprinted by Brinton 11.

The author of this "Catecismo" was the Franciscan missionary Father José de Comas 12.

There is another "Catecismo" in Tacana and Spanish composed by the Franciscan missionary Father Antonio Gili. This treatise had been printed in 1862, at La Paz ¹³, and lately it was reprinted by Lafone Quevedo ¹⁴.

The only data regarding the Guariza dialect is found in Prof. E. Tezza's "Saggi Inediti di Lingue Americane". Appunti bibliografiche. Annali della Università Toscana. X. Pt. I. Scienze Nool. Pisa, 1868 15.

The Lord's Prayer in this dialect has been reprinted by Dr. D. G. Brinton 16.

- The numerals 1—20, 30, 40 and 100 (most probably taken from Her-VAS-ADELUNG) were inserted also by Prof. FRIEDRICH MULLER, in his

"Grundriß der Sprachwissenschaft", II. Band. Anhang, p. 438, Wien 1882.

In the comparative vocabulary appended to the article, "Dialects of Bolivian Indians", by the well-known American explorer E. R. Heath ¹⁷, there is a Maropa glossary, 156 words of which were inserted by Dr. Brinton in the "English-Tacana and Dialects Vocabulary" ¹⁸.

⁸ LAFONE QUEVEDO, "Tacana", p. 7, gives 1850 (?).

⁹ Op. cit., p. 8.

¹⁰ Brinton, "Studies", pp. 13-14. — Schuller, "Weitere Ergänzungen zur Bibliographie der Nu-Sprachen (Pano-Gruppe)" "Anthropos", VI, 1911, p. 640.

^{11 &}quot;Studies", pp. 14-15.

¹² Sanjinés, "Manual", p. 3.

¹³ Sanjinės, op. cit., loc. cit.

^{14 &}quot;Tacana", pp. 109-133.

¹⁵ BRINTON, op. cit., p. 8.

¹⁶ Op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁷ "A Philological contribution from information gathered during three years residence in the Department of Beni, in Bolivia"; in "Kansas City Review of Science and Industry". Vol. 6, No. 12, 1883. — All my endeavors to find this most valuable paper in the libraries of Vienna have been fruitless.

¹⁸ Op. cit., pp. 15-19.

As to the Maropa dialect, my study is based upon Brinton and Cardús ¹⁹. Father Cardús published twenty words and twenty-eight sentences in the Cavineña ²⁰, and nineteen words and twenty-eight sentences in the Maropa dialect ²¹. These glossaries have also been reprinted by Lafone Quevedo ²².

Tacana, Araona and Cavineña vocabularies occur in Armentia's "Navegación del Madre de Dios", Biblioteca Boliviana de Geografía e Historia, I, La Paz, 1887. Extracts from the Araona glossary we find in Lafone Quevedo's "Cavineña" ²³.

One hundred eighty-three Tacana words, forty-four Araona and forty-three Cavineña words (from Armentia, 1887) were incorporated by Brinton in the "Tacana and Dialects-Vocabulary" ²⁴.

References to the Tacana language we find also in Brinton's "The American Race". New York, 1891, pp. 298—300 (cf. also the edit. of 1892). The linguistic appendix contains sixteen words and the numerals 1—5 from the Tacana, sixteen words and the numerals 1—5 from the Maropa, and eleven words and the numerals 1—3 from the Sapibocona dialect ²⁵.

Brinton's second contribution to the study of this linguistic branch bears the following title: "The Tacana Language and its dialects" ²⁶. The comparative vocabulary also contains twenty-three words of the Sapibocona from Hervás ²⁷. The Tacana proper words, about one hundred and twenty-two were taken from Armentia, 1887; and eight words from a closely related dialect chosen from Weddel's glossary. The numerals given by Brinton are borrowed words ²⁸.

Most valuable indications with respect to certain peculiar sounds in the Tacana dialect are contained in Father Sanjines' "Manual en el idioma Tacana, para el servicio de los Padres misioneros y aun para el de los patrones de Barracas ²⁹, donde hay esparcidos algunos miles ³⁰ de naturales Tacanas" compuesto por el R. P. F. Fernando de M. Sanjines. Small-8vo, printed in 1891 at La Paz ³¹.

The grammatical sketch, based chiefly on Armentia, 1887, is followed by

^{19 &}quot;Las Misiones Franciscanas", etc., p. 311.

²⁰ Op. cit., pp. 311-312.

²¹ Op. cit., pp. 314-315.

²² "Cavineña", pp. 117—120. The Tacana glossary occurs again on pp. 117—118; and again on pp. 119—120.

²³ Pag. 23-24; cj. also pp. 17, 18 and p. 19.

^{1 24 &}quot;Studies", pp. 15—19, according to the reprint from the "Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society". Philadelphia, 1892.

²⁵ Pag. 358; on p. 300 there occur also eight words from the Tacana compared with the corresponding Kétšua.

²⁶ "Studies", pp. 7-21. My quotations are made according to the reprint.

²⁷ Op. cit., pp. 15-19.

²⁸ See also "Tacana-English Vocabulary", pp. 19-21.

²⁹ Settlements of rubber traders in the virgin forest.

³⁰ It seems somewhat exaggerated.

³¹ The copy of the "Manual" I found in the library of the "Anthropos" at Sankt Gabriel-Mödling, is defective, being missing the title page (III — 108 pp.).

the "Doctrina Cristiana", which runs from p. 17 to p. 77. The "Names of Consanguinity", etc., are found on pp. 77--79.

The songs in Tacana only run from p. 80 to p. 82. "Popular Spanish Songs" are to be found on pp. 83—91. The "Breve Formulario de Frases y Voces en Tacana (-Spanish) para facilitar el trato con los Indios", it contains about two hundred and forty-one words and one hundred and forty-six sentences in Tacana with the corresponding Spanish translation, pp. 92—101.

These treatises are followed by a "Doctrina Cristiana" in the Pacaguára (Pano) language. The text is entirely in Pacaguára, without the corresponding Spanish text, and it runs from p. 104 to p. 108 32. This is the earliest, perhaps the only known printed text in the Pacaguára language. Further more, we possess the linguistic materials gathered by the missionary and pioneer Father NICOLÁS ARMENTIA, O. F. M.

The vocabularies and grammatical notes were commented and annotated by the Argentine savant Lafone Quevedo and published under the following title:

- a) "Tacana, Arte, Vocabulario, Exhortaciones, Frases y un mapa por el R. P. Fr. Nicolas Armentia. Oraciones y Catecismo por el Rev. P. Fr. Antonio Gili, misionero de la Recoleta de La Paz." Introducción y notas por Samuel A.(Lejandro) Lafone Quevedo, M. A. La Plata, Talleres de Publicaciones del Museo, 1892. (Biblioteca Lingüística del Museo de La Plata. Sección de Bolivia. Tomo I. Primera Parte.) In 4to. 135 pp.
- b) "Cavineña o Cavina. Arte y Vocabulario. Manuscrito del R. P. Fray Nicolás Armentia", ordenado con notas por Samuel A. Lafone Quevedo, La Plata, 1904. In 4to. 120 pp.

On pp. 30—32, there occur "Oraciones Cavineñas", viz., the "Padre Nuestro", the "Ave Maria", "El Credo" and "Yo Pecador", with the Spanish interlinear translation.

Finally, there is an anonymous and not yet published manuscript dealing with both the Moseteno and Tacana Language which I found in the library of the "Anthropos" ³³. The MS. bears no date, nor name of the author. It is very legible and judging from the letter, it is probably the work of a Spanish missionary of the past century. As to the Moseteno, it is doubtless an original work ³⁴. The twenty sentences in Tacana with the corresponding Spanish translation occupy one page and a half, twenty lines to the page, of a notebook in small 4°. So far as the contents are concerned, these sentences are the same as those which occur at the end of Father Gill's "Catecismo" ³⁵.

Yet a careful comparison shows that the translation of the Spanish sentences into Tacana must necessarily have been made by two different persons. Thus:

³² It was taken from a Mss. written 1851 by a Franciscan missionary.

³³ Languages: Am. 52.

³⁴ Further details will be found in my paper on the Moseteno.

³⁵ "Tacana", p. 134, especially 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 44 and 45.

Sentences:Anonym'ous:GILI:where from?quie-h-inetia?quie-x-enetia?dangerousre-h-adare-x-adamountain(-in)e-h-i-he(-šu)e-x-i-xe(-su)to runh-ududux-ududu

Aspirated h became guttural x, palatal \dot{s} became dental s.

b) Phonology 36.

The letters f, l and s (Spanish ce, ci) are lacking in Tacana, Cavineña, Araona and Maropa. The pre-dental z, however, is pronounced like f by the Araona women, as for instance, Mafifi, instead of Madidi (Mazizi).

- z It represents Armentia's d and Sanjines' d (English th).
- š It sounds like French ch in cheval.
- According to Sanjines, it is a guttural sound like j (Sp. pr.)
- x As in Spanish j (g before e and i).
- is As in Spanish ch, in noch e.
- tr It represents Armentia's d; and tr employed by Sanjines. Before e it is pronounced ts, and sometimes $t\check{s}$.

ts 37 As in Cavineña zun, navel.

According to Armentia, the Spanish \tilde{n} is lacking in Tacana ³⁸. Sanjines, however, writes *ebaña* and *ebania*, indiscriminately ³⁹.

The dental s in Spanish words seems to become palatal in these Indian languages, as for instance: misa, mass; miša ⁴⁰. Unfortunately, the authors make no reference to accentuation and vowel quantities.

The vowels are: a, e, i, o, u.

The diphthongs are: ai, au, ei, eu, oi.

Vowel and diphthong clusters occur as follows: aa, ee, ii, uu, ae, ai, au, ea, ia, ua, ei, eu, ie, iu, ue, aua, eue, iai, iua, eue, eaua.

The only clusters of consonants that I found in the material now accessible are xacti 41, jacti 42.

In these languages the rule is that only a vowel (diphthong) may be final. The authors of the different treatises referred to generally adopted the rule of Spanish pronunciation.

³⁶ Based on the "Anthropos" Alphabet; cf. "Die Sprachlaute und ihre Darstellung in einem allgemeinen linguistischen Alphabet" (Les sons du langage et leur représentation dans un alphabet linguistique général). Von P. W. Schmidt, S. V. D.; in "Anthropos", Bd. II, Heft 2 bis 6, 1907, pp. 282—1105.

³⁷ The anonymous author of the Lord's Prayer in the Guariza dialect gives etse-tra, our, while in the anonymous "Catecismo", 1859, we find tsine-su to-day (day-in, on). Pamapa tsine-su, every day-on, Father GILI also writes.

^{38 &}quot;Tacana", p. 28.

^{39 &}quot;Manual", p. 11.

⁴⁰ Mitša also occurs there.

⁴¹ "Tacana", p. 62, jacti, to make, deed; cf. p. 92, where ati to make; and p. 93, jacti, jatti, jatti, jatti (!). The latter is evidently an error.

⁴² Cf. "Creed in Tacana", Brinton, "Studies", p. 15. Sanjinės, op. cit., p. 19, gives xatti cucinasa deed-we-of (our deeds).

| body equita ecuita | |
|---|-----------|
| head etsua 43 iyuca | |
| hair etsua eina etsaru | |
| forehead etsua matina emata equiti | |
| skull etsua tsau (head bone) iyupa-tsau | |
| face ebu, bu 44 ebu-se-quini | |
| eye etua yatua | |
| eye-brow sinu sipi | |
| nose ebi, ebiam ebi | |
| mucus v'di (vizi) uixi | |
| ear eidaxa ixaca | |
| mouth ecuatsa ecuatsa | |
| tongue sana xana (to speal | k), ana |
| tooth etse etse | |
| gums etse-tsaxa etse-cunu | |
| spittle equedi ecuedi | |
| beard, chin queda, equequeda ecueducu | |
| shoulder earapa yaracaca | |
| arm ebai ebi | |
| hand eme eme-tucu | |
| finger eme-tsaxa eme-tucu-sapar | ra |
| spinal column ebedede ebebacua-tsau | |
| bone etsau etsau | |
| back bitsi ebebacua | |
| hip etimai ettima | |
| foot euatsi euatsi | |
| leg eta, etidada euatsi-mare | |
| shin-bone eta-batse euatsi-mare-tsa | ш |
| rib epareiri epere | |
| femur · etidada ettada (hip) | |
| nerve esauna exaruna | |
| lunge etsata, xatacua exasa | |
| blood (e)ami ami | |
| excrementa dumi dumi | |
| mamma atsu ctsu-pa | |
| atsu-pa atsu (milk) | |
| atsu, tsutsu (to suck) utsu-vitu (to s | |
| susu (to suck) | |
| figure eimea emeya | |
| fornication sidu ribu-ribu (free | quentat.) |
| ayllo, tribu ata 45 (consanguineous) ata | |
| father t-ata t-ata | |
| mother cuara cuacu | |
| stepfather tata-puxi (father-for) e-tata-puxi-que | |
| grandfather baba baba | |
| ancestor of the Araona Baba-bu ada tribe | |

⁴³ Cf. PAEZ: tsua, hat; etsua, hat, according to Castillo; Carib: itsugu, head; itsoque, head; Cayapa: atsua, hair; Colorado: apitsu, hair; Caiguer: aitsi, hair; Tšontal Carib: ahua, head.

⁴⁴ Carib: itsibu, face.

⁴⁵ See my paper "Die sprachliche Verwandtschaft der Maya-Quitšé mit den Carib-Aruác" in "Anthropos", Tome XIV—XV, 1919—1920.

| English | Tacana | Cavineña |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| grandmother | anu | anu |
| grandchild | utsecua | y-utsecua-que |
| stepmother | cuara-puxi (mother-for) | cua-puxi-que |
| uncle, brother of the | xuxu | cucu |
| nephew | bacua | e-bacua-pea |
| boy, man | dexa | deca |
| woman | epuna | epuna |
| lake | bai | bei |
| salt | banu | banu |
| mountain | exixe | equique |
| house | ete | etare |
| cover | matsa | maitsa |
| canoe | cuaba | cuaba |
| cedar | cuaba-du | |
| car | etaruxi | etaruqui |
| sling | livivi (from Aymará?) | viuviu |
| jug | matu | tura |
| water | ena | ena |
| rain | nai . | nei, ney |
| sun | idetti (izetti) | ixeti |
| moon | badi (bazi), batri | hadi (bazi) |
| mist, fog | rida apuda | apuda |
| fire | cuate | etiqui |
| wood | | cuati |
| ashes | etimu | etiquimuru |
| night | dida | meta |
| sky | buda | puxe |
| dark | apuda, cf. "mist" | apuapu |
| west | idetti enubiani | ixeti nubiaque |
| lightning | tseru | pupida |
| mud | xutsu-xutsu | uyu-uyu |
| nest | esaxi | exa |
| duck | suse | xexedece |
| partri dge | buni | buni |
| turdus | tsico | tsico |
| eagle | vipa, bipa | vivipa |
| ostrich | utsane | utsane |
| bird | dia | upati |
| tiger | iba | iba |
| wild boar | guabuquere | guaburu |
| rabbit | inica | inica |
| rat . | sitte | yete |
| bat | bina | vina |
| turtle | datti | dati |
| caiman | mama-mama | matuxa |
| iguana | banacua | banacua |
| rattlesnake | du | tururu |
| worm | tunu | tiunu |
| scorpion | assi | axi-pa |
| louse | bia | bia |
| wasp | bia | bira |
| bee | guasa | guaxa, guasa |
| honey (of bees) | guasa-ena (bee-liquid) | |

| English | Tacana | Cavineña |
|------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| honey (of sugar-cane) | siti-ena | |
| wild cane | bue | bue |
| bark of the tree | aquiviti | ebiti |
| maize | dixe | exique |
| pajonal | eatsi | yatsi (straw) |
| willow-tree | <i>zizi</i> | tsisi-cue |
| liane | xunu | cunu |
| name | ebani | bacani |
| voice | uts u i | etsuri |
| shame | bidu (bizu) | visu |
| piece | pedu (to break) | ayi-pexo |
| fear | iyuba, taxida | muda, baxida |
| cramp | xaribaiti | casibute |
| tickle | truqui | suqui |
| hiccough | tsudu | ts ud u |
| pus | busu | ebutsu |
| pest | tsi qu i | ихехе |
| breath (to) | XU | cuxa |
| silver | tšipilo (?) | tšipilo (?) |
| footprint | euatsi | euatsi |
| earth | еаца | |
| | medi (mezi-metri) | metsi |
| cicatrice | dipi | ipi |
| blow | tara | tata |
| to marry | xaxemiti | caneti (married) |
| " drink | idi (izi) | ixi |
| " talk | quisa-quisa (frequent.) | quisarati |
| " learn | xababetsuati | babexu |
| " burn | utsu | хихи |
| " get tired | xaduiti | cana (tired) |
| " augment | epudcuatiani (augmenting?) | epid-yameka |
| ., lade | xabuitque (imperat.) | abu |
| ,, bathe | ena-bitanisu (when they | nabiti |
| NEW ELECTRICAL CONTROL | are bathing) | |
| water | ena | ena |
| pitcher | | ena-quini |
| marsh, mud | | ena-sapa 46 |
| broth | | епа-те |
| to whiten | pasanexa | paxadaha |
| white | pasane | paxada |
| to fasten | eirs (?)-ixi (fastened) | risi |
| " catch | ina | ina |
| green | ezaua | sanada |
| dry | sara | erara |
| serious | bu-iyuda | catyidaaqui |
| round | peroruta | cuareruda |
| on, upon | (e)biasu | diaque |
| cheap | tsuxe, pitši 47 | etsuxebute |
| old | edi (ezi) | esiri |
| | | |

⁴⁶ Surely related to the Kétšua maqui-sapa, mud.

⁴⁷ Etymologically related to pitšintša, Kétšua; cf. Lenz, "Diccionario Etimolójico", etc. Santiago de Chile, 1904, voz pichincha.

| English | Tacana | Cavineña |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| stout, fat | tseida, etsei | tserida |
| thin | utsuri | utsuri |
| quick | tipeida padi, betsuda, vetsuda | venida, bibada |
| full | exexe | execuuxu |
| long | bauda | cumuda |
| insensible | ineba | inimema |
| good | saida | aida |
| bad | idama, madada | xamauati |
| much | xucuada | usuada |
| nothing, not | biame, mave, bia, ayma | ayxama 48 |
| envious | inideba | inieda |
| cold | binada | bada |
| acrid | asaxuda, saxuda | acudaha, acuda |
| smelling | ibida | ibida-xu |
| agitated | xanata | canexeti |
| before | equene | peque |
| black | devena, zevena | tseveda |
| within | mesi-xu | equini-xu |
| until | texe | exe tupu 49 |
| to wash | tracutracua | utsa |
| ., call | ivuati | igua |
| " arrive, to come | cuina | cuinana 50 |
| ., command | ecuatsasia | cuadicia |
| ., kill | itseguana | iye |
| ., look | ba-que (imperative mood) | ba |
| ., ask | baxa | baba, baca |
| " plant | bana | vaha, va |
| " put, to place | itsa | ya |
| " remain | ani-que | ani (to be) |
| ., receive | exeminia (I am receiving) | quemi |
| ., know | babe | bave |
| " suffer | tutsi | iduxo |
| " breathe | anasia | *canaxeti |
| " rob | tsi | tsiri |
| ., sow | bana, evanaxi (for sowing) | va |
| ., whistle | ui | uvia |
| ,, delay | tsunuda | tsumutati |
| ., miss a footing | diriri | rivi |
| ., row | taru | taru-taru (frequent.) |
| ., live | eide | *canaxeti (cf. to breathe) |
| ., fly | cuabetsa | eta |
| ,, enter | nubi | nubi ⁵¹ |
| ., come | epueiti | eti |
| " swallow | ibudia, ibudya | buxi |
| " bury | papa | papa |
| " see | ba | ebaña, ebania (I am see- ing) |
| " die | manu | maxu |

⁴⁸ Cf. negative particle in the Maya-Quitšé languages.

⁴⁹ Cf. "enough" Moseteno.

⁵⁰ Cf. to be born; and see also Rama: no-kuima-lut, our family "unsere Gebornen".

⁵¹ Cf. "west".

| English | Tacana | Cavineña |
|------------|--------------------------|----------|
| to swim | betsa-babe (to-swimknow) | vesa |
| ,, get wet | naya, cf. rain | nacataha |
| " be born | cuina, cf. to come | cuinatsa |
| pinch | dixu | mudi |
| ,, lick | tseu | tsexu |
| ,, weep | pa | paa |
| ., go down | bute | bute |
| ,, compose | baseta | baxexe |
| ,, believe | xei, xeipu | exene |
| ., fall | daxaxa | pacaca |
| | | |

| | - | | |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------------|
| English | Tacana | Araona | Cavineña |
| head | etsua | etsua | iy uca |
| hand | eme | eme | eme-tucu |
| foot ` | euatse | euatse | euatse |
| body | equita | ecuitsa | ecuita |
| flesh | | yami | erami |
| blood | ami | | |
| man. male | dexa | dexa | deca |
| woman | epuna | epuna | epuna |
| boy | edeave | toro (Span.?) | ebacua-pi |
| girl | epunave | ebaetsacua | ebacuna |
| father | tata | tatadi | tata |
| mother | cuara | uauadi | cuacu, cuaha, ecuaquie |
| daughter | ebaquie-puna | ebacue-puna | ebacue-puna |
| brother | dau, zau | tsau, uitsecua | xau, usi, exuquie |
| to fructify | , , | | daue, zaue |
| elder brother | dutru, zutru | | 3.0 |
| younger sister | dana, zana | tsatna | xana, nasi |
| uncle | xuxu | xuxu | cucu |
| wife | euani | | euane |
| aunt | nene | nene | nene |
| aunt (sister of the | cuaiba | | |
| mother) | | | |
| sun | izetti | itseti | ixeti |
| moon | batri | badi, bazi | badi |
| star | etubai, etuxai | etuxai | purari |
| fire | cuati | cuati | etiqui |
| trunk, tree | aqui | acui | acui |
| charcoal | etide | etesi | etiur-tseve |
| ashes | etimu | etimu | etiqui-muru |
| house | ete | etai | etare, ettare |
| canoe | cuaba | cuamba | cuaba |
| water | eavi | xubi | ena |
| earth | eaua | eugua | metsi, yana |
| tiger | ib a | i m ba | iba |
| rain | nai | nai | nei |
| river | ena | manu | ena |
| fish | see | xae | xae |
| stone | tumu | tumu | tumu |
| earth | mezi | metsi | metsi |
| on earth | eaua-su | euabba-tsu | yana-xu |
| yucca | cuabe | cuabe | cuave |
| meal | xana | xana | edduca |
| | | | |

| English | Tacana | Maropa | Cavineña |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| sun | ixetti | etsetti | ixeti |
| moon | batri | bansri | badi |
| star | etubai | buanavi | purari |
| fire | cuato | cuati | etiqui |
| maize | dixe | tsixe | exique |
| tsitsa | eidi (to drink) | itsi | tupari 52 |
| meal | xana | xana | edduca |
| water | eavi | xubi | ena |
| tiger | iba | i m ba | iba |
| rain | nai | nai | nei |
| heaven | ebacua-patša | embacua-patša | barepa, cf. "sun" Pano. |
| language | mimi | mimi | |
| to greet | mi-tsu (speaking) | | |
| sit down! | ani-ute (to sit down) | animbute | ani-buteque |
| stay here! | ani-que | | ani-que |
| What's thy name? | ai mi banime? | am bani nai? | ai bacani mi? 53 |
| to go | p u -ti | eme-puti (I go) | putisa (to flee) |
| this morning | apudaya | maputia | aputaya |
| to-morrow | maita | maita | metauya, yabare |
| ye sterday | | baunra | bie-barepa 54 |
| arrow | pia | pixda | pisa-pisa |
| Is there? | eani? | eani? | ania. |
| Where? | quie-pia? | pia-tsu? | ene-xu.º |
| to where? | quie-pia? | piax-du? | |
| with (instr. and so- cial suffix) | nee, nexe | nexe | tseve, tsebe |
| with the arrow | pisa-nee | pixda-nexe | pitsi-nexe |
| to wish, to seek | trada, S. 55 | <i>trut</i> Sda | bixadaba |
| WATE SWATTER | tsada, A. 86 | | |
| to wish | | eme trumtambaxda | bixitda-baya |
| I love | eamu mu ⁵⁷ eyu-bania | eme xaimunem- baxda | baya |
| to go | | xuyu | |
| do go! | xutrutru (to run to flee) | xuyu-xe | exuri (current) |
| English | Tacana | Guariza | Cavineña |
| our father | ecuana-sa tata | etse-tsa tata | ecuana tata |
| our mother | etsesa cuara | | etsesa cuara |
| our sins | ecuana-sa, xutša- cuana | etse-tsa xutša | |
| our enemies | maxai (enemy) | etse-sa maxai- cuana ⁵⁸ | maquei (enemy) |
| our food | xana (meal) | etse-sa xana | |

⁵² tupare, manioc-root in Lapaču; cf. "La Langue Lapaču", in ZE., p. 524.

⁵³ Aibeanaimi is evidently a mistake in CARDÚS, p. 312/I.

⁵⁴ Also rie-barepa (this-heaven-sun).

⁵⁵ S. Sanjinés, Cardús, 311/II, gives rsatda and marsatda, both forms, are of course, mistakes.

⁵⁶ A. ARMENTIA.

⁵⁷ emamu, in CARDÚS, is surely another mistake.

⁵⁸ Cavineña comaqueiti, war.

| English | Tacana | Guariza | Cavineña |
|------------|---|--------------------|--------------|
| day | tsine, S. tsine, 1859 50 | | |
| | tsine, G. 60 sine, A. | | |
| thy name | mizue ebani | mixe evani | micue bacani |
| went up | troati, 8. soati, 1859 tsuatida, G. | | tsura-cuare |
| | tuati, tsuati, A. | | |
| to-day | xeave, 1859 xeave, S. | xeabe | riquie |
| they wish | mique enime, 1859 | mixe enime | micue enime |
| do give! | tia-que | tia-xe | tia-que |
| to give | tia | | tia |
| on earth | eaua-su | eubba-tsu | yana-xu |
| | eawa-su, S. eaua-su, G. | | |
| to be | рари | раран | рари |
| forgive | itsenuba | | |
| forgive us | | etsebe-itsenuba-xe | |

Instead of the peculiar sound (tr) tr, which had been used by Armentia in his first Tacana glossary, this author employed ts. That peculiar sound had also been noted by the American explorer Heath. Thus:

| English | A. 1887 | HEAT | гн | A. 1902 | as it should read: |
|----------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------------|
| bone | etro | etra | | etsau | etrau |
| breasts | atru | atru | | atsu | atru |
| chest | etredu | etsen | tru | etsedu | etrezu |
| foot | equatri | evatr | i | euatsi | ecuatri |
| mouth | aquatri | equat | ra | ecuatsa | ecuatra |
| brother | tsau | betri | | dau | zau |
| man | dexa | trexa | | dexa | trexa |
| moon | barri | bantr | i | batri | batri |
| earth | medi | metri | | medi | mezi, metri |
| day | trine | tsine | | sine | trine |
| tortoise | dati | trati | | dalti (?) | trati, zati |
| mosquito | di | tri | | di, tsui | tri, zi |
| to sing | satsu | tsatri | ı | sautsa 61 | sautru |
| English | Tacas | n a | Maropa | s a | pibocona |
| head | etsua | | etsuxa | | etsuxa |
| hair | etsua-eine | ı | etra | | etsau |
| eye | etratrunt | ru etua | etatsuntru | 1 | etuatsuru |
| forehead | etsua mai | ina emati | emmata | | emata |
| nose | evi, evian ebiani | ii, ebi, | evi | | evi |
| tongue | eana | | eana | | eana |
| | | | | | |

⁵⁹ The "Catecisme".

⁶⁰ G. GILI.

⁶¹ As to Armentia 1887 and Heath's Maropa, my quotations are based upon Brinton's "Studies".

| English | Tacana | Maropa | Sapibocona |
|-------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------|
| hand | eme | eme | eme |
| neck | etipi | etipi | etipi |
| foot | ecuatsi, ecuatri | evatri | ebbatsi |
| God | edutse | | erutsi |
| man | dexa | <i>trexa</i> | reansi |
| (my) father | rema tata | qui-tata | tsecua |
| (my) mother | quema-cuara | qui-cua | cua |
| woman | epuna | anu | anu |
| grandmother | ane | | |
| fire | cuati | cuati | cuati |
| lightning | tseru-tseru | xili-xili | ilapa |
| day | trine | <i>trine</i> | tsine |
| heaven | ebacua-patša | embacua-patša | evacuaepana |
| earth | metri, mezi, eaua | metri, eugua | metsi |
| water | ena | xuvi | euvi |
| lake | b a i | bai | eubi-bure |
| river | ena | | enac |

As to the borrowed words in the Tacana, Brinton gives, among others, the following forms:

bruada cold
metsi earth
etai house (Maropa)
drexa man (Maropa)
maita 62 morning
esi old
eruxai (etuxai) star

Yet none of these words is related either to the Kétšua or to the Aymará. dr(-exa) is evidently the dental affricative tr, as, for instance, in batri, moon.

etai, house, is one of the numerous forms in the Tacana dialects which points towards the Carib-Aruác linguistic family.

We find in

Guaná p-eti house Kustenáu eti pudenda Moxo p-eti house Araicú p-e(t)i house Bakaïrí v-eti my house Makuší house eu-ete Paravilhana ev-ode house infans nidus habita-Pano baquenna nete tio matrix.

Nor can I see any relationship between sixe, dixe, exique, maize and the Kétšua word tsertsi, roasted maize.

maize

| Pano | sequi |
|--------|--------|
| Culino | tšüqui |
| Piro | šinque |
| Atsíri | šinque |
| Amuéša | šinque |

⁶² maylla in Aymará may come from the Spanish mañana, though maita is genuine Tacana, as well as metsi, esi, exuxai, etc.

As to the origin of the Tacana word *umatša*, *umarsi*, tobacco, Brinton ⁶³ asserts, that it is borrowed, doubtless from the Tupí *put-uma* (in the modern Guaraní as spoken in Paraguay *pety*). Yet, the exact Tupí-form is *pijtýma*. The Tacana word for tobacco can rather be claimed for the Carib-Aruác.

Cf. for instance:

| Taino | ta-b-acco | the bifurcated tube 64 |
|-------------|------------|------------------------|
| Carib | m-aco | tobacco |
| Betóye | aque | tobacco |
| Ipurucoto | acui | tobacco |
| Maquiritari | m-acque | tobacco |
| Xabarana | m-az-acque | tobacco |
| | yex-m-aque | to smoke |
| Amuésa | ye-m-ats | tobacco |
| Sipibo | si-aqui | tobacco |
| Piro 65 | iri-p-axi | snuffing tobacco |
| Mobima | yu-m-ares | tobacco |
| Cavineña | u-m-axa | tobacco |
| Maipure | ei-m-a | tobacco |
| Tariána | xee-m-a | tobacco |
| | | |

The following examples will illustrate linguistical and cultural relations between the Tacana and Carib-Aruác.

| English | Tacana | Cavineña | Pano |
|------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|
| mamma | atsu, atru-pa | susu, afru-timare | suma |
| female breasts | | | suma |
| milk | | atro | suma, enne |
| to suck | tsutsu | susu | cucciu 66 |
| uncle | xuxu | cucu | cuca |
| flesh | eami | erami | nami |
| blood | ami | ami | ximi |
| bone | etsau | etsau | sau |
| spinal column 67 | | | casa-tsau |
| to fornicate | tsotati | | tsuta |
| spittle | equedi | ecuedi | queno |
| mouth | ecuatsa | ecuatsa | quesa |
| leg | eta | | vitas |
| to breathe | xu | cuxa | hucu (cough) |
| blind | pada | uxunxu | cusun-qui |
| to hear | | exacaqui | micaqui |
| tongue | eana 68 | xana | ana |

^{63 &}quot;Studies", p. 10.

⁶⁴ The Taino-Ahiti word for the plant is *cohèba; cf.* OVIEDO "Historia General y Natural de las Indias". Madrid, 1851, I, lib. V., Cap. II, pp. 130—131. See also plate 1, where is found a picture of the bifurcated tube of cane to which was applied the name *tabaco*. The *cohiba*, generally, had been simply snuffed into the nostrils.

⁶⁵ The Piro-Simirintši, called also Tšonta-quiro, today almost extinct, formerly occupied the virgin forests of the upper Ucayali, the Urubamba, the Tambo and Peréne.

⁶⁶ Cf. cucu, maternal uncle.

 $^{^{67}}$ By v. d. Steinen, "Diccionario Sipibo", p. 31/I, erroneously translated Dorn, Stachel.

⁶⁸ The tribal name Tac-ana is etymologically related to e-ana.

| English | Tacana | Cavineña | Pano |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------|--|
| language | | ana (word) | |
| tail (of animals) | | ina | hina, xina |
| grandmother | anu | anu | s-anu |
| son | ebacua, ebacue, G. | ebacua | baque |
| matrix | ete, etai (house) | ettare | baquenna nete |
| | | | (child-of-house) |
| people | ери | | cai-bo |
| woman | epu-na | epu-na | |
| wasp | bia | bira | bina |
| louse | bia | bia | hia |
| mosquito | tsiu | | sio |
| butterfly | | apui | puenpue |
| squirrel | | danapa | capa |
| hedgehog | ida | ixa . | hiza |
| snail | buturu | | buto |
| wax | bini | vini | bui |
| flower | sasa | | xua |
| camote | xariri | | cari |
| maize | exique | dixe | šegui |
| barbasco | zata | | sadta |
| beans | xixiu | | xusu |
| to plant | bana, evana-xi | va, vaha | bana-qui, banei |
| tartago (palm) | tauadaua | | tau (Tarapoto palm) |
| straw, plant | eatsi | xats | huasi |
| to burn | | xuxu | utsu |
| wood, forest | cuati | cuati | caru |
| yucca | cuabe | cuabe | atsa |
| harina (of man- | asa (Moseteno) | | atsa-poto |
| dióca) | × × | | • |
| fire | cuati | etiqui | tsi |
| hot | cuasi | | |
| charcoal | etide | etesi | tsiste |
| trunk, tree | aqui | ecui, acui | huihi |
| ashes | etimu | tsim | tši map u |
| flame | si-cue | xuxu | utsu |
| moon | batri | badi | usi |
| sun | izetti | ixeti | bari |
| heaven | | bare-pa | nai-cu |
| rain | nai | nei | nai-butsi-qui |
| air | naixe (Moseteno) | | The state of the s |
| arrow | pisa-pisa | pia, pixda | pitsa, piia (Jaunávo) |
| bow | pisa-tsue | | pia (Maxuruha) |
| to measure | tupu-ha | | tupun-qui |
| measure | 500.000* 500.0000 | | tupu-na |
| enough | tupu (Moseteno) | | • |
| liquid (water) | ena | ena | enne |
| milk | | | suma-enne |
| honey | quasa-ena, cf. bee | | bui-enne, cf. wax |
| river | ena | ena | gene |
| border | ena-xe | | gene-quesa |
| beach | ena-maxe, cf. tsu- | | maši, patši |
| | maxe-xe | | ANTINOTOGONE GENDANISTI |
| rivulet | ena-baque (river- | | |
| | son) | | |
| Anthone WYVIII 100 | | | |

| English | Tacana | Cavineña | Pano |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------|-----------------|
| broth | ena | ena-me | enne |
| to nail | tata | | tatsa (nail) |
| " make | aque, S., aha, A. | aha | acqui, accai |
| " come, to | xuyu-xe! | exuri! | xuai! |
| arrive (by foot) | | | xui-que |
| affinity (by blood) | ets-ama (-belly) | ebacua | cf. son, matrix |
| foetus | mabbe | maqui | |
| enciente Indian | etsama | utsama | sama |
| virgin | , | xaxama | |
| to conceive | xamabiati | | |

Consonants are liable to change of mode of articulation. Thus, gut-tural become palatal.

| English | Tacana | Cavineña |
|-------------|-----------------|------------|
| breath | хu | cuxa |
| ear | eidaxa | ixaca |
| to hear | idabaxa | ixabaca |
| uncle | xuxu | cucu |
| man, male | dexa | deca |
| oar | etaruxi | etaruqui |
| mountain | exixe | equique |
| liane | xunu | cunu |
| to rest | xanaua | canaara |
| " get tired | xaduiti | cana |
| ., ask | baxa | baca |
| " fall | daxaxa | pacaca |
| ,, receive | exeminia | quemi |
| ,, rebel | xadu-xati | cac-i-cati |
| ., roast | eidaxi | eina-qui |
| " roll up | xaperuruata | capiruriti |
| acrid | saxuda, asaxuda | acuda |
| under | emaxe | emaque |
| naked | xabi-xati | cavi-cati |

Noteworthy are the following examples:

| mamma | tsutsu | utsu |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| head | etsua | iyuca |
| mud | xutsu-xutsu | иуи-иуи 89 |
| to kill | itse | iye |
| ,, put | itsa | ya |
| " suffer | tutsi | iduxo |
| devil | itsagua | ixaua |
| cheap | tsuxe pitsi | etsuxebute |
| to swim | betsa | vesa |
| grandchild | utsecua | y-utsecua-que |
| to rob | tsi | tsi-ri |
| lungs | etsata | exasa |
| I go to learn | xababa-etsuati | babexu |
| to burn | utsu | xuxu |
| worm | sutsu | tsuxu |
| | | |

⁶⁹ This word seems to be related to the Kétšua.

| English | Tacana | Cavineña |
|---------------|------------------|------------|
| camp | eatsi | yatsi |
| footprint | euatsi | euatsi |
| master, owner | eme-tse | eme-tse |
| rat | sitte | yete |
| pus | busu | e-butsu |
| nerve | esauna | exaruna |
| nest | esa-xi | exa |
| scorpion | assi | axi-pa |
| bee | guasa | guaxa |
| white | pasane | paxada |
| in (locat.) | su | xu |
| in | su | tsu |
| fornication | sidu | ribu |
| sun | izetti | exeti |
| thorn | aqui-za | acui-xa |
| shame | bidu, bizu | visu |
| old | sinu | sipi |
| flower | sasa | saisa |
| much | xucuada | usuada |
| black | zi vena, devena | tseve-da |
| unfastened | xapidu | pitsu |
| tickle | truqui | suqui |
| to wash | tracutracua | utsa |
| piece | pedu, pezu | pexo |
| to hear | idabaxa, idbaxa, | ixabaca |
| | izabaxa | |
| moon | batri | badi |
| gum | ematri | einadi (?) |

We have no indication as to vowel quantities, yet judging from the few Maropa words furnished by CARDÚS, it seems that initial e and i are lengthened by the following labial nasal m.

| English | Tacana | Cavineña | Maropa |
|---------|------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| tiger | iba | iba | imba |
| heaven | ebacua-patša | barepu | embacua-patša |
| | Further a in cuaba, ca | noe: cuaba | cuamba 70 |
| | i in anibute, | seat: anibute | animbute |

The Tacana dialects extending over a relatively small area, still seem to be related to the neighboring Indian languages. As I have said in my study on the Moseteno, the morphological and syntactical structure of the latter convey the impression that it is related to the Tacana group ⁷¹.

As to the glossary, analogies worth mentioning are:

| English | Тасапа | Cavineña | Моѕетепо |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| nephew young man | ata (tribe) na, na, son (Ara- | ata nanada . | atta nana-t |
| young man | ona) | <i>Admitte</i> | |

⁷⁰ Brinton, "Studies", p. 10, relates cuamba to the Aymará huampu, boat, but he is mistaken.

⁷¹ Op. cit., p. XCIII.

| English | Тасапа | Cavineña | Moseteno |
|----------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| sister | zatna, datna | tsatna (Araona) | |
| soul | | x-ata exuana | |
| consanguineous | ata | ata-piisi | |
| to suck | tš utš u | | tšii |
| father-in-law | xuxu (uncle) | сиси | tšutšu |
| aunt | nene | nene | tšu-ne (son-in-law) |
| grandmother | anu | anu | nono |
| wife | euani | euane | aua-ne (daughter) |
| son | | aua-di (Araona) | аи а-ти |
| God | edutsi | edutsi | doxit |
| thou | mi-da, mi-aza, mi- ada | mi-quia | mi |
| al | | tsun | ava |
| navel | tsuxumutu | sipi | oxo afi ⁷² |
| eye-brow | | 1380 W 1380 St. 1500 | |
| foot | xutrutru | exuri (current) | xu, yu |
| go! | xuyu-xe! | • | |
| head | etsua | iyuca | xutsi |
| fat, pregnant | mabbe | ive | mabe, an |
| cheek | | ebana | an |
| word, tongue | mimi ⁷³ (language) | | mic |
| water | | ena | oni |
| river | ena | | enac |
| rain | nai | nei | a-nei |
| air | 2.0 | | nei-xe |
| canoe | cuaba | cuaba | cuaba |
| cedar | cuaba-du | | |
| fire | cuati | cuati | tson |
| sun | izetti | ixeti | it sun |
| moon | baŧri | badi | iva |
| neg. part. | ma · | ma | ma |
| enough | tupu | tupu | tupu |
| | | | |

A number of words have been borrowed from their Kétšua and Aymará neighbors, such as:

| pork | cutši | year | mara |
|-------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
| cat | misi | sin | xutša 75 |
| flesh | aitša | sling | livivi (?) |
| three | animiša animitša 74 | 93 5 3 | 70 100 |

(To be finished.)

⁷² Guatuso mafi tšiku, eye.

⁷³ See simi, Kétšua, or language of the people (simi runa).

⁷⁴ Excepting one, two, in Tacana and Cavineña, five, eme-rucuata (cf. eme, hand) and ten, eme-beta-ve (hands-two), in Aracana, all the other numerals are borrowed from the Kétšua and Aymará.

⁷⁵ See also Xibaro o Siwora; and el Xebero of F. SAMUEL FRITZ. Xutša has also been introduced in the Tšolona language, of Central Perú (upper Huallaga).

The Language of the Tacana Indians (Bolivia).

By RUDOLPH SCHULLER †.

(Conclusion.)

Personal Pronouns.

The personal pronouns are compounds. It is dificult to say, whether the affix -ma is related to (uts-)ama, Indian ⁷⁶. If such is actually the case, then e-ama, i-ama signifies "I-my-being", or the like. There can be, however, no doubt as to its relationship to e-ami, body.

Synonymous with ania is surely the affix -quie, -quia in the Cavineña dialect.

For instance:

tua-tseve, with him.

tua-tseve-quie, fraternal, viz., that one-with-my-being (related by blood with me).

tu-xa-quie, that one (of-his-being), his, of him.

The same idea seems to be contained in *e-ama* (I-my-being); *i-ama*, A.; *i-quie* and *i-quia*, Cav. These affixes are merely emphatic particles 77 .

This is the only way to explain the combination of the different suffixes in the genitive of the 2^{nd} and 3^{rd} personal singular of the absolute pronouns and in the possessives, in the Cavineña.

Doubtful, however, are the forms *e-ra*, Cav. ⁷⁸, *mi-ra*, thou; *tu-ra*, T., he, she. The latter two seem to be rather datives.

Cavineña

e-cuana-ra, á nosotros (to-for-us)
mi-ra, á tí (to-for-thee)
xume-ra, á aquél (to-for-that one)
mi-cuana-ra, á vosotros (to-for-you)
xuma-cuana-ra, á aquéllos (to-for-those ones)
tuna-ra, á ellos (to-for-them)

era is a mistake, for which the copyist may be blamed. The correct form of the 1st pers. sing. is doubtless e-ca, or e-xa (cf. deca, dexa, man.).

tu-be and mica-be, in the Maropa dialect signify "only-that-one", "only-you-there", respectively.

⁷⁶ ma-qui, penis, T., ma-qui, enceinte, foetus, Cav., xama-biati, to conceive, T.

⁷⁷ Cf. exui, mentrua; exu-quie, brother, sister, Cav.

⁷⁸ Cavineña, p. 28.

Cf .:

pea-ve, only one; betana-ve beta-ve those-two-only aque-ve, make it alone (thou) madada-ve, only sick tua-ve-za tue-za-ve-79 only that one ea-ve-za, this one alone eme-beta-ve, hand-two-only (ten) treca-ve (Maropa), boy (from treca, man)

The suffix -ve occurs also in diminutives, as for instance, epuna, woman; epuna-ve, girl; eanana, baby; enana-ve, tender; pitši, cheap; pitše-ve, less.

The plural is formed by adding the suffix -cuana to the stem 80. Cuana must primitively have had the sense of "people" (we, the Indians, the Tacana, only), and as such have been used to form the plural of animated beings and of those thought to be. It is still recognizable as a compound, which no doubt etymologically is related to cua-ra, mother, T., cua-cu, Cav., e-cua-i, master, Lord, T., eanana, baby, cui-na, to give birth, &c.

The same meanings ⁸¹ have the suffixes -xana, lhána, -cu-na, -quena, in the tribal names, as: Paravi-lhána, La-yaná, Uapi-sána, Are-cuna, Bare-quéna, &c.

The dental n has become palatalized in Araona. Sanjines, however, in the Tacana gives eana and eania, to be, being, indiscriminately.

xume-quie, the 3rd person sing. as given by CARDÚS, is the possessive, his, that-one-of (his-being-of-him).

The genitive of the 1^{st} pers. sing. of the absolute pronoun is formed by prefixing the element qui.

Thus:

Tacana Araona
of me qui-ema qui-ema (of-my-being)
In Cavineña, however, the particle -quia, -cue are suffixed.
of me e-cue
of thee me-cue

The genitive and the possessive are identical.

| | Tacana | Araona | Cavineña |
|----------|---------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| my | qui-ema | qui-ema etetse | e-qui-quia |
| thy | mi-que-za | mi-que emetse | mi-qui-quia |
| his, her | tu-se-za | vaza emetse | tu-xa-quie |
| our | e-cuana-sa e-cuane-za, S. | e-cuaza-xa | emetse-e-cuana-qui-quia |
| your | mi-cuana-sa mi-cuana-za, S. | mi-cuana-xa | emetse-mi-cuana-qui-quia |
| their | itšu-cuana-sa tu-nese-za, S. | xuma-cuana-xa | emetse xuma-cuana-xi-kie (quie) |

⁷⁹ Cf. ecuan-e-sa.

⁸⁰ ecua-za, we, Araona, is one of those strange forms which very frequently occur, without explanation or reference whatsoever, in LAFONE QUEVEDO'S paper on the Tacana.
81 Cf. cuna, "people", and the plural suffix in the Kétšua.

The accessible material is not so extensive as to give an accurate idea of the possessives in all their parts. Still, in the Cavineña there occur several forms, from which we may infer that the suffixes -qui, -quia, are emphatical particles, meaning of-my-being.

CARDÚS gives:

Tacana mi-quie-mimi ema babe, I understand thy language
Cavineña mi-qui-xana iquie babe
Maropa mi mimi me f ambaxda

In the short Cavineña text, as published by Lafone Quevedo, we find mi-equia ecarani-xu quie (of-thy-being-womb-in-the-being) = of thy belly; micue ebani, thy name.

Tacana mique neda, thy sickness mique epuna, thy wife mique xutsa-cuana, thy sins

The Araona possessives are followed by the word *emetse* which simply means property, possession, from *eme*, hand, *cf. eme-tsene*, to take possession of a thing; *eme-tara*, finger-ring.

The dental s and z of the Tacana possessives become guttural in both the Araona and Cavineña. The vowel a is weakened before predental z, as in: tuna, tune-za, mi-cuana, mi-cuane-zu 82.

The vocabularies and short grammatical sketches which have been published from the Tacana dialects, of course, contain serious errors both in regard to the translation and the compound nominal and verbal forms, as well as in many other respects. Least trustworthy of all are the diacritical marks. This subject to which the highest importance should have been attached was carelessly neglected in both the Tacana and Cavineña materials.

As to the 1st sing. e-ma (eama), Lafone Quevedo 83 is mistaken, for it can be subject as well as object.

Tacana

eama mutsama-xixi, I-that-loked (at)

eama zu etata, me (I) will nail

saipiave ema (good-well-being-I) = I feel well

tsama-que ema! look at me!

The suffixes za and xa, in the form mique-za, tu-xa-que, are used in the demonstrative sense.

The following demonstratives occour:

| | Tacana | Araona. | Cavineña |
|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| this | ihe-ise | uxa, uaxa | rie |
| these | ihe-cuana | uaxa-cuana | rie-cuana |
| that | itšu | xuma | xue-que |
| those | itšu-cuana | xuma-cuana | xuma-e-cuana |
| this one | xi-za | va-za | |
| these ones | xi-za-cuana | va-za-cuana | , |

 $^{^{82}}$ mi-cuane-tda (= za), your, it appears of course erroneously in the absolute personal pronouns of the Tacana-Cardús.

^{83 &}quot;Tacana", p. 108, II.

ua-xa and va-za are identical. These forms undoubtedly must have been obtained from Araona Indians, who spoke different dialects.

i-tšu, i-tšo and xu(-ma), xu(-que) are, I believe, etymologically related. The palatal t§ became guttural in the Cavineña and the Araona dialect.

The verbs are conjugated with the personal pronouns, as well as with the possessives.

In spite of the conflicting statements regarding the conjugation, a few examples may here be given.

The pronouns generally follow the verb.

Tacana eani quiema, I am
Araona ema (soy)
ania (estoy)
Cavineña iquia
ania

The present indicative is a simple juxtaposition of the infinitive and the respective pronouns, excepting the 3^{rd} person plural to which is added the particle -pa 84.

tune-za-ani-ta, they are.

By suffixing -na to the thema ani-, a tense is formed which denotes that the action has taken place not long ago.

I was:

eama
quiema } ani-na; quiema-ani-na

Tenses more or less identical with our perfect are formed by postpositions, most of them are temporal adverbs as: *mane*, before; *mane-itša*, yesterday, in Tacana; and *tsine* 85, yesterday, in Cavineña.

| | Tacana | Araona | Cavineña |
|-----------|---|-----------|----------------------|
| I was | eani-mane ani-mane-itša | eahi-mane | ani-tsine u-tsine |
| he was | ani-ta-mane ani-ta-mane-itša (a moment ago) | | ique-xua |
| they were | ani-ta-za | | |

The latter is identical with the so-called remote perfect of to have.

I had ani-za-quiema ani-za ecuanese-za ani-za-mi-quiema ani-za-mi-cuane-se-za ani-ta-ie-za-itšu-sa ani-ta-i-za-itšu-ecuane-se-za

The present indicative of to have and to be are the same. The future is formed by suffixing -ti to the thema ani-, and in Cavineña -buque.

Tacana quiema ani-ti, I shall be ani-ta-iti, they will be Cavineña ani-buque, I shall be (I will be?)

The conditional seems to be expressed by adding the following suffixes to ani.

⁸⁴ This affix occurs likewise in the 3rd person sing. of the perfect and other tenses.
85 Simply "day" in Tacana.

If I were: ani-cua-su ani-rerepu

eani-u 86 eani-su 87

ani-ta-cua-su If they were:

If I had been:

ani-cua-epu-mane-su.

Cav.: ani-cuenau-xua-ra

ani-quena-xua

or ani-cua-su ani-queneu-tsine

If they had been: ani-ta-cua-epu-mane-su

These suffixes, as already noted, are adverbial particles. Cua-su corresponds to xua-ra in Cavineña. Both are compounds. Su is evidently the locative suffix, as for instance in:

ebacua-patša-su, in the heaven (= heaven-in)

irine-su, to-day (day-in)

Guariza

I have:

tsine-su, in the evening (the day is waning)

The following is a paradigm of the verb to have.

eama eani

miaza eani itšuza eani ecuanasa eani micuanasa eani

itšucuanasa eani

or eani quiema eani miqueza

> eani itšuza eani ecuanaseza eani micuaneseza cani itšucuanasa

I had: ani-na quiema

ani-na eama

Cav.: ani-na

I had: anı-za quiema We had: ani-ta-i-za itšu-sa

They had: ani-ta-i-za itšu-cuana-sa

I have had: ani-mane-itša I had had: (e)ani-tuque-quiema I shall have: quiema-ani-ti 88

Cav.: ani-mane

ani-za

tuque-eani (?) ani-ti

ani-buque

I shall have: eama da eani 89

They will have: itšu-cuana-sa eani-ta-i-ti I shall have had: quiema xea ani-cua

Conditional.

I had:

quiema ani-cua-su

Cav.: eani su (?)

ema xea ain-cua

I should have:

quiema ani-cua-puina-su

aquene-xua, aquenetsine

aquene-cua-re

S.

We would have:

itšusa ani-ta-cua-puina-su

They would have:

itšu-cuana-sa ani-ta-cua-pui-

quiema detra ani-cua-puina,

na-su

Periphrase is very often used in the present indicative.

⁸⁶ LAFONE QUEVEDO, p. 29.

S7 LAFONE QUEVEDO, p. 20.

⁸⁸ Tacana: eani xea dapia. I (shall) will be there. ai mave da ema, I won't be there.

⁸⁹ Tacana: itšu-cuana da eata, they have to do (it).

Infinitive: du-se, to bring (here).

I bring, I am bringing: e-duse-ni (ani)

he is bringing: itšua-e-duse-tani

they are bringing: itšucuana e-duse-ta-ni

I brought: eama duse-ta-ina he brought: tueza duse-ta-na

or: tueza duse-iza

they brought: itšucuana duse-ta-iza

I have brought: eama duse-xixi

I should have brought: eama xea duse-iza

if they brought: itšucuana e-duse-ta-ni-ta-su if they had brought: tuneza e-duse-ta-cua-su

The tense corresponding to our perfect, in the Cavineña is formed by suffixing -cuare to the infinitive.

Cavineña: papa-cuare, he was buried bute-cuare, he went down bute-t-iza tsura-cuare, he went up tsua-t-iza

tata-cuare, he was nailed

Imperative.

make ye! ha-que 90 bring, duse-que 91

Cavineña: a-cue, make from aha, to make

tata-xixi

The object in most cases precedes the verb.

Tacana

miza ema ebunia, I like thee. miza ema equisaba, I will ask thee.

Though it can be placed also between pronoun and verb.

Tacana

tueza etsama-ta-ni, that (one)-me-look at-being, he looks at me. ema mi quiema enidu etiania, I-thee-my-soul-giving (giving being)

ema mi eme-baxa ema miza eme-baxa I-thee-serve.

miza ema ebunia, thee-I-like-being.

Diosua miza perdona-ta, God-thee-pardon-will.

miza Tata diosua-e-perdona-ta, God will pardon thee.

baque mi quiema ebacua, look-at-me-thy-son.

tsauaque ema, help me.

tua-ve-za miza tu-sa ebacua-patša 92 edu-su-ta, he-himself-there-thee-he-of-heaven-put-in-will.

⁹⁰ The explosive becomes palatal in the Guariza dialect, as for instance, tia xe etsetsa xana puxi, give-we-of-food-for (give us our bread).

⁹¹ Cf. Sipibo love ye: mi-hue, from miqui, to love.

⁹² Perhaps rather ebacua-patša-su, heaven-in.

ema quisa-que, ask me.

ema mu 93 eidi, I-it-drink.

ihe eaua-su ema matse-que, this-earth-on-we-castigate-do.

tueza eneiguita ecuana-sa Tata ecuana ha-xi, he-there-surely-we-of-Father-us-made 94.

tueza me ata-iza, he thee created.

du-su-que-ve-cuana, put-in-do-alone-them.

tua-ve-za miza eide eha-ta, he-only-there-thee-save-make-will.

Cavineña

riquie ecuana tiaque, give us today, today (this day-sun)-give-do. ecuana nereca-ba-cue, forgive us, us-forgive-will-do. nereca-buti-cue ecuana, free us.

nerecabana, "we forgive", in Lafone Quevedo 95 is a mistake.

Neuter verbs become transitive by suffixing the causative particle -me to them.

Tacana

aha, to make ha-que, make!

ha-me-que, have made!

Cavineña

aha, to make

а-сие

tia-me-que, cause to be given!

Sipibo

raru-ma-qui, make merry mutsa-ma-hue, cause to be adored!

Tacana

neba, to feel edi, to drink

bauna, to grow

aha, to make

segua, to raise

segua-me-xixi, the creator, maker,

tutor

9

neba-me, to cause pain edi-me, to let drink

edi-me-su, to give to drink (in side

the house) bauna-me, to stretch

a-me-puda-que, have (ye) made it

quick!

segua-me, to cause it to grow

As to the real function of the suffix -xi, Lafone Quevedo's remarks are, as we shall see here after, mere conjectures 96.

 $^{^{93}}$ mu seems to be the indefinitum. So we find mu rara, a hole; za-mu, for that, therefore.

⁹⁴ LAFONE QUEVEDO'S translation "us make" is evidently wrong. ha-xi is nomen actionis from aha, to make.

^{95 &}quot;Cavineña", p. 57, I; cf. p. 21, where we find anisa-bana, hubo, there was. Nerca, p. 57, is another mistake. It should read nereca, to request with urgency, to worry. The same may be said of nercaqui, for the verbal adjective must be nerecaqui (or neracaqui).

⁹⁶ He misunderstood Armentia's Tacana materials.

By suffixing -xi to the infinitive, verbal adjectives and nouns are formed.

tsi, to rob tsi-xi, hurt, robbed buque, to accompany epere-epere, to call upon etani, to press (squeeze)

pisa-pisa, to let fly the arrow

e-tata, to nail

tsi-pu, to rob (rob-do)

tsi-pu-xi, thief

buque-xi, companion

epere-xi, friend

etani-xi, scissors

pisa-pisa-xi, "hormiga flechadora",

ant (spec.?)

tata-xi, hammer

Adjectives derived from Substantives.

tumu, stone neda, pain budu, sky beibi. cheerfulness etse, tooth aracara, hunger

tumu-xi, stony neda-xi, sick budu-xi, clouded beibi-xi, cheerful etse-xi, being with teeth aracara-xi, hungry

Verbal Nouns.

puna, to walk equina, to keep, to attend etasia, to kick asaita 97, to treat well

puna-xi, one of feminine appearance equina-xi, concubine etasia-xi, kicked asaita-xi, well treated

The fricative x becomes explosive (guttural) in the Cavineña.

enaru, to keep ticua, to put out pieba, to tell cunabute, to kill taxaxa, to run taru-taru, to row tsapecarama, to preserve xira 99, cockscomb

epapa, pavement tse, tooth tecua, to let fly the arrow ettari, what is spun

enaru-qui, keeper ticua-qui, one who is doing so pieba-qui, story-teller cuana-bute-qui, assassin taxaxa-qui, the runner taru-qui, oar 98 tsapecarama-qui, preserver xira-qui, one who is wearing the feathercrown

epapa-qui, paver tse-qui, one who has teeth tecua-qui, arrow ettari-qui, spinner

Verbal adjectives and nouns are formed by suffixing -qui 100 to verbs and nouns.

⁹⁷ Cf. saida, good; Cav. aida, good, well; beida, satisfied; beida-xi, to be satisfied. 98 Tacana: taru, to row; etaruxi, oar; epere-babe, to know to row, from ere wood (of which rafts are made) and babe, to know. The latter being itself a compound of ba, to see, and be(ve), at once, also.

⁹⁹ Tira, tira adadaha, tiraqui, in the Cavineña glossary, p. 64, are plain mistakes; cf. also p. 55, and see p. 41, where cira is found. The exact form of the latter is undoubtedly xira.

¹⁰⁰ In the Cavineña text "Yo Pecador" (I, the Sinner), there we read Tata Dio-so ata-qui, God Father Almighty; cf. atapiisi, consanguineous.

cadiama, to exaggerate
tere, to perish
diaida, laziness
cadaiti, caution
cabacti (cabacati), devotion
caxadebate, astuteness 101
canana, whining
camaqueiti, war
apuisama, experience
caxo, hump
camuiti, honor

ixave, play iyaquediama, to console camacaca-ti (reflex.), embrace cadiama-(a)qui, exaggerated
tere-aqui, infinite
diaida-aqui, lazy
cadaiti-aqui, cautious
cabacati-aqui, devoted
caxadebati-aqui, astute
canana-aqui, sniveller
camaqueiti-aqui, warrior
apuisama-aqui, expert
caxo-aqui, humpbacked 102
camuiti-ma (honor-not)
camuiti-ma-aqui, unmannerly fellow
ixave-aqui, player, gambler
iyaquediama-(a)qui, consoler
camacacati-aqui, one who is embracing

Noteworthy is the following compound: *ixeti-ambi-aqui*, West (sun-to-go-in-doing).

In Tacana are formed verbal adjectives by suffixing -xixi.

adera, to retire ape, to finish tata, to nail aha, to make

adera-xixi, retired ape-xixi, finished tata-xixi, nailed a-xixi, made

It conveys the sense of past time when suffixed to nouns. Thus:

texusea-xixi, an abandoned field (chacra) 103.

tia 104, to give

tia-me, to cause to be given

mesia, to leave to abandon

tia-me-xixi, parcel mesia-xi, abandonned (adj.) mesia-xixi, abandonned (tense)

mesia-xi is evidently an attributive adjective, while the past participle is formed by adding the reduplicated suffix to the infinitive 105.

Adjective from adjective by suffixing -xi:

beida, satisfied

beida-xi, cheerful

In Cavineña, nouns from nouns by suffixing -qui:

pia, arrow

pia-qui 106, who is making fly the arrow

As to the formation of the reflexive verb, Brinton's statement 107 is just

¹⁰¹ Also ca-h-adebate; h seems to be a surd velar sound; cf. caxacati, mind, genious.

¹⁰² LAFONE QUEVEDO gives caxo-qui-quie, humpbacked, in the Cavineña; yet it seems to signify rather the hump; cf. etaru-qui-quie, the owner of the oar (raft-man).

¹⁰³ It corresponds to -cué in modern Guaraní; cf. tapera-cué, an abandoned dwelling-place; or Pedro-cué, when referring to the late Peter.

¹⁰⁴ tia-tia, to supply; tia-za, to add.

¹⁰⁵ Brinton is wrong, when he says, "the suffix xi appended to a noun, signifies possession, as tšipilo-xi, one having money"; cf. "Studies", p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ eani-xi, seat, from eani, to be.

^{107 &}quot;Studies", p. 13.

as inexact as what Lafone Quevedo observes 108 with respect to the suffixes -xa and -ti.

xei-xati-xi, to obey, is a compound of xei, to believe; xati, to make, and the suffix -xi. The correctness of this statement can easily be shown.

There we have xei-hati-bae-mave, disobedient 109.

x and h, as we have seen above, very often interchange, especially before, -a. It is the Tacana palatal, which becomes guttural (velar?) in the Cavineña, as for instance:

Tacana: xati, to make Cavineña: cati, to make

Thus, *xeixati*, obedient, and by suffixing -xi to this adjective, we obtain the verb *xei-xati-xi*, to obey.

The reflexive verb, however, is a compound of the respective verb and the element xa-ti, being xa prefixed and -ti suffixed to the infinitive, as for instance in

zama, to cover aapuxu, to blow up exemi-nia, I am receiving xa-zama-ti, to cover oneself xa-dapuxu-ti, to blow up oneself xa-(e)xemi 110-ti, they receive themselves (each other "casamiento"marriage)

xa-(e)uane-ti, to marry, referring to the man; and xa-(a)ve-ti, to marry, referring to the woman (they receive each other).

The following comparison will claer up the question as to the meaning of these terms:

xa-(e)uane-ti xa-(a)ve-ti c†. e-uane ¹¹¹, spouse cf. c-ave-ti ¹¹², consort cf. e-ave ¹¹³, husband ave-xi mave ¹¹⁴, woman without husband or ave-mave ¹¹⁵, not married, single woman.

cananeti, married, referring to the man, and caneti, married, referring to the woman are plain mistakes.

^{108 &}quot;Tacana", p. 25; cf. also p. 22 and p. 24.

¹⁰⁹ See "Spanish-Tacana Vocabulary", p. 87; and "Tacana-Spanish", p. 65, where are given xei-xati-xi and xei-pu, believe-make.

¹¹⁰ Of course related to eme, hand. There can be no doubt whatsoever that this term had been formed by the Franciscan missionaries. — Sanjinés, p. 74, gives exemiani, I receive. Gili, pp. 132, 133, uses miaza exemiani, thou art receiving, and etsesa xa-xemiti sanapaxi, our (Dual) marriage is recognized (recognizing, as translated by Lafone Quevedo evidently refers to etiani, which is the present participle of eti [-eani] "to-give-being"); p. 83, there occurse eave-ti-ani, marriage.

^{111 &}quot;Tacana", p. 94; cf. p. 42.

¹¹² Op. cit., p. 78.

¹¹³ Op. cit., p. 42.

¹¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 47.

^{115 &}quot;Cavineña", p. 76.

Reflexive is also xauaiduti, to rock oneself 116.

So we have:

xa-uaidu-ti

xa-cuatsa-ti, to bow oneself, from cuatsa, to bow, to impute.

Derivatives are:

xa-cuatsa-budi-ti, to kiss, kiss

xa-cuatsa-sia-ti, rule

xa-cuatsa-sia-ti-bae mave. does not know to obey

xa-cuatsa-(e)uaua-ti, sneezing (sternutation = bowing the head).

The latter contains uaua, earth, probably referring to the bowing of the head when feeling disposed to sneeze.

metsene 117, to take possession xa-metsene-ti 117, to size tua-quisa 118, to accuse

xa-tua-quisa-ti, to accuse oneself

In the Cavineña there are to be found many verbs ending in ha(xa), mostly derived from nouns.

apuisama, experience diana, joy erere, pergola ina, to catch asicatura, contamination esa, ear of the maize guaxada 119, sweet

apuisama-ha, to try diana-xa, to enjoy erere-ha, to make one ina-ha, to make inserviceable asicatura-ha, to contaminate esa-ha, to get spikes guaxa-ha, to sweeten

The suffix -ha(-xa) is undoubtedly related to aha 120 make, to do. The following are some derivatives ending in -xu (incohatives).

buxe, puxe, sky, patch esiri, age

miri, blow guani, smoke mere 122, work

buri-buri, joy 123 cuabu-ixave, ball-game buxe, patch

puxe-xu, to soil, spot esiri-xu, to grow old cana-esiri-xu, to fortify miri 121 -xu, to beat guani-xu, to smoke mere-xu, to work emere-xu, to enslave buri-buri-xu, to enjoy cuabu-ixave-xu 124, to play ball buxe-ma, patch-not (= clean) buxe-ma-cuita, patch-not-body (= chastity) buxe-ma-xu, patch-not-do (= to clean)

^{116 &}quot;Tacana", p. 25. — See "Tacana-Spanish", glossary uaidu-que, the imperative, rock ye! and uaxi, waiving, i. e., to and fro, or up and down.

¹¹⁷ Both related with eme, hand, - "Apoderarse", reflexive in both the Tacana and Cavineña. A good many of the reflexive verbs, as given in Armentia's glossary, might have litterally been translated from Spanish into Tacana and Cavineña.

Compound: Tua, eye; quisa, to say, to accuse = to say before the eyes.

¹¹⁹ See: bee and: honey.

¹²⁰ It becomes prepalatal, as for instance in iquia-ya (= of-working) = I do, I make.

¹²¹ miri-qui, stick, trunk, truncheon.

¹²² Etymologically related to eme, hand.

¹²³ Armentia, p. 47, gives also epuri-epuri-xu, joy, to delight.

¹²⁴ The balls used in the game are made of cuabu, rubber; cf. cuaba, cuabadu, cedar; cuabe, yucca; cuasi, hot; cuabi, to roast; cuati, fire; sa-cuabu, jipijapa-palm.

An idea of the formation of words, a matter of high importance, will give the following examples.

Cavineña

eme-tucu-pucaca-tsu-bana-ca-pa: slap (= in- (e)me-re-qui-xu, to enslave hand-ball [fist]-in cheek-make-hurt-the (e)me-re-aqui, laborer [face]) (e)me-re-xu-xe-qui, day-laborer eme-bucu-pucaca, hand-ball (= fist) (e)me-re-caba 125, pardon eme-suru, nail (e)me-pana-ti, to confess 126 eme-tucu-sapara (esepara?), hand-branch neti-me-re, to receive hospitality (= finger) eme-da-ha, to break into pieces (e)me-tara, finger-ring eme-tsi-quie 127, master (e)me-re, to work eme-tse, proprietor, property (e)me-re-xu, to work

| Тасапа | English | Сачіпепа |
|-------------------|-----------------|--|
| aqui | wood, trunk | aqui |
| acui | tree | ecui |
| | bush | ecui-viri |
| aqui-biri | 0.001 | |
| aqui-za | thorn, spine | acui-xa |
| aqui-eni-eni 128 | many branches | acui-xa-qui, leaf |
| aqui-tsa | branch, twig | esepara 129 |
| aqui-biti | bark | acui-ebiti |
| exixe | forest | equique |
| dixe, zixe | maize | exique |
| ediqui | Jucáya | |
| ba | to see, to look | ba, batsua, to look up |
| ba-ve | to know | ba-be |
| ba-be-xu | to learn | ba-be-tsua |
| ba-vi-tia | to teach | ba-be-pu-xa, to want to learn |
| ba-vi-tia-qui 130 | teacher | ba-be-quisa, to teach |
| quisa-ra-ti 131 | to gossip | quisa, to tell |
| quisa-ra-ti-qui | talker | quisa-quisa, to chat |
| | | ba-be-quisa quisa-quisa-xi gossiping |
| qui-su 132 -sa-ti | to invoke | sui 132 -quisa, to accuse |
| | | quisa-ba, to ask |
| | | xa-babe-tsua-ti (reflex.), to |
| | | instruct oneself, to learn ¹³³ |

¹²⁵ Surely referring to the cross (bendición) made by the missionary after the confession; cf. caba-cati, to concede.

¹²⁶ Cf. pana-ti-taqui, to take the Holy Sacrament.

¹²⁷ Instead of qui, as in mia-qui-quie, thee-of (= thy).

¹²⁸ bata-eni, nice; epu-eni-eni-eni, he is very bad (speaking of a sick person).

¹²⁹ Cf. finger in Tacana.

¹³⁰ epuna ba-vi-tia-xa-que, female teacher.

¹³¹ Cf. ara, aracara, respire, breathe.

¹³² Cf. etsuri, etsui, voice; tsui, to bite; tsudu, hiccup.

¹³³ SANJINÉS gives ba-be-tro-ati.

| The Langu | lage of the facalla flidia | iis (Bolivia). | 410 |
|------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------|
| Tacana | English | Cavineña | |
| tsu, xu | loc. suffix in, to within | tsu | |
| tsu-ra-cuare | went up | tsu-ati, to go up | |
| | | tsu-ati-za | |
| * | | f. babe-tsu-ati, want to learn | i |
| | | adera-tsua, to turn up |) |
| | | sleeves 134 | |
| | Тасапа | | |
| pie, to describe | | pie-ba, to narrate | 727 |
| pie, to describe | | pie-ba-(a)qui, narrator | |
| | | pie-ba-(a)qui-ma, what is t | not to |
| | | be told | |
| Tacana | С | avineña | |
| xae | fish | see | |
| xae-ate | fishing | sei-na | |
| xae-(a)qui | fisher | | |
| (4)444 | | | |
| | Cavineña | | |
| ne-da, pain | | ne-da-xi, sick | |
| | | ne-ba, to feel | |
| | | ne-ba-me, to cause pain | |
| nari, near | | nari-ve, quite near | |
| | | nari-a, to press | 127 |
| Tacana | | Cavineña | |
| ena | water | ena | |
| | | ena-baque, rivulet | |
| | | ena-bue, pond | |
| | | guasa-ena, bee-honey | |
| ena-caca, fruit-juice | | sita-ena, honey of cane | |
| ena-me, liquid make (= | broth) | na-pu-du, juice, broth | |
| ena-sapa, mud | | na-papata, wet | |
| ena-cata, to get wet | | na-pa-na-pu, wet 135 | |
| na-cata-ha, to wet | | na-ya | 0.0 |
| nei | rain | nai | |
| nei-xu | to rain | nai-pu, raining | * |
| na-biti, to bathe 136 | | ena-bit-ani-su, bathing | |
| baŧri | moon | batri | |
| badi-nana | novilunio | batri-xana | |

Armentia says nothing as to the formation of the participle mood. In his paper, however, there occur forms, which seem to correspond to our present

infans

nanada

ena-nada, little pond

ena-na-ve. tender

¹³⁴ xa-(a)dera-tsu-ati, to turn up one's sleeves.

cf. adera, to move;

epu-(a)dera-(a)ni, to transfer, from pu, to make and ani (eani), to be (being). bia-(a)dera, to empty; cf. bia, to make water.

¹³⁵ Also, napada-napada; and nado; cf. naho, nao, &c., rain, moon in the Carib-Aruác dialects, and see the relation between the moon and the rain, especially in mythology.

136 biti-puxi, to take off the bark; biti-ere, fish-scale; ui-xa, to take off the cloth; xa-bi-xa-ti-ba, (being) bare-bodied.

and our perfect participle. From the materials already published it is almost impossible to give an accurate idea of the formation of the future participle.

Tacana

esuru, ripe, mature 137 erada, voluminous

esuru-ani, ripening erada-(a)ni, heap rada-itsa, heap-lay rada-neti, heap-stay erada-itsa-(ha)nia, making heaps

The present participle thus is formed by suffixing to nouns and verbs or (e)ani, to be, or the present participle (eha)nia, from aha, to make 138.

Tacana

cuina, to go out idi, to drink idi-me, to cause to drink idi-me-t-ani, causing to drink

Cavineña

ecuina-na, to give birth, to arrive 139 eba, to look eba-nia, looking etsama, to look etsama-t-ani, looking Example: tueza ema etsama-t-ani, he is looking at me

In the Cavineña the present participle and the gerundium are formed by suffixing -tsu to the infinitive.

Thus:

ani, to be mere, to work inedaba, to love ani-ba-tsu, being looking mere-tsu, working inedaba-tsu, loving

etaru, rowing

The past participle is formed by adding the suffix -tsu to the imperfect and sometimes to the perfect.

Cavineña

mere-xua-tsu, having worked ineda-bana-tsu, having loved.

The suffix -xa expresses desire, wish (optative?).

Tacana

idi, to drink puti 140, to go pu, to make dia, to eat

ema idi-xa. I wish to drink ema puti-xa, I wish to go pu-xa, being disposed to do dia-dia-xa 141, hunger (eat-eat-wish)

dia-xa, I am hungry

Thlen: ida-xa, I am thirsty

tabi-xa-cuana, we are sleepy

¹³⁷ Cf. esiri, age.

¹³⁸ The editor of Armentia's materials, p. 21, misunderstood, indeed.

[&]quot;Cavineña", p. 61, quinana; cf. p. 42. The suffix -na is etymologically related to nana(da), infans; cf. cua-na, we, plural suffix; Cav. xura-cuana, filiate (affiliate?).

¹⁴⁰ Compounds are pu-ti, to go; pu-e, to come; as well as pu-xi, the particle of the dative (ema-puxi, for me).

^{141 &}quot;Tacana", p. 62, the editor of Armentia's materials is mistaken when he says that -xa is "sufijo negativo"!

No rules determining the gender are found in either Tacana or Cavineña. The Araona, however, use *deca*, *dexa*, male, and *epuna*, female, to distinguish the peculiarities in the male and female animals.

pisini-deca, roe buck vey-deca, cock pigeon misi-deca, he-cat pisini-epuna, hind roe vey-epuna, dove misi-epuna, she-cat

The case relations are expressed by means of suffixes.

Singular:

Plural:

deca, man
deca-sa, of the man
deca-puxi, to the man
deca, man

deca-cuana deca-cuana-sa deca-cuana-puxi deca-cuana

Nominative and accusative are recognizable by their respective position in the sentence.

The modifying word precedes the governing noun.

Tacana Cavineña itsua-tsau (head-bone) = skull

euatsimare-tsau 142, (leg-bone) shinbone

ena-caca, fruit-juice

barepa iyaua anaquie, heaven-earth-maker

Tacana

adune-xaxa, fruit-juice (of Tšontalore palm)

The attributive adjective generally follows the substantive. In the plural the suffix -cuana appended to the adjective, as

tsine aida-cuana, the good days (week-days)
nassa cuabi duseque, bring the roasted banana
eavi cuasi duseque, S., bring hot water
ave-xi epuna-cuana, married women

mi mique euane nexe ay madamada-cuana pu babe? Thou thee-of-wife-with-thing-bad-make-know?

etua saida nexe baque, eyes-good-with-look (= be merciful)

The following instrumental and sociative occur.

Tacana

gracia-nexe 143, by grace vino-nexe, with wine euatse-nexe, with the foot

mi-nexe, with thee ema-nexe, with me animal-nexe, with the beast

Cavineña

mere-tseve, by work

emaxu-cuana-tseve, with the defuncts (dead) 144

pucuru-tseve, horribly

mia-tseve, with thee

Araona

mi-nae, with thee

¹⁴² It would lead to far if I had to soint out here the mistakes in the Cavineña glossary. "Fé de Errata" is missing.

¹⁴³ The guttural (velar?) becomes palatalized in the Guariza dialect.

¹⁴⁴ GILI, p. 110, syas: manu-xixi-cuana duxu-su. This litterally translated means: totally within (indide), from du-xu, among, and the locative suffix -su, in; cf. eme-du-xu, fist (= hand-most-inside-interior).

By adding the suffix -tseve to nouns, adverbs are formed.

canaruti-tseve, honestly epucu-tseve, fragily etena-tseve, secretly enime-tseve, graciously caasicati-tseve, depravedly

Suffix of the instrumental is also -xa, as in etua-cuana-xa, by, through, by means of the eyes; ebiani-cuana-xa, through the nostrils; eidaxa-xa 145, through the ear.

The locative (illative, adventive, &c.) suffixes are thus:

Tacana: -su

Cavineña: -tsu

pamapa tsine-su, every day ena-su, in the river

bare-tsu quimiša 146 barepa-xu 147 tsura-cuare, went up to the heaven

te 148-su cuana eputi, we go to the "chacra" (plantation)

curusu-su tata-cuare 149, he was nailed on the cross

exixe-su epu-ani, he is in the mountain (woods)

Apolo-su mi puti-que, go to Apolo 150!

Guariza
eubba-tsu, on earth

Tacana

ema mave-su, (luck-I-am-not-in), I am not lucky ecuana pexe-su, among us beta anixude-su, on two places etse-sa cuara me-sa santo edu-su, we-two-of-mother-thee-of-holy-body-in

-su is also the suffix of the dative of the Cavineña possessive pronouns.

mi-cue-i-su, to thee ecuana-i-xu, to us mi-cuana-i-su, to you xuma-cuana-su, to those

Again guttural (velar) and dental interchange. Further:

ena-maxe, along the river ebaquie-xe, from above

du-se, to bring (in the sense of fro-to)

pu-e, to come (from to, return), while pu-ti seems to express: to go away, to leave. Dubixa, to make out (cf. n-ubi, to enter and West)

The suffix -su appears also in most of the adverbs and prepositions, the great majority of them being compounds, as:

eaua-su, below, down eti-su, ahead daxa-su, after tsine-cua-su, in the evening

ebaquie-su, above eme-xi-su, inside 151 ctsequeni-su, outside tsumaita apada-su, before night

^{145 &}quot;Tacana", p. 55, eida-xa, ear, ear-shell; eida-rara, ear-hole (ear-port).

^{· 146} From the Kétšua.

¹⁴⁷ Dental and guttural (velar) interchange (ts-x-s).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. T'é in the Maya-Kitšé dialects; and Carib-Aruác languages.

¹⁴⁹ Interesting formation of the passive.

¹⁵⁰ Probably referring to the small place called Apolobamba, Bolivia.
151 Cf. hand.

Pea badi-su cuata, one-month-in-I-leave-shall (within a month I shall leave).

The negative particle can follow as well as precede the verb.

Tacana

ai mabe da ema eputi-mabe, I won't go
mi mave sanapa, thou-not-know
nubi-xa mave ema, enter-wish-not-I
sanapa mave, not know
Cavineña
Cavineña
Maropa

ma meputi, I won't go

Nouns combined with demonstratives form temporal adverbs in the Cavineña.

rie-barepa (= that heaven) = yesterday i-quie-veca (= this-of-light) = to-day

Traces of a dual are to be found in both Tacana and Cavineña (surely used also in Maropa, Sapibocona, Guariza, Araona and the other dialects); yet, according to Armentia, the Indian generally confound (?) the dual with the plural ¹⁵².

GILI: Tata detsesa respeto asaitataxi, pay regards to your parents.

Lord's Prayer, Guariza: etsetsa tata evacuapatsa-tsu, our-Father-heaven-in-being-thou.

Sanjinės and Gili give: ecuana-sa Tata, ebacuapatša-su eanimi, and mi ecuana-sa Tata ebacuapatša-su eani-mi.

GILI, Tacana Creed: Espiritu-Santo-sa gracia-nexe etsesa cuara Virgen biame bacuai-taiza, Ghost-Holy-of-grace-with-we-of-Lady Virgin-always-was-born.

And again: Pascua aida-su etse-sa Tata xemi-ta-xi, feast-great-in-we-of-Lord-I-am (he taker-receiver).

Noteworthy are these combinations in the Cavineña dialect.

teri-quini, oil-jar
arroso-quini, rice-field
ena-quini, water-jar
equini-xu, inside
exeque-quini, maize-field
bia-quini, where many lice are found
utsa-quini, where cloth is used to be washed

As I already have pointed out, the Spanish s, as well as the Kétšua dental s, becomes either palatal or guttural (velar) in the Tacana dialects.

Spanish misa, mass Tacana miša, mitša Kétšua kimsa, three Tacana quimiša, quimitša Cavineña quimiša Maropa camiša (?)

From this we may infer that labio-nasal and dental (m, s, in kimsa) are sound clusters contrary to the rule of the Tacana phonetics. Dental d in Spanish words, as for instance, in "Padre" (Priest-Father) is simply dropped

¹⁵² Similar I noted among the modern Huaxteca Indians with regard to the exclusive and inclusive.

in Tacana. These Indians pronounce it *Pari*. The Spanish palatal *ll*, in *cu-chillo*, knife, becomes *r* in Tacana, *cutširo*. The Maropa, however, according to Heath, seem to pronounce *cu-tšillo*.

The linguistic materials referred to in the "Literature" have been taken as the basis of this study, which, indeed, does not pretend to embrace the whole grammar of the Tacana dialects. Above all, I thought it necessary to extract the most characteristic grammatical features, as the work on these idioms done by others hitherto contains many errors regarding the peculiarities of phonetics, personal and possessive pronouns, verbs, suffixes, particles, &c. Of course, additional material should now be brought together so as to afford a general survey of the Tacana and its dialects ¹⁵³.

To summarize: In the first place I have shown that the Tacana, Cavineña, Araona, Toromona, Maropa, Sapibocona and Guariza are closely related dialects. And secondly, in spite of the relatively poor and in many respects defective linguistic material, by careful inquiry and comparison of what was accessible at the present time, I have obtained data which confirm relationship between the Tacanadialects and the Panolinguistic family.

It may be useful to point out once again the most noteworthy similarities.

| English | Tacana | Moseteno | Sipibo |
|----------|----------|-------------------|---------|
| I | ea-ma | ye | ea |
| thou | mia-za | mi ¹⁵⁴ | mi, mia |
| he, his | uxa, A. | | hua |
| you | mi-cuana | mi-in | mi-bu |
| that one | tue-za | uts | tua |

The imperative in both the Tacana and Sipibo is formed by suffixing -que(-cue) and -hue to the infinitive and the verbal stem, respectively.

Tacana drink ve! idi-aue! Sipibo love! mi-hue!

Also -ma, the suffix of the negative is identical 155.

Cavineña

Sipibo

buxe, patch

hisi, to be painful

buxe-ma, cleanliness, to clean

hisi-ma, to be not painful.

Moreover, the causative is formed by the same particle.

Tacana

Sipibo

dia, to give

piqui, to eat

dia-me, to cause to be given

pi-ma-qui, to cause another to eat

buqui, to carry

bu-ma-qui, to cause to be carried

Here we have syntactical functions, which agree in their essential nature. Such facts cannot very easily be explained away. Further studies will, indeed, throw more light on this problem.

¹⁵³ There are many instances which lead to the belief that the Tacana, Maropa, Araona, Sapibocona, &c., are dialects of the Cavineña.

¹⁵⁴ See Carib-Aruác languages.

¹⁵⁵ See Maya-Kitšé dialects.

Still, there is one more important point. We also note similarities between the Pano 156 and the Kétšua on the one hand, and between these and the Carib-Aruác on the other 157.

| Kétšua | Carib-Aruác | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| eye, naui | (Moseteno): | afi, eye-brow, cf. ve | |
| • • | (Cavineña): | t-api | |
| | (Guatuso): | m-api, m-afi | |
| breasts, nunu | Bakaïrí: | inua-muto, baby | |
| tongue, anu | (Tacana): | eana | |
| | (Cavineña): | ana, to speak | |
| * | Kirirí: | nunu | |
| | Makuší: | onu | |
| | Paravilhána: | anu-lu | |
| language, simi | (Tacana): | m-imi | |
| | (Moseteno): | mic | |
| | (Maropa): | m-imi | |
| to say, ni | (Saraveca): | nine, tongue | |
| | Piapoco: | inene 158 | |
| it is hot! akau! | Bakaïrí: | kxau, heaven 159 | |
| | (Yuruna): | mau-diga, moon | |
| | (Yagua): | ki-nau, fire | |
| | (Cavineña): | ken, hot | |
| | Manáo: | kináu, heaven | |
| | (Yupúa): | yahau, tree | |
| | (Tecuna): | yau, sun | |
| morning, puntšau | (Tecuna): | yauanoe, vesper | |
| | Baure: | cau-riana, heaven | |
| water, para | (Sipibo): | paro, the Ucayali river | |
| | Caribisce: | Maši-paro, the Amazon River | |
| | Bakaïrí: | paro, water | |
| | Aparaï: | paru, water and river | |
| stone, rumi | (Tacana): | | |
| | (Cavineña): | tumu | |
| | (Maropa): | | |
| savages, larilari | See the tribal nam | nes, as: Galibi, Caribe, Calina, Ca- | |
| | rina, Cariñacu, | , Calinago. | |
| | Carib: | banu-ali, friend | |
| | Piro: | caiari, master | |
| | Piapoco: | atsi-xari, man | |
| | Aroan: | yahri, man | |
| | Aruác: | adda-ali (wood-man), carpenter | |
| | | | |

¹⁵⁶ It was KARL v. D. STEINEN who first supplied a list of nine words "Durch Central-Brasilien", p. 305. These words are marked.

¹⁵⁷ Since the publication of my study entitled "Las Lenguas Indígenas de la Cuenca del Amazonas y del Orinoco", Rio de Janeiro, 1910, I insisted again and again that the Pano are linguistically related to the Carib-Aruác. The former may also represent mixted idioms.

¹⁵⁸ In almost all the Carib-Aruác dialects.

¹⁵⁹ I do not need to repeat again that hot, heat, sun, moon, star, &c. in most of the Carib-Aruác languages are etymologically related; cf. "Die Verwandtschaft der Maya-Quitšé mit den Carib-Aruác", in "Anthropos".

Carib-Aruác Kétšua tihan-ali, sorcerer Paressi: Tamanaco: apalitše, man cucu, nephew uncle, cacca (Sipibo): cucu, uncle (Cavineña): Kirirí: cuccuh, avunculus (Tacana): xuxu sin, xutša Kirirí: hutša, devil, evil spirit people cuna (Tacana): cuana and plural suffix Cf. tribal names, as: Barekéna, Aricuna (Sipibo): Caibo, people, cf. lord, man, apu Guana-bo, Kuni-bo, Sipi-bo, Caši-bo, &c. sanapu, man, boy Tšipaya): Accawoi: naapuh, aunt Pimenteira: wara-buh, old man sorcerer, amauta-umu Bakaïrí: omeoto, sorcerer Carib: amaoti, hermit Laptšu: amuata dua water, unu 160 (Leco): Carib: tuna (Amuéša): 1117 Guaná: huna Motilon: cuna (-siase) negative particle, ma, mana Tacana group: -ma Carib-Aruác: -ma Maya-Kitšé: -ma Moseteno: -ma tree, l'atsa asa-pa- branch of a tree (Tšipaya): forest, satsa (Yamiáca): atsa, manioc (Moseteno): yata, herb (Tacana): b-ata, tree (Kitomoka): atia, wood sun, inti 161 Atsíri: inti, sun tii, moon Arhuaco: Piro: inti-ti, sun Kináu: (yuv-) inti, star splender of the sun, si-tui ise, sun (Tšapacura): (Moseteno): isi-ne, lightning Tšibtša: tsi, sun; cf. Maya-Kitsé. fire, nina (Tiverigoto): niano, moon ni. moon 162 (Cuna): (Canitšana): nina, rain to shine, illa Bakaîrí: iyello, lightning moon, killa lightning, illapa (metaph. "gun") Carib: ileme, gun (Canitšana): nim-ila-ue, moon

(Lapatšu):

(Tacana dialects):

kani 163

(e)ani, ani, ania

to be, kani

¹⁶⁰ See Aymará uma, and Pano umpas.

¹⁶¹ mapu-intši, God, Matsiganga, tšintši, fire.

¹⁶² Rain and moon (fire) are closely related in mythology.

¹⁶³ muru-maxta, is a genuine carib-aruác form.

Kétšua

leaf, banka

Carib-Aruác

earth, world, patša

(Tacana dialects): patša

(Cavineña): papa, to bury

(Tacana): ebacua-patša, heaven

pai, flat

Amuéša: patso, soil, ground

Carib: pana, aspan, ata-bana, pana-pe,

Finally, there are traces which point toward the Carib-Aruác languages, also in the absolute personal pronouns, as ñoka, ñuca, &c.

Reduplications are observed very frequently in the Tacana dialects. Impression of noise linguistically repeated:

Tacana

pedu-pedu, to divide mimi-mimi, conversation quisa-quisa, to chat quisa-quisa-xi, to gossiping tisi-tisi, to groan saxa-saxa, to cut, to divide puri-puri, to squeeze out

Cavineña

cumu-cumu, timbal dadu-dadu, tremolo te-te-te, a big fire tura-tura, dissonance uxu-uxu, cough

rara-rara, to resound ta-ta, to strike, to nail ta-ta-ta, to weave tutsu-tutsu, needle-work cabati-cabati, to chat, to gossip, revealer

Frequentative.

Tacana

xude-xude, to twinkle tipei-tipei, to precipitate tiri-tiri, to dance tseru-tseru, lightning mudu-mudu, to work paru-paru, to drive in peveve-peveve, to walk about pisa-pisa, shooting with arrows ra-qui-qui, to crack, to crash tena-tena, to palpitate pu-barere-barere, to go astray vere-vere, to fly turi-turi, distorted tse-tse-xi, drunken

Cavineña

bia-bia, to louse patsa-patsa, to fornicate tsexi-tsexi, fornication ribu-ribu 164, fornicating (who is) su-su, sucked viyu-viyu, sling puti-puti-u, to jump ti-ri-ri, spider cuxa-cuxa, bubble

Augmentative.

Tacana

peve-peve, square xutu-xutu, sand xutsu-xutsu, mud

Cavineña

uyu-uyu, mud ara-ara, lunch raru-raru, extreme

¹⁶⁴ This word seems to be etymologically related to bu, face, meaning perhaps, face to face.

Tacana

xura-xura, red and white painted adi-adi, dirty

assai-assai, to flatter mada-mada, iniquity mama-mama, caiman mucu-mucu, full of knots napada-napada, troubled water napa-napa, humid, wet pada-pada, grey pasa-pasa, white all over peada-peada, some's any puida-eni-eni, very fragrant uapa-uapa, very thorny sava-sava, raw saua-saua, yellow sana-sana, to lay on rudu-rudu, full of knots musa-musa, mealy qui-qui, net

Cavineña

abaca-abaca, impolite, rude
virua-virua
viru-viru
disarrange
buri-buri, joy
ri-ri, to corrupt (cf. ribu-ribu, fornication)

Durative:

Tacana

pere-pere, to call upon pe-pe, to doubt piba-piba, to reflect mitsi-mitsi, silent ritsi-ritsi, wrinkled vire-vire, freckless ruxe-ruxe, pain of the ribs muru-muru-i, kidney sina-sina-i, ardent

Cavineña

xi-xi, smell of Dung uria-uria, uncertain uxeba-uxeba, to insinuate tiria-tiria, consumption tia-tia, to supply tsama-tsama, not desiring pea-pea, disunion.

Editorial note: Mr. Rudolph Schuller has already some years ago sent this Manuscript to the "Anthropos"-editors. Whether the detailed study about: "La famille linguistique Takana" par G. DE CRÉQUI-MONTFORT et P. RIVET (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, tome XIII et ss.; Paris 1921) was unknown to him can no longer be ascertained. Schuller's study however contains so many new details that it received a due place in the "Anthropos" as a posthumous work.

MARTIN GUSINDE.