

Whatever happened to Mashubi? Taking a new look at Fawcett's vocabulary

In this article, the earliest documentation of a Jabuti language is analyzed and identified. In 1914, the British explorer Colonel Percy Fawcett visited the headwaters of the Colorado, Branco and Mekens Rivers, where he met a group of Indians he called Mashubi. He took down a list of approximately 100 words, which was published in 1953 by Paul Rivet. At the present, the received classification of Mashubi is as a third language of the Jabuti (Macro-Jê) linguistic family, along with Arikapu and Djeoromitxi. However, the indigenous peoples of the Guaporé region have never heard of a group called Mashubi. Furthermore, linguists tend to be unaware of the hypothesis published in 1955 by Franz Caspar that Mashubi in fact is Arikapu. Until recently, our ideas about the Jabuti languages could not be verified for lack of data. In the present article Fawcett's Mashubi word list is held up to the light of abundant new data on the Jabuti languages. It turns out that Caspar was right.

by *Hein van der Voort*¹

In memory of Raimundo Jabutí

1. Introduction

The Jabuti language family consists of two languages, Arikapu and Djeoromitxi, spoken in the Brazilian federal state of Rondônia in the southwestern corner of the Amazon River Basin. These two languages are highly endangered, Arikapu being moribund with one elderly speaker left and Djeoromitxi still being transferred to the younger generations, but having less than 50 speakers. Until recently, the Jabuti languages were almost completely undocumented, but this situation has taken a fortunate change. In the 1990s a small, but high quality sketch of Djeoromitxi was produced (Pires 1992). This led to a community-based initiative for literacy in the native language (Pires et al. 1994, 1995), which had a positive effect on language revitalization and preservation. Presently, a descriptive project involving extensive field work with speakers of Djeoromitxi is being conducted by Thiago Vital of the University of Texas at Austin. The Arikapu language has been studied intensively in the field since 2001; this resulted in a practical vocabulary (Arikapú et al. 2010), and a descriptive sketch and dictionary are in preparation (van der Voort *fc*). Recent comparative research has resulted in a partial reconstruction of the Proto-Jabuti language (van der Voort 2007) and has provided solid evidence for its classification as a Macro-Jê language (Ribeiro & van der Voort 2010).

In addition to Arikapu and Djeoromitxi, another name is now and then encountered in the literature: Mashubi (or Maxubí). According to Campbell (1997: 198), Dixon &

¹ Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi / FAPESPA. Email: hvoort@xs4all.nl. Abbreviations used here are: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; AIK = Aikanã; ARI = Arikapu; DJE = Djeoromitxi; INSTR = instrumental; INT = interrogative; KWA = Kwaza (isolate); L = London typescript; LOC = locative; MAK = Makurap (Tupari, Tupi); MAX = Mashubi; MEK = Mekens (Tupari, Tupi); NEG = negative; P = Paris manuscript; PL = plural; POR = Portuguese; R = Rivet (1953); SG = singular; SPA = Spanish. This article could not have been written without the contribution of my language consultants Nazaré Arikapú, Raimundo Jabutí and Jesus Jabutí. Furthermore, Alice Lemaire of the library of the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Paris, was so kind to send me a copy of Fawcett's manuscript, while Denny Moore took the trouble to get me a copy of Fawcett's typescript when he came through London. Thanks are also due to Mily Crevels, Gale Goodwin Gómez and Eduardo Ribeiro for comments. Finally I'm indebted to the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research for having funded my Arikapu project from 2001 to 2004 (grant nr. WOTRO W 39-273) and to the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado do Pará (FAPESPA) for current funding in the PPDOC programme. The responsibility for the contents of this article is mine only. This article is dedicated to the memory of *idäy* Raimundo Jabutí, whose untimely passing in 2011 was a great loss.

Aikhenvald (1999: 357) and Greenberg (1987: 66), Mashubi is a third, although extinct, language of the Jabuti (or Yabuti) family. Their information is based on the work of Loukotka (1963, 1968), who classified Mashubi as a Jabuti language. Loukotka's source for the Mashubi language is an article by Rivet (1953), in which a previously unpublished word list from 1914 by the Englishman, Colonel Percy Harrison Fawcett, is reproduced and discussed. This word list represents the original—and only—source of Mashubi. In fact, it represents the earliest documentation ever of a Jabuti language. What has happened to Mashubi since, and what is its genetic linguistic position? Loukotka did not consider Franz Caspar's published but relatively unknown article (1955a), in which he claimed that Mashubi was identical with Arikapu.

In the present article, I will show that Mashubi, however endangered, still exists under the name Arikapu. To this end, I will discuss both the published version and the unpublished word lists that are kept in the archives of the British Museum in London (here also called the London typescript) and the Musée de l'Homme in Paris (here also called the Paris manuscript) and compare these with present-day Arikapu and Djeoromitxi. This article is based on interviews with native speakers of Arikapu and Djeoromitxi in 2002, in which both Fawcett's published (1915) ethnographic article and his 1914 word list, as well as Franz Caspar's (1955b) word list of Arikapu, were discussed. This article is intended to provide the linguistic evidence for Caspar's (1955a) claim.

2. Percy H. Fawcett's expedition to the Guaporé region

The first ever record of a Jabuti tribe and a sample of their language was made by Colonel Percy Harrison Fawcett, an Englishman hired in the early 20th century by the Bolivian government to survey the Bolivian-Brazilian frontier.² In his 1915 article, Fawcett presents a sketchy report of his expedition, which consisted of four European men. After having gone through unexplored jungle for three weeks, the expedition happened upon a trail that led them straight to the village of a previously uncontacted group of Indians. During the ensuing weeks they twice stayed for a number of days with this group. In his article, Fawcett made a number of valuable ethnographic observations and includes some photographs. However, the Great War having just started, Fawcett was very secretive about the name, location and language of the Indians, and only from other sources do we know that he called them Mashubi (also Maxubí). Except for a few isolated words and phrases in Mashubi, the article does not contain linguistic data.

Around the end of May 1914, on his way to the Mashubi, Fawcett encountered the Swedish ethnographer Baron Erland Nordenskiöld and his wife Olga. They were just coming back from a visit to the previously uncontacted Huari, who are better known as Aikanã and who speak a language isolate. At the end of the year in Cochabamba, Fawcett ran into Nordenskiöld again, who noted in his 1915 travel journal:

Here we encounter Colonel Fawcett again, whom we met at the Rio Guaporé. He is on his way home to the war. Fawcett discovered a considerable Indian tribe at the Rio Mequens, which was never before visited by Whites. He calls these Indians Mashubi. They speak a language that is different from Huari, but they apparently have a similar material culture. [Translation HvdV]³

² During a later expedition in 1925 Fawcett disappeared in the Xingú region of Central Brazil. He, his son and another companion may have been killed by Kalapalo Indians due to their grossly undiplomatic behaviour (Hemming 2003: 78-84). Recently, a popular scientific book about Fawcett was published by Grann (2009) and received a critical review by Hemming (2009).

³ Här träffa vi åter överste Fawcett, som vi lärt känna vid Rio Guaporé. Han skall hem till kriget. Fawcett har upptäckt vid Rio Mequens en betydande indianstam, vilken aldrig förut besökts av vita. Han kallar dessa

Nordenskiöld's remark represents the first published mention of the name Mashubi. In 1953, Fawcett's son Brian published a popular account of his father's travels (Fawcett 1953), based on Fawcett's manuscripts. In this account a few pages are devoted to the expedition to the Mashubi, specifying their name as Maxubi and their location as close to the Colorado River. There are several Colorado Rivers in this region, so it may be either a direct tributary of the Guaporé River, between the Mequens and the Branco Rivers, or a tributary of the Branco River.

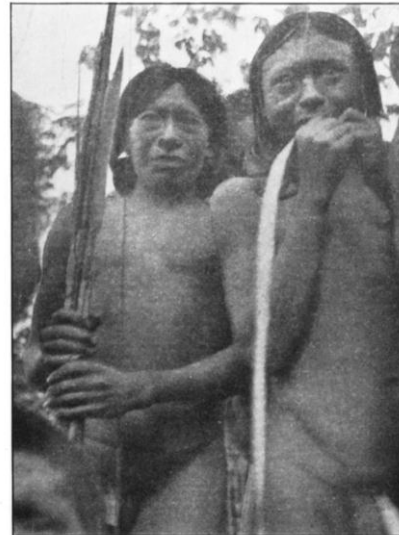
It is intriguing that after Fawcett left the region, the Mashubi were never heard of again. Twenty years later, in 1933-1935, the German ethnographer Emil Heinrich Snethlage travelled extensively in the same region for more than a year and documented aspects of language and culture on practically all indigenous groups (1937, 1939, n.d.). Although he had read Nordenskiöld's book and perhaps Fawcett's article, he does not mention the Mashubi in his field journal (Snethlage 1933-35).⁴ The Mashubi do not appear on Curt Nimuendajú's (1981 [1944]) otherwise exhaustive ethnohistorical map.⁵

In his article, Fawcett also mentions the existence of a hostile neighbouring group. He describes them as "brutal and ugly" and adds: "Their utter brutality prohibited any knowledge of their customs or language, which, however, again is quite distinct" (1915: 224). In his posthumously published travel journal (Fawcett 1953) they are referred to as the Maricoxi, and described as hairy and ape-like brutes who communicate through grunts. In 1934 Snethlage was told about a group of "hairy ones" ("*Cabilludos*") and speculates in his field journal (1933-35: 513) that they should be the same group as the hostile group encountered by Fawcett. Snethlage's characterization "hairy", which is not mentioned in Fawcett's 1915 article, must be independent.⁶

3. Fawcett's unpublished word list of Mashubi and early classifications of the language

During his two short visits to the Mashubi, Fawcett took down a list of approximately one hundred words in the language of his hosts. Presently, there is a handwritten copy of this word list in the manuscript library of the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle in Paris, and a typewritten copy in the archive of the British Museum in London. It is not clear whether Fawcett's original linguistic notes still exist.

The anonymous copy in the British Museum (the London typescript) forms part of the Fawcett collection, which also includes other documents such as a handwritten letter



SAVAGES WHO HAD NEVER SEEN A WHITE CIVILIZED MAN.

Figure 1. The Arikapu in 1914 (Fawcett 1915, opposite p.224)

indianer mashubi. De tala ett annat språk än huari men tyckas ha en med dessa likartad materiell kultur. (Nordenskiöld 1915: 577)

⁴ This field journal is presently being prepared for publication by his son, Dr. Rotger Snethlage.

⁵ On Rondon & Mattos' (1952) big map of Mato Grosso and neighbouring regions, which includes references from many historical sources, the Mashubi are located on the headwaters of the Branco River, adjacent to one of the eastern plateaus of the Parecis mountain ridge. This plateau used to be frequented by groups living on the headwaters of the Branco, Mekens, Colorado, Corumbiara and Pimenta Bueno Rivers, in search of game and other indispensable resources such as bamboo for arrows.

⁶ They are probably not the hostile nomadic and hairy *Papamiän*, whom Snethlage describes on the basis of reports by others, relating them to the Sirionó, but whom he never met. The *Papamiän* probably represent the uncontacted group in what is presently the Massaco reserve, which is in the opposite direction from where Fawcett went to encounter the Maricoxi.

with a five-page report on his 1913-14 expedition, both undersigned by Fawcett and dated 19 January 1915. Fawcett's letter mentions the possibility that his wife prepare a typewritten version of the report. Like the report, the typewritten word list is dated 19 January 1915 and marked 'confidential'. It furthermore contains notes scribbled in the margins that are clearly in Fawcett's hand. Perhaps the typewriting was done by Fawcett's wife Nina.

The anonymous manuscript in Paris is in the very same hand, which, when compared to the documents in the British Museum, is undoubtedly Fawcett's own. The Paris manuscript originates from the estate of the French ethnologist Paul Rivet. Since Rivet writes (1924, 1953) that he got it from Nordenskiöld and since there is a handwritten observation in Spanish in the lower right margin of page 2 of the manuscript in what is undoubtedly Nordenskiöld's handwriting, it is likely that the copy was created by Fawcett and given to Nordenskiöld when they met in Cochabamba. The copy in London was obviously created after Fawcett's return from South America.

Although Nordenskiöld himself does not state anywhere that he got a copy of Fawcett's word list, his remarks (1915: 577) about the encounter with Fawcett indicate that he had the opportunity to compare Fawcett's linguistic notes of Mashubi with his own notes of Huari. Among Nordenskiöld's manuscripts kept in the *Världskulturmuseet* in Gothenburg (previously *Etnografiska Museet Göteborg*), there is a small list of 22 Mashubi words that constitutes part of a comparative table of languages of the Guaporé-Mamoré region (n.d.).⁷ However, a full copy of the Mashubi word list was not found in Nordenskiöld's estate.

The first published mention of the existence of a Mashubi word list⁸ is made in a classificatory survey of the languages of the Americas by Paul Rivet (1924). Rivet states that he obtained Fawcett's wordlist through Nordenskiöld and classifies Mashubi as representing an isolate linguistic family, locating its speakers on the upper Mequens River.⁹ Fawcett's word list remained unpublished until 1953, when Rivet included a version of it in an article (Rivet 1953). After Rivet's death, the list was kept in the archive of the *Musée de l'Homme*, until the archive was incorporated in the library of the new *Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle*.

There must be at least one other copy of Fawcett's word list, which is probably to be found in the estate of the Czech linguist Čestmír Loukotka. This copy is mentioned in Loukotka's survey of South American languages (Loukotka 1942), in which he classifies Mashubi as a language isolate. That classification is repeated in Loukotka (1950).

4. Publication of Fawcett's word list by Paul Rivet (1953)

Rivet's (1953) historical-comparative article on Mashubi includes Fawcett's word list, with French glosses, as an appendix. Rivet writes that his comparison of Mashubi with other South American languages has been fruitless, except with regard to languages of the Chibcha family. In the second appendix of his article Rivet points out similarities with Chibcha languages for 32 Mashubi words. Rivet attributed the similarities to "influence" from the Chibcha language family on Mashubi as well as on several other languages, including Nambikwara (see also Rivet 1949), although he does not claim to have discovered a genetic relationship.

⁷ They correspond to entries 3, 17, 19, 22, 30, 32, 36, 37, 44, 49, 50, 53, 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 70, 84, 90 and 95 in the appendix.

⁸ Aside from Fawcett's (1915: 222) own statement that the name of the indigenous group, "together with the record of the language," has been "confidentially communicated" to the Royal Geographic Society.

⁹ XXXVII. Famille Mašubi. Les Mašubi vivent à l'Est du Guaporé, sur le cours moyen ou supérieur du rio Mequens. Leur langue ne nous est connue que par un court vocabulaire, encore inédit, recueilli par le colonel Fawcett, qu'a bien voulu me communiquer E. Nordenskiöld. (Rivet 1924: 671).

The majority of Rivet's correspondences are far-fetched and based on coincidence rather than on diffusion from Chibcha. However, when compared to Arikapu and Djeoromitxi, many Mashubi forms turn out to be analysable. The forms may have different meanings from those that are attributed to them, but they make sense in the context. Some forms are similar to those in other languages of the Guaporé-Mamoré region, such as Kwaza and Mekens, and probably result from areal diffusion.

There are some differences between Fawcett's word list (the Paris manuscript) and the version in Rivet's article. In addition to a few irregularities, Rivet systematically replaced Fawcett's <c>, <ch>, <sh> with <k>, <č>, <š>, respectively. Furthermore, he added some hyphens where he apparently thought there was a morphemic division. Finally, in addition to the Mashubi words published by Rivet, the Paris manuscript contains two further entries. One is *karawa* 'knife', which is actually the Arikapu form for 'axe', whereas 'knife' is *pə* in Arikapu and *hakutə* in Djeoromitxi. The other one is *chinipiká* 'knee', which corresponds to Arikapu *tximēpeka* 'one's kneecap' and Djeoromitxi *hinikaka* or *hipepe*.

5. Franz Caspar's (1955a) review of the available information on the Mashubi

In 1948 and 1955 the Swiss ethnographer Franz Caspar lived in the Rio Branco region. He became well known for his impressive monograph (1975) on traditional Tupari culture and he is still remembered by several elderly indigenous people in the region. Between his two lengthy stays in the field Caspar wrote a popular book (1952) on his experiences and a doctoral dissertation (1953) on the ethnography and history of the region, which formed the basis of his later monograph.

During the preparation of his dissertation he had access to the unpublished field notes and travel journal of Snethlage and cited them extensively. He did not have access to Fawcett's word list, but he was aware that certain material by Fawcett existed in London and Paris (Caspar 1953: 3). However, he did have access to it a year later, when he was writing his article (1955a) for the proceedings of the 31st International Congress Americanists of August 1954 in São Paulo.

In that article, Caspar reviews the ethnographic information on the Mashubi contained in Fawcett's article (1915) and his travel journal (1953). Caspar suggests that either the Mashubi had suffered the same fate as various other groups of the region, who were decimated as a consequence of the many epidemics during the early periods of contact with the Westerners, or the Mashubi are identical to one of the groups met by Snethlage on the Mequens, Colorado or Branco Rivers. He concludes that it is not possible on the basis of the available ethnographic data to distinguish the Mashubi from the neighbouring groups, since they clearly belong to the same cultural area as the Huari (i.e. Aikanã), the Tupari and many other groups. The only reliable way to identify the Mashubi is through linguistic comparison.

Snethlage's field journal, to which Caspar had access, contains linguistic data from all indigenous groups he visited during his 1933-35 expedition. Since Fawcett's word list had now been published by Rivet (1953), Caspar was able to compare Fawcett's word list with Snethlage's word lists from various languages of the region. A clear similarity with Arikapu stood out. Without including the actual data, Caspar (1955a: 119) writes:

Total of Mashubi words (Fawcett's list)	approximately 100
Corresponding examples in Arikapu (Snethlage)	39
Those words (in Arikapu) identical to those of Mashubi	24

Caspar finds this similarity too great to be considered a coincidence, especially when taking into account that almost no similarities were observed with any of the other languages in Snethlage's material. Caspar concludes that the Mashubi encountered by Fawcett must, therefore, be identical with the Arikapu encountered by Snethlage. He ends his article with the observation that the question of the identity of the hostile Maricoxi Indians has remained unsolved.

6. Čestmír Loukotka's (1963) classification of Mashubi

For a long time, the received classification of Mashubi has been that of a third language of the isolate Jabuti family (e.g. Campbell 1997: 198; Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999: 357). The 1963 article by Loukotka was the earliest source for this classification. Loukotka (1963: 49-50) used Rivet's version of Fawcett's list in his comparison with the Jabuti language family. He compared Mashubi words with Arikapu and Djeoromitxi words from an unpublished vocabulary of twelve languages by Snethlage (n.d.). The present whereabouts of Snethlage's original vocabulary are not known, but a copy may be in the estate of Loukotka.

For his classification, Loukotka used 15 Mashubi forms from Rivet's list. It turns out that Loukotka changed the spelling and segmentation of most of these forms, either by mistake or misprint. The following table contains Rivet's Mashubi forms, contrasted with those published by Loukotka. The numbering corresponds to the entry numbers in the appendix to the present article:

Table 1. Rivet's representation of Mashubi contrasted with Loukotka's (1963)

	Rivet (1953)	Loukotka (1963)	
3	<i>akarí</i>	<i>akarí</i>	eye
19	<i>či-nika-imũ</i>	<i>či-nika-imu</i>	hand
20	<i>či-ninika</i>	<i>čiminika</i>	woman
32	<i>erikoná</i>	<i>erikoná</i>	house
37	<i>iũ</i>	<i>yú</i>	water
44	<i>kokoví</i>	<i>kokowí</i>	maize
49	<i>mai-šambi-biši</i>	<i>maišambiši</i>	tooth
53	<i>miopé</i>	<i>miopé</i>	jaguar
57	<i>moré</i>	<i>moré</i>	manioc
61	<i>nini</i>	<i>nini</i>	bow
65	<i>pákari kapu</i>	<i>kapu</i>	moon
70	<i>pikũ</i>	<i>piku</i>	fire
85	<i>sindukutora</i>	<i>sindu-kutora</i>	tongue
90	<i>táxó</i>	<i>tádzó</i>	sun
99	<i>vira vira</i>	<i>wirawira</i>	star

A dubious aspect of Loukotka's representation of Mashubi concerns the choices he made when contrasting Mashubi forms with those of Arikapu and Djeoromitxi.

The form *čiminika*, (20), which supposedly means 'woman', is contrasted by Loukotka with DJE *páko* and ARI *pakuhä*, which both mean 'woman'. However, if Loukotka had chosen an entry four lines earlier in Rivet's list, MAX *pakuhé* 'wife' (67, in appendix), Mashubi would have looked more like the other two languages.

The same holds for *kokowí*, taken to mean 'maize' (44), which is contrasted with DJE *čiči* and ARI *čiči*, both meaning 'maize'. Loukotka could also have chosen Rivet's immediately adjacent form MAX *iti* 'maize' (36, in appendix). As it happens—and what

Loukotka couldn't have known—the formal equivalents of MAX *kokoví* are in DJE *kukui* and in ARI *kukue*, both meaning ‘non-burnt clearing made in the rainy season (where certain types of maize are cultivated)’.

A similar situation involves MAX *miopé* ‘jaguar’ (53). Loukotka compares this to DJE *uá* and ARI *korá*. The latter two forms mean both ‘jaguar’ and ‘dog’ in the respective languages. This fact may, of course, not have been known to Loukotka. He had, however, access to Rivet's list, which suggests that MAX has distinctive terms for these species. Rivet's form for ‘dog’ is MAX *kura* (45, in appendix), which is practically identical with the ARI form in Loukotka's list.¹⁰

On the one hand, Loukotka went out of his way to homogenize the spelling of the three languages, possibly so as to make them more easily comparable. On the other hand, he did not allow for any semantic flexibility and apparently even chose to represent facts from Rivet in such a way that they suggest that the languages are more different from one another than they really are. Perhaps he did not trust the data? Then again, there is no reference at all to Caspar's (1955a) article, which seems an unusual omission for Loukotka.

The classification of Mashubi as a third Jabuti language is maintained in Loukotka (1968: 99), where a smaller comparative list includes two other words from Rivet's article (‘ear’ and ‘tapir’). Also, the spelling is anglicized, substituting <č> and <š> with <ch> and <sh>, undoing Rivet's changes.

Table 2. Rivet's representation of Mashubi contrasted with Loukotka's (1968)

	Rivet (1953)	Loukotka (1968)	
17	<i>čimoré</i>	<i>chimoré</i>	tapir
19	<i>či-nika-imũ</i>	<i>chi-nikaimu</i>	hand
20	<i>či-ninika</i>	<i>chininika</i>	woman
22	<i>či-nipuré</i>	<i>chi-nipuré</i>	ear
32	<i>erikoná</i>	<i>erikoná</i>	house
37	<i>iũ</i>	<i>yú</i>	water
44	<i>kokoví</i>	<i>kokowí</i>	maize
49	<i>mai-šambi-biši</i>	<i>maishambishi</i>	tooth
70	<i>pikũ</i>	<i>piku</i>	fire
90	<i>táxó</i>	<i>tadzyó</i>	sun

7. Caspar's vocabulary of Arikapu (1955b)

During his second field period in 1955 Caspar stayed for many months among the Tuparí and documented their language and culture, which resulted in, among other things, his classic ethnographic description of the Tuparí (1975). Furthermore, Caspar collected extensive word lists of the other languages he encountered, including a 51-page vocabulary of Arikapu (1955b). The original manuscript of this vocabulary is in the possession of Caspar's widow in Zürich, but a digital copy and transcription have recently become accessible on the website of the university library in Leiden.

In the first twelve pages of Caspar's vocabulary he goes through Fawcett's Mashubi words with forms elicited first-hand from Arikapu consultants. On the subsequent pages, word lists by Sneath and Swadesh are evaluated. His main consultant was *Tgeirí*, an Arikapu leader who was also a shaman (the name is pronounced as [tfej'ri]). His co-consultant was Waitó, Tuparí leader and Caspar's host, who spoke

¹⁰ MAX *miopé* ‘jaguar’ is not relatable to any language of the region.

Arikapu as well. It is obvious throughout the manuscript that it does more than just repeat other people's word lists, since Caspar elicited many additional forms and analyses. Those forms that were not recognized as Arikapu are marked in the manuscript with "ô". The meta-languages used in the manuscript are German, Portuguese and Tuparí. The spelling of the relevant entries indicates that Caspar consulted Fawcett's word list as published in Rivet (1953). The order in which he checked Fawcett's entries with his consultants also shows this. Caspar's estate includes an offprint of Rivet's article with German translations scribbled in pencil in the margins.

In his own vocabulary, Caspar managed to identify about 60 out of 102 of Fawcett's Mashubi items as Arikapu. That is approximately 60 percent, which is about the same proportion as the 24 out of 39 he identified for his earlier article (Caspar 1955a) on the basis of Snethlage's data. However, after that article, Caspar did not publish on Arikapu or Mashubi any more.

8. Interpretation of the Mashubi vocabulary

During my own fieldwork on Arikapu in 2002, I had the chance to go through Fawcett's word list with the last surviving speaker of Arikapu, her Djeoromitxi husband, and the latter's brother. During our interview we discussed each item on the list as published in Rivet (1953), trying to identify it with forms in Arikapu or Djeoromitxi. The appendix to the present article contains an annotated transcription of Fawcett's manuscript list, Fawcett's own English glosses and my consultants' corresponding Arikapu and Djeoromitxi items. It turns out that the majority of the entries in the list recorded by Fawcett are identical to Arikapu. Consequently, the Mashubi and the Arikapu probably represent the same tribe, which in Fawcett's time had not had much contact with Westerners.

When comparing the items of Fawcett's list to their present-day Arikapu and Djeoromitxi equivalents, the phonetic value of some undefined symbols in the manuscript becomes clear. For example the form *pikũ* 'fire' (70) contains an <ũ> with a breve diacritic. In Arikapu fire is *pikə*. However, although Fawcett's <ũ> corresponds in general with ə, this is not always consistent: *tũ* 'hammock' (96) corresponds to Arikapu *tɨ*; *arũ* 'guan bird' (6) corresponds to Arikapu *aro*; and *mũ* 'arrow' (59), to Arikapu *mu*.

There are a few rare but systematic differences between the Mashubi list and present-day Arikapu. Certain occurrences of word initial <m> represent a telling confirmation of the analysis of ARI [b], [m] and [mb] as allophones of /m/ put forward in Ribeiro & van der Voort (2010: 524-5). Furthermore, word initial MAX <k> corresponds with ARI /tx/ and DJE /h~r/ before <a> and <e> in some cases.¹¹ These correspondences may suggest dialectal differences or historical developments.

About 90 percent of Fawcett's Mashubi words, many of which represent basic vocabulary, can be related to Arikapu. Furthermore, the Arikapu first person plural prefix *txi-* '1PL' is clearly recognizable in many of Fawcett's forms.¹² Around 20 percent of the words were assigned incorrect meanings.¹³ The unidentified 10 percent¹⁴ might be explained by various factors: Fawcett may have wrongly registered some words; there may be loanwords among them; there may have been other languages around—for example

¹¹ That is in entries 38, 39 and 43. Note that the London typescript has <c> in 38 and 39. Since a correspondence between [k] and [tx] is unexpected, especially before [a], the possibility cannot be excluded that a notation or transcription error has occurred and that originally <ch> was intended.

¹² In Arikapu it can also have a third person and a nonspecific person interpretation. Sketches of the phonology and grammar of the Jabuti languages are given in Ribeiro & van der Voort (2010).

¹³ Entries 1, 5, 9, 10, 15, 20, 31, 37, 38, 40, 47, 49, 58, 60, 66, 67, 73, 82 and 100 in the appendix.

¹⁴ Entries 4, 29, 33, 35, 46, 51, 52, 53, 75, 78 and 86 in the appendix. Entries 72 and 87 represent loanwords.

Djeoromitxi—of which Fawcett was not aware. There were certainly also other things that Fawcett failed to understand or notice, such as the cotton bracelets that he mistook for rubber bracelets, the lack of musical instruments and the hallucinogenic snuff the shamans used.

Fawcett's (1915) article contains almost no samples of the Maxubi language. One of the few exceptions is the line that the shamans sing in the morning at the end of a whole night's session: *tawi takni—tawi takni—tawi takni*. This line does not occur in the word lists. The interpretation offered by my consultant is:

- (1) *tajwi ta-kã*
 lie 3-finish
 'The lying has stopped.'

The interpretation of *takni* as *ta-kã* '3-finish' seems valid. However, the interpretation of *tawi* as *tajwi* seems far-fetched. Maybe the element *-wi* is related to the verb root *-wi* 'cure, heal', although this interpretation was not offered by my consultant and that root was rarely, if ever, attested with the intransitive third person prefix *ta-*. Another Mashubi phrase in Fawcett (1915: 226) is *chimbibi koko* 'food for the pot'. Other Mashubi items in the article (Fawcett 1915) correspond to items in the wordlist. They are: *averu* 'chicha' (1915: 222); *tabo* 'welcome' (1915: 223); *pakari* 'planet'; *Pakari Newt'n* 'Venus'; *Pakari Kapu* 'moon'; *Tajó* 'sun'; *Víra-Víra* 'star'; *cumbri* 'peanut' (1915: 224); *tapi* 'shamanic session' (1915: 226).

9. Joseph Greenberg's (1987) classification of the Jabuti languages

In 1987, the American linguist Joseph Greenberg made an attempt at classifying all languages of the American continent, based on comparison of lexical material from published and unpublished sources. Many of his classifications are controversial, but with regard to the Jabuti languages, he was right in following the path cleared by Nimuendajú (1981). He considers Jabuti ("Yabuti") as a family consisting of Arikapu, Djeoromitxi ("Yabuti") and Mashubi and notes that the family is "as validly Macro-Ge as the others" (1987: 66). Although he admits that the data on Jabuti are sparse, and therefore seldom occur in his etymologies, there "are enough occurrences that are diagnostically Macro-Ge, however, to support their inclusion in the group" (1987: 66).

The data on which Greenberg bases the classification of Jabuti as a branch of Macro-Jê are predominantly Mashubi. Of the 22 different forms that appear in the etymologies throughout his book 13 are from Fawcett's Mashubi list¹⁵ (some of them also under the name Yabuti), five are Arikapu and four are Djeoromitxi. Although he does not mention any sources, the Mashubi words are taken directly from Rivet's (1953) article, since the particular forms are absent in Loukotka's work. The Arikapu and Djeoromitxi words are from Loukotka (1963: 50 and 1968: 99).

These few Jabuti words were of course not sufficient for a solid classification in accordance with the comparative method, but his—or rather Nimuendajú's—classification turned out to be correct (see Ribeiro & van der Voort 2010). What is conspicuous about Greenberg's classification is the important role a small, unsophisticated and misidentified old wordlist played in it. At the same time it is a grave reminder of the precarious state of documentation of the endangered Jabuti languages until very recently.

¹⁵ They correspond to entries 9, 11, 13, 18, 34, 47, 59, 62, 63, 67, 74, 84 and 97 in the appendix.

10. Conclusions

The various claims encountered in the literature, that Fawcett's Mashubi words represent a language isolate, a language influenced by Chibcha, or a third language of the Jabuti language family, are all false. After 1914, when Fawcett left the Guaporé region, the Mashubi were never heard of again. It is not clear where the name Mashubi comes from. It is not encountered in any other first-hand report from the region and the indigenous peoples of the Guaporé region do not recognize it at all. Nevertheless, the name is repeated time and again in both popular and scientific sources. Now that we have better access to data on the Jabuti languages, the time has come to put an end to this myth. Fawcett's wordlist represents Arikapu, a language on the verge of extinction that, with its sister language Djeoromitxi, belongs to the Jabuti branch of the Macro-Jê linguistic family.

As appears from Nordenskiöld's (1915) remark cited in the introduction, the material culture of the Mashubi was similar to that of the Huari. The ethnographic information contained in Fawcett's article (1915) and his travel journal (1953) indeed indicates that the Mashubi belong to the same cultural area as the other groups of southern Rondônia, including the Arikapu and the Aikanã. This cultural area was later identified and described by Lévi-Strauss (1948), Caspar (1953), Galvão (1960) and Maldí (1991).

Of course, that is not enough to prove that the Mashubi are identical to the Arikapu. According to Nordenskiöld, Fawcett encountered the Mashubi "at the Rio Mequens". A more exact location was revealed later in Fawcett's travel journal (as well as in Caspar 1955a), where they are located to the north of a rubber concession on the Colorado River, geographical coordinates: 62°22' W. and 12°12' S. This implies that they lived on the headwaters of the Colorado River that forms a branch of the Branco River, which is in the region where the Arikapu and their immediate neighbours used to live.

Deciding evidence that the hospitable Mashubi Indians whom Fawcett met in fact were Arikapu is linguistic. On the basis of relatively superficial lexical comparisons Franz Caspar had already estimated that about 60 percent of the Mashubi words were similar to Arikapu, but his hypothesis that they represent the same language was never substantiated by further evidence. However, a more thorough comparison reveals at least 90 percent of formal similarity between Fawcett's Mashubi words and (semantically) corresponding words in Arikapu. The word lists in the appendix to the present article indisputably show that Caspar was right.

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Appendix: Fawcett's Mashubi compared with present-day Arikapu and Djeoromitxi

This appendix contains a transcription of Fawcett's (anonymous) manuscript list of Mashubi in Paris. The items have been alphabetically reordered according to Fawcett's spelling of the Mashubi forms. Fawcett's English translations as in the Paris manuscript are maintained. Furthermore, all information on Mashubi in Rivet's published list and the London typescript has been preserved here by describing the differences with the Paris manuscript in footnotes. The original sequences of the entries in the three lists, which were based on the (rough) alphabetical ordering of their English and French glosses, are represented here by numerals.

The corresponding Arikapu and Djeoromitxi items were provided by native speakers on various occasions in 2001-2004, including a fieldwork interview in 2002 dedicated to Fawcett's word list. In case the gloss given by Fawcett differs from the meaning of his form, two sets of Arikapu and Djeoromitxi forms are given: the first one corresponding in meaning and the second one corresponding in form (provided that Fawcett's form was identifiable). The spelling used here for Arikapu and Djeoromitxi is largely phonemic, although the allophonic variation for /m/ = [m] ~ [mb] ~ [b] and /n/ = [n] ~ [nd] ~ [d] is maintained for ease of comparison. In Arikapu and Djeoromitxi stress is predictable and falls on the ultimate syllable of the word.

In order to facilitate the understanding of the structure of the entries and the footnotes in the list below, item (73) may serve as an example:

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
73	<i>poriki</i> ⁸⁹	rubber	72	72	16	<i>ataw</i>	rubber	<i>txituru</i>
73a						<i>purikə</i>	cotton bracelet	<i>pekə</i>

⁸⁹L: *poriki*. — See the note concerning *kapa* 'bands of rubber'.

The letters in the first row identify the different columns by the following categories:

- A Sequence number of the item in the present appendix
- B Mashubi form as in the Paris manuscript
- C English gloss as in the Paris manuscript
- D Number referring to sequential position in the Paris manuscript (P)
- E Number referring to sequential position in the London typescript (L)
- F Number referring to sequential position in Rivet's (1953) article (R)
- G Arikapu form provided by native speaker
- H English meaning corresponding to the Arikapu and Djeoromitxi forms
- I Djeoromitxi form provided by native speaker

So in this particular example, Fawcett's form as in the Paris manuscript is <poriki>, the supposed meaning he added is 'rubber'. This entry represents the 72nd entry in both the Paris and the London word list and the 16th entry in Rivet's (1953) article. According to my consultants the meaning that Fawcett provided is expressed in Arikapu by *ataw* and in Djeoromitxi by *txituru*. As it happens in item (73), Fawcett's form <poriki> corresponds to none of these. However, his form is recognizable in Arikapu as *purikə*, which means 'cotton bracelet'. The semantic equivalent in Djeoromitxi is *pekə*. Clearly, the Mashubi form corresponds to an Arikapu word, the meaning of which can be related to Fawcett's own understanding in a specific context that is either obvious or explained in a footnote.

As a rule, the footnotes may contain two types of information: (a) diplomatic information to show how the corresponding item in the London typescript and/or Rivet's list differ from the one in the Paris manuscript; (b) additional information and observations that do not occur in the word lists. The diplomatic information is always preceded by L: (referring to the London typescript) and/or R: (referring to Rivet's list). In this case, with regard to (a), item (73), <poriki>, differs from the form given in the London typescript, <porikí>, in which the last vowel bears an acute accent. The sign — serves to separate this information from (b), which contains additional information, in this case reference to another note that explains the connection with 'rubber'.

The list shows clearly that Franz Caspar was correct in that Arikapu and so-called Mashubi represent the same language, since more than 90 percent of the vocabulary can be related to Arikapu (see the discussion in Section 8). With regard to spelling, Fawcett's <ü> corresponds often to /ə/, and <c> before vowels corresponds to /k/.

In the lower right margin of page 2 of the Paris manuscript an observation in Spanish is found in Nordenskiöld's handwriting, which obviously dates from the Great War:

Muestra de lengua de un Tribu nuevo
descubierto por Colonel Fawcett
(~~debe ahora estar en la guerra~~).
Los Mashubi's viven en la Sierra
de los Pareisis. Son lo menos 6000 y no
tenían ni una solo objeto obtenido
de los blancos.¹⁶

There are some important differences between the Paris manuscript and the London typescript. Both lists have more or less the same rough alphabetical order, although the Paris manuscript is divided in alphabetical subsections each marked by a capital. Both lists consist of two pages, but the Paris manuscript has two columns and is divided between entries 1-64 on the first page and 65-101 on the second, whereas the London manuscript has just one column with entries 1-48 on the first page and 49-103 on the second. The London typescript often has <hu> instead of <w>. Accent appears to be added by hand and is marked more frequently than in the Paris manuscript. In the London typescript some explicit general instructions about pronunciation were added in handwriting in English:

Emphasis is placed upon the accented syllable. or where not marked, upon all the syllables.

ũ is pronounced "er"

Pronunciation as in Spanish. "hu" = w

At the bottom of the London typescript three "examples of names of men" are mentioned. In Arikapu these are not proper names; they are clearly kinship terms:

<i>Saconíme</i>	ARI	<i>txokonĩmã</i>	'with (my) son [endearing]'
<i>Ipehé</i>	ARI	<i>iprihe</i>	'my younger brother'
<i>Hitói</i>	ARI	<i>itaj</i>	'my nephew'

¹⁶ Language sample of a new tribe discovered by Colonel Fawcett (must be in the War now). The Mashubis live at the Parecis mountain range. They are at least 6,000 and did not have a single object obtained from the Whites. [Translation HvdV]

	Maxubi form	English gloss	P	L	R	Arikapu	English	Djeoromitxi
1	<i>abicoca</i> ¹⁷	name	64	63	72	<i>tatxi</i>	name, to call	<i>tōhī</i>
1a						<i>a-wikoko</i>	2-son	<i>a-wikukū</i>
2	<i>aikū</i> ¹⁸	hot	40	42	20	<i>i-kə, a-kə</i>	1SG/3-hot, 2-hot	<i>txe, a-txe</i>
3	<i>akari</i> ¹⁹	eye	25	28	74	<i>hākare</i>	eye	<i>hōka</i>
4	<i>añi</i> ²⁰	much	58	64	10	<i>bəj</i>	much, many	<i>hōta</i>
5	<i>aripamú</i>	killed	22	22	101	<i>konə</i>	killed	<i>hiroku</i>
5a						<i>ari ipamō</i>	let's tell/teach! ²¹	<i>hu?u ipabudje</i>
6	<i>arū</i>	pavo ²²	65	65	76	<i>aro</i>	guan bird	<i>pūri</i>
7	<i>averú</i> ²³	chicha	17	17	24	<i>txuerə</i>	chicha	<i>hi-bzi</i>
8	<i>chibikoko</i> ²⁴	to eat food	29	27	62	<i>txi-rihe ku</i>	1PL-eat food	<i>nō ku</i>
8a						<i>txi-mbi o</i>	1PL-chicha drink	<i>hi-bzi nō</i>
8b						<i>txi-kuku</i>	1PL-bite ²⁵	<i>i-wekə</i>
9	<i>chicátí</i> ²⁶	lip	47	48	52	<i>txi-txokə</i>	1PL-lip	<i>hi-rukə</i>
9a						<i>txi-txatij</i>	1PL-labret	<i>hi-rati</i>
10	<i>chichi</i> ²⁷	chacra	18	18	19	<i>kukue</i>	non-burnt clearing	<i>kukui</i>
10a						<i>txitxi</i>	maize	<i>txitxi</i>
11	<i>chichika</i> ²⁸	(garapata) tick	91	90	98	<i>txitxika</i>	tick	<i>txitxika</i>
12	<i>chikambū</i> ²⁹	sututu	79	80	92	<i>ndəndə</i>	botfly maggot	<i>bubu</i>
12a						<i>txi-kambu</i>	1PL-young.one	<i>hi-kabu</i>
13	<i>chikóko</i> ³⁰	bite	14	14	68	<i>txi-kuku</i>	1PL-bite	<i>i-wekə</i>
14	<i>chikómbre</i> ³¹	son	82	77	40	<i>onəkrəj(mbrəj)</i>	(little) son	<i>txiutə</i>
14a						<i>txi-kambu</i>	1PL-young.one	<i>hi-kabu</i>
15	<i>chimbibi</i> ³²	(olea) pot	69	69	65	<i>wa</i>	pot, vessel	<i>wa</i>
15a						<i>txi-mbi wi</i>	1PL-chicha cure ³³	<i>hi-bzi wi</i>

¹⁷ R: *abikoka*. L: *abicóca*.

¹⁸ L: *aikú*. — In Djeoromitxi the first person is unmarked.

¹⁹ R: *akarí*. L: *akaré*.

²⁰ Unidentified.

²¹ ARI *pamō* also means ‘to teach’, especially in the context of shamanic apprenticeship. Another interpretation could involve the word ARI *mō*, DJE *bu* ‘to sing, to cry’, e.g. for the dead, but that would not explain the syllable <-pa->.

²² Spanish for the guan, a black pheasant type bird of the forest, in POR *jacú*. L: jungle turkey *aru*.

²³ Fawcett (1915): *averu*. London typescript added: (maize beer). The form seems to include the second person prefix *a-*, but it was rejected by my consultants. Nevertheless, it looks strongly like other forms throughout the Guaporé-Mamoré region, with the exception of the DJE form, which means literally ‘our drink’.

²⁴ R: *čibikoko*. — In Fawcett (1915: 226) the form occurs as: *chimbibi koko* ‘food for the pot’.

²⁵ Lit. ‘Bite it/him/her!’.

²⁶ R: *či-kátí*. L: *shisátí*. — The word obviously refers to the labrets people used in their lips.

²⁷ R: *čiči* ‘champ cultivé’. L: plantation. — The Paris manuscript gloss is a common term in South American Spanish and Portuguese (although the Bolivians say *chaco*), meaning ‘cultivated field’ or ‘small farm on the countryside’. In this case, the item does not refer to the usual burnt forest clearing, but to a forest clearing made during the rainy season, which is used to grow a type of maize that is suitable for porridge.

²⁸ R: *čičika*. L: tick *chichika*.

²⁹ R: *či-kambū*. — Lacking in the London typescript. See *menga*. As Caspar correctly speculated in the margin of his offprint of Rivet (1953), ‘sututu’ is the *Boroworm*, the larva of the botfly (*Dermatobia hominis*, called *boro* in Bolivia and *berne* in Brazil). The descriptive Arikapu form obviously refers to this larva.

³⁰ R: *čikóko*. L: (note the root ‘ko’ to eat).

³¹ R: *či-kombre*.

³² R: *čimbibi*. — Fawcett’s gloss is probably a bad rendering of SPA *olla* ‘pot, pan’.

16	<i>chimé</i> ³⁴	head	39	41	96	<i>txime</i>	forehead	<i>hũbeka</i>
17	<i>chimoré</i> ³⁵	anta	1	1	95	<i>nãwə</i>	tapir	<i>hõã</i>
18	<i>chiniká</i> ³⁶	arm	5	5	15	<i>txi-nikaj</i>	1PL- hand+fingers	<i>hi-nihu</i>
19	<i>chinikaimũ</i> ³⁷	hand	41	43	56	<i>txi-nĩkajmõ</i>	1PL- back.of.hand	
20	<i>chininika</i> ³⁸	woman	95	94	36	<i>pakue</i>	woman	<i>paku</i>
20a						<i>txi-nĩnika</i>	1PL-nose	<i>hi-nĩkute</i>
21	<i>chinipiká</i> ³⁹	knee	45	46		<i>txi-mẽpe(ka)</i>	1PL-knee (cap)	<i>hi-nĩmĩkaka</i>
22	<i>chinipuré</i> ⁴⁰	ear	27	29	80	<i>txi-nĩpure</i>	1PL-ear	<i>hi-nipi</i>
23	<i>chinipurí</i> ⁴¹	earrings	28	30	81	<i>txi-nĩpure</i>	1PL-ear(ring)	<i>tonõ</i>
24	<i>chivi</i> ⁴²	road	71	71	22	<i>txi-wi</i>	1PL-path	<i>hi-wikũ</i>
25	<i>chorimũ</i> ⁴³	(camok) yam	101	100	29	<i>txurimã</i>	potato	<i>hemĩ</i>
26	<i>comba</i> ⁴⁴	bead	6	6	45	<i>bə(hã), krahã</i>	bead	<i>bəru(hõtiti)</i>
27	<i>cumbri</i> ⁴⁵	mani	49	50	3	<i>kumbrəj</i>	peanuts	<i>kumẽ</i>
28	<i>cumbriko</i> ⁴⁶	eat mani (imperative)	50		4, 63	<i>kumbrəj ku</i>	eat peanuts	<i>kumẽ ku</i>
29	<i>enatón</i> ⁴⁷	pig	66	66	83	<i>kuritxi</i>	peccary	<i>paheri</i>
30	<i>erawachi</i> ⁴⁸	banana	7	7	8	<i>rawatxi</i>	banana	<i>wãtxitə</i>
31	<i>ericócha</i> ⁴⁹	flute	34	36	42	<i>bəpə</i>	bamboo flute	<i>upə</i>
31a						<i>reko-txe</i>	house-LOC	<i>hiku-txe</i>
32	<i>erikoná</i> ⁵⁰	house	38	40	59	<i>reko-nə</i>	house-INSTR	<i>hiku-ə</i>
33	<i>huainoho</i> ⁵¹	flies	33	35	69	<i>kutxio</i>	fruit flies	<i>hõhẽnĩ, hutxi</i>
34	<i>iko</i> ⁵²	eat (to)	24	24	60	<i>i-ku</i>	1SG/3-eat/bite	<i>ku</i>

³³ Shamanic curing or blessing of chicha and game used to be common practice. Caspar (1955b: 9) correctly identified this form too.

³⁴ R: *či-mé*.

³⁵ R: *čimoré*. L: Tapir..... — Unidentified. The gloss is Portuguese and regional Spanish for ‘tapir’.

³⁶ R: *či-niká*. L: *chinika*. — Lit. ‘our arm + hand’, see (14).

³⁷ R: *či-nika-imũ*. L: hand *chinikaimũ* (see word for ear & earring).

³⁸ R: *či-ninika*. L: *chininika*.

³⁹ L: knee *chinipeká* (see ear & hand). — This item is lacking in Rivet (1953). An alternative DJE word is *hi-pepe* ‘our knee’.

⁴⁰ R: *či-nipuré*.

⁴¹ R: *či-nipurí*. L: earring.

⁴² R: *čivi*. L: trail *vihĩ* or *chivi*.

⁴³ R: *čorimũ* ‘Dioscorea’. L: yam *chorimũ*. — Fawcett’s (camok) could be a bad rendering of SPA *camote* ‘sweet potato’, although that is not what the Arikapu word means.

⁴⁴ R: *komba*. L: *combá*. — The form is difficult to interpret and may represent foreigner talk. The ARI forms *ko* ‘hole’ and *bə* ‘bead’ seem to be visible, but ‘bead’s hole’ would be *bə ko* in Arikapu. An alternative interpretation could involve ARI *kumẽ* or DJE *kube* ‘recipient to keep feathers (made of the spathe of certain palm trees)’, although that is semantically and phonologically somewhat far-fetched.

⁴⁵ R: *kumbri* ‘arachide’. L: monkey nut. — The word *manĩ* is regional Spanish for ‘peanut’.

⁴⁶ R: *kumbri-ko* ‘mange des arachides!’ — This entry does not occur in the London typescript.

⁴⁷ L: *enatón*. — One can only speculate about this form, e.g.: DJE *honõtõ* ‘I don’t know’ (rather than the ARI equivalent *hãnĩnĩtõ*) or DJE *hãnõtõ* ‘three, without companion’.

⁴⁸ R: *erawače*. L: *erahuachĩ*. — Both here and elsewhere, Dona Nazaré commented in Portuguese: “Então, é nossa gente.”, i.e. “These are obviously our people”.

⁴⁹ R: *erikóča*. — It is ironic that Fawcett added in the London typescript: flute *ericochá* (the real meaning of this word is obscure, as these people have no musical instruments). The reason that he did not witness any musical instruments must have been that those were hidden inside the maloca, as the Indians tried to explain to him. It is a general characteristic of the region that certain types of flutes are sacred and can only appear on certain occasions, which Snethlage (1939: 28) confirms for the Arikapu and Djeoromitxi.

⁵⁰ L: *ericoná*.

⁵¹ L: *huainóho*. — Perhaps a Djeoromitxi form.

⁵² L: eat (imperative) *ikó* (chiquitana “koe”).

35	<i>ipa</i> ⁵³	chunta sword for cleaning the chacra	19	19	85	<i>ku</i>	machete, club	<i>haku</i> (<i>kuritxi</i>)
36	<i>iti</i>	maize ⁵⁴	51	51	57	<i>txitxi</i>	maize	<i>txitxi</i>
37	<i>iu</i> ⁵⁵	water	94	93	30	<i>bi</i>	water	<i>bziru</i>
37a						<i>i-u</i>	1SG/3-suck	<i>u</i>
38	<i>kapa</i> ⁵⁶	bands of rubber	12	12	14	<i>txapati</i>	bracelet of arm	<i>hapapukərə</i>
38a						<i>txapa</i>	upper arm	<i>hapa</i>
39	<i>karambari</i> ⁵⁷	leaf (also applied to “book”)	48	49	38, 53	<i>txaro</i>	leaf	<i>hōānī</i>
39a						<i>txarombrəj</i>	little leaf	<i>hōānī</i>
40	<i>karawa</i> ⁵⁸	knife	44			<i>pə</i>	knife	<i>hakutə</i>
40a						<i>karawa</i>	axe	<i>mītə</i>
41	<i>karawá</i> ⁵⁹	axe	3	3	46	<i>karawa</i>	axe	<i>mītə</i>
42	<i>karicóma</i> ⁶⁰	heavy	35	37	54	<i>kumə</i>	heavy, weigh	<i>kumī(ru)</i>
43	<i>keprika</i> ⁶¹	stomach	78	79	33	<i>txi-prika</i>	1PL-belly	<i>hi-pika</i>
44	<i>kokovi</i> ⁶²	maize	52	52	58	<i>txitxi</i>	maize	<i>txitxi</i>
44a						<i>kukue</i>	non-burnt clearing	<i>kukui</i>
45	<i>kura</i> ⁶³	dog	21	21	25	<i>kura</i>	jaguar, dog	<i>wa</i>
46	<i>mahi</i> ⁶⁴	necklace	61	60	26	<i>bə</i>	necklace	<i>bərɯ</i>
47	<i>mai</i> ⁶⁵	bad	8	8	66	<i>nājū</i>	bad, ugly, dirty	<i>pipitxi</i>
47a						<i>māj</i>	no	<i>mā</i>
48	<i>mai</i>	no	60	59	73	<i>māj</i>	no	<i>mā</i>
49	<i>maishambishi</i> ⁶⁶	teeth	88	87	28	<i>txokrihā</i>	teeth	<i>rɯ</i>
49a						<i>txa(mi)ko</i>	mouth	<i>hakɯ</i>
50	<i>maishi</i> ⁶⁷	no hay	59	58	7	<i>māj i-txi</i>	no 1SG/3-have	<i>mā nɛ</i>
51	<i>masi</i> ⁶⁸	snuff pipe	11	11	100	<i>kawari</i>	snuff pipe	<i>pīpika</i>
52	<i>menga</i> ⁶⁹	sututu	80	80	93	<i>ndəndə</i>	botfly maggot	<i>bubu</i>

⁵³ Unidentified. ‘Chunta’ is wood of the palmtree called *chonta* in Bolivia (*Astrocaryum chonta*). L: sword *ipa* (used for cleaning up weeds in plantations).

⁵⁴ L: *ítí* or *cocoví*. — This entry is probably related to the areal word for maize, e.g. MAK *atiti*, KWA *axtitxi*.

⁵⁵ L: *iu* (note quichua “i”).

⁵⁶ L: rubber bands on arm *capá*. — Fawcett believed he saw latex bracelets: ‘bands of rubber around the wrists and below the knees’. Consultants say that there were never any latex bracelets. However, cotton bracelets on the arms and the legs were painted with annatto, and may have resembled latex. The registered form *kapa* probably refers to the upper arm. See also *poriki* ‘rubber’. The correspondence of <k> or <c> with Arikapu [tx] is unexpected and the possibility cannot be excluded that a notation or transcription error has occurred and that originally <ch> was intended.

⁵⁷ L: *carambarí*. — See the previous note about the correspondence of <k> or <c> with Arikapu [tx].

⁵⁸ An entry for ‘knife’ is lacking in both Rivet (1953) and the London typescript.

⁵⁹ L: *carahua*.

⁶⁰ R: *karikóma*. L: *caricóma*. — The first part of this form is not understood.

⁶¹ L: *kepriká*.

⁶² P: maize *iti* (or) *kokoví*. L: *ítí* or *cocoví*. — See also *chichi* ‘chacra’. The meanings ‘maize’ and ‘chacra’ must have been swapped by mistake, since *kokoví* obviously refers to a non-burnt forest clearing made during the rainy season used to grow a type of maize that is suitable for porridge.

⁶³ L: dog ~~kura~~ (the “r” is soft) *kurá*.

⁶⁴ Unidentified.

⁶⁵ L: *maí*.

⁶⁶ R: *mai-šambi-biši*. L: (see mouth).

⁶⁷ R: *mai-ši* ‘il n’y a pas’. L: *maishí* there are none.

⁶⁸ L: *masí*. — Unidentified. The Arikapu form, also attested in Caspar’s word list (1955b: 12, 30), is almost identical with Makurap *kaware*. In the (unlikely) case that it is a loanword in Arikapu, Fawcett’s form may be original.

53	<i>miopé</i> ⁷⁰	tiger	84	83	49	<i>kura</i>	jaguar, dog	<i>wa</i>
54	<i>mipé</i>	leg	46	47	50	<i>mēpe</i>	knee	<i>pepe</i>
55	<i>mipi</i>	bee ⁷¹	13	13	1	<i>mbio</i>	bee	<i>be</i>
56	<i>mirū</i>	silvador ⁷²	55	55	89	<i>mbirə</i>	capuchin monkey	<i>bzire</i>
57	<i>moré</i>	yuca ⁷³	99	98	64	<i>mbure</i>	manioc	<i>mure</i>
58	<i>motón</i>	tea (probably herb concoction) ⁷⁴	86	85	97		tobacco tea to bathe	<i>kajtu(n)</i>
58a						<i>mōto</i>	sweet(en), salt(en)	<i>mātō</i>
59	<i>mū</i> ⁷⁵	arrow	2	2	41	<i>mbu</i>	arrow	<i>kubi</i>
60	<i>muñi</i> ⁷⁶	partridge	67	67	77	<i>utəra</i>	crested partridge	<i>tukure</i>
60a						<i>mūñi</i>	porcupine	<i>nōni</i>
61	<i>nini</i> ⁷⁷	bow	10	10	5	<i>nene</i>	bow	<i>tewə</i>
62	<i>ninikokne</i> ⁷⁸	nose	62	61	71	<i>txi-nĩnĩka</i> ⁷⁹	our nose	<i>hi-nĩkute</i>
63	<i>nō</i> ⁸⁰	another	4	4	6	<i>hanāj, txanāj</i>	other	<i>rəne</i>
64	<i>pahí</i>	tobacco ⁸¹	85	84	94	<i>pai, patxi</i>	paricá snuff, tobacco	<i>padji</i>
65	<i>pákari kapu</i> ⁸²	moon	53	53	55	<i>kupa</i>	moon	<i>kupa</i>
66	<i>pakari newtn</i> ⁸³	Venus (planet)	93	92	102			
66a						<i>hāndi, ājhā</i>	there, here	<i>naʔə, neu</i>
67	<i>pakuhé</i>	wife	97	95	32	<i>krajtxi</i>	wife	<i>tədji</i>
67a						<i>pakue</i>	woman	<i>paku</i>
68	<i>paragua</i> ⁸⁴	egg	30	31	75	<i>pawnə-rē</i>	chicken-egg	<i>paru-dje</i>
69	<i>paúna</i> ⁸⁵	fowl	32	34	79	<i>pawnə</i>	chicken	<i>paru</i>
70	<i>pikū</i> ⁸⁶	fire	31	32	37	<i>pikə</i>	fire	<i>pitxe</i>
71	<i>pirū</i> ⁸⁷	parrot	68	68	78	<i>pera</i>	parrot	<i>pire</i>

⁶⁹ Unidentified. Rivet (1953) has a question mark here. However, ‘sututu’ is the larva of the botfly (*Dermatobia hominis*, called *boro* in Bolivia and *berne* in Brazil), as Caspar correctly speculated in the margin of his offprint of Rivet (1953) (see also Fawcett 1911: 392). The London typescript adds: ‘(maggot)’. Presented as an alternative for *chikambū*, which does not occur in the London typescript.

⁷⁰ Unidentified.

⁷¹ L: bees.

⁷² L: monkey. — Spanish *mono silbador*, lit. ‘whistler monkey’, i.e. the capuchin monkey (*Cebus apella*).

⁷³ L: yuca (vegetable). — This is regional Spanish for ‘manioc’.

⁷⁴ L: tea *motón* (probably some similar decoction). — The corresponding DJE word refers to a tea-like extract of tobacco leaves that was used to apply to the body; the ARI form was not remembered.

⁷⁵ R: *mū* (pronounced *mēr*). — The remark between parentheses was added in handwriting.

⁷⁶ R: *muñe*.

⁷⁷ L: *nini*.

⁷⁸ R: *nini-kokne*. L: nose *ninikokni* (see mouth).

⁷⁹ Also pronounced as [txinĩnĩ’kə] ‘our nose’. Note that [ʔn] is sometimes attested in Djeoromitxi following word final [e]. This may also concern (66).

⁸⁰ L: *no* (lingering a little upon the “n”). — The remark between parentheses was added in handwriting.

⁸¹ Added in L: (chiquitana “pai”).

⁸² L: *pakari kapú*. — According to Fawcett (1915: 224), the “prefix” *pakari* is applied to words for planets, distinguishing them from stars. In fact, *pakuri* means ‘moon’ in Mekens (Tupari, Tupi) and, as Caspar noted, in Wayoró (Tupari, Tupi). It is also similar to *hakuri* ‘moon’ in Kwaza (isolate) and may be an areal word.

⁸³ L: planet Venus *pakari neut’n*. — See remark about *pakari* in the previous entry. The second element resembles a Djeoromitxi demonstrative.

⁸⁴ L: *paraguá*.

⁸⁵ L: *paúna*.

⁸⁶ L: *piku*.

72	<i>pitawá</i> ⁸⁸	to smoke	92	91	43	<i>pai-o</i>	parica-suck	<i>padji-nō</i>
73	<i>poriki</i> ⁸⁹	rubber	72	72	16	<i>ataw</i>	rubber	<i>txituru</i>
73a						<i>purikə</i>	cotton bracelet	<i>pekə</i>
74	<i>porunká</i> ⁹⁰	borachuda fly	15	15	70	<i>pərǎka</i>	gnat	<i>bukō</i>
75	<i>praya</i> ⁹¹	daughter	20	20	39	<i>pakuekraj</i>	girl, daughter	<i>pakutə</i>
76	<i>premé</i> ⁹²	bowl-dish	16	16	12	<i>premě</i>	bowl, plate	<i>hanibe</i>
77	<i>priña</i>	welcome	96	96	11	<i>a-prajne</i> ⁹³	2-arrive(-INT)	<i>a-djeki-hə</i>
78	<i>quiqui</i> ⁹⁴	sepi	83	82	88	<i>mēpī</i>	leafcutter ant	<i>pipitxi</i>
79	<i>sacashi</i> ⁹⁵	menachi	57	57	67	<i>txakutxi</i>	spider monkey	<i>menimi</i>
80	<i>ši</i> ⁹⁶	is	43	45	35	<i>txi</i>	to have, to keep	<i>dji</i>
81	<i>shikashi</i> ⁹⁷	hair	36	38	23	<i>txi-kai</i>	1PL-hair	<i>hi-kwāhi</i>
81a						<i>txi-kai-txi</i>	1PL-hair-NEG	
81b						<i>txi-kaj-txi</i>	1PL-head-bone	<i>hi-kwāka-dji</i>
82	<i>shimiriko</i> ⁹⁸	spoon	73	73	27	<i>txarew</i>	shell, spoon	<i>txiukakə</i>
82a						<i>txi-māĩ ku</i>	1PL-porridge eat	<i>(mĩ)</i>
83	<i>shipucome</i> ⁹⁹	throat	90	89	44	<i>txi-poko</i>	1PL-throat	<i>hi-kupũ</i>
84	<i>shishambikokne</i> ¹⁰⁰	mouth	56	56	13	<i>txi-txambiko</i>	1PL-open.mouth	<i>hi-rukə</i>
85	<i>sindukutara</i> ¹⁰¹	tongue	89	88	51	<i>txi-ndukutəre</i>	1PL-tongue	<i>hi-nūtəre</i>
86	<i>tā</i> ¹⁰²	much	54	54	9	<i>bəj</i>	much, many	<i>hōta</i>
87	<i>tabó</i>	(welcome) salute (used also apparently as “friend”) ¹⁰³	76	76, 33	86	<i>hāwi</i>	good	<i>medjũ</i>

⁸⁷ L: *piru*.

⁸⁸ L: to smoke *pitahua*. — Note South American Spanish *pitar*. Also Nordenskiöld (1915: 372) included *pituá* ‘tobacco’ in his word list of Huari (Aikanã, isolate). Smoking tobacco was not a widespread indigenous custom in the region, so the entry could be a loanword from Portuguese or Spanish. However, in various Tupi languages, tobacco is called *pitoa* (especially in Tupari languages) or something similar and it may be reconstructable. Spanish and Portuguese may have contributed to, or perhaps even triggered, the areal diffusion of the form because of its similar appearance. Words with similar shapes in languages that are in contact have a relatively high chance to spread areally or to be retained in contact-induced languages and can be considered as having a dual (or multiple) origin.

⁸⁹ L: *poriki*. — See the note concerning *kapa* ‘bands of rubber’.

⁹⁰ R: *porunka*. L: *porúnka*. — The ‘borachuda fly’ is the gnat (*Simulium pertinax*), POR *borrachudo*.

⁹¹ L: *praia*. — Unidentified.

⁹² L: bowl (half gourd) *premé* (also earthenware bowl).

⁹³ Interrogative understood in ARI and explicit in DJE: ‘You arrived, didn’t you?’

⁹⁴ R: sepi (?) *kiki*. L: “sepi” ant *quiqui*. — Unidentified. In Bolivian Spanish *sepe* means ‘leafcutter ant’. In his manuscript and on his offprint of Rivet’s article Caspar speculates that this is the leaf-cutter ant, POR *saúva*.

⁹⁵ R: *sakaší*. L: manechi monkey *sacoshí*. — Rivet apparently did not know the gloss ‘menachi’ given by Fawcett. In regional Spanish, *manechi* refers to the black howler monkey (*Alouatta caraya*). The Arikapu term refers to the spider monkey (*Ateles paniscus*).

⁹⁶ R: *ši*.

⁹⁷ R: *ši-kaší*. L: *shikashí*. — The Arikapu interpretation could either be ‘one’s being bald’ or ‘one’s skull’.

⁹⁸ R: *ši-miriko*. L: *shimiriko*.

⁹⁹ R: *ši-pukome*. L: *shipucóme*.

¹⁰⁰ R: *ši-šambi-kokne*. L: *shishambikokni*. — Lit. ‘our open mouth’.

¹⁰¹ R: *sindukutara*. L: *sindukutará*.

¹⁰² L: much *tah* (much lingering on the “t.”) — The remark between parentheses was added in handwriting. Perhaps an ideophone.

¹⁰³ L: friend *tabó* (used in greeting); L: welcome *tabó*. — Maybe from POR *Está bom?* [ta’bõ] ‘Are things all right?’ In Fawcett’s article (1915: 223) it occurs as *tabo*.

88	<i>taivé</i> ¹⁰⁴	bring	9	9	2	<i>tə</i>	to bring	<i>te</i>
89	<i>taivé</i> ¹⁰⁵	exchange	63	62	31	<i>tə</i>	to bring	<i>te</i>
90	<i>tájó</i> ¹⁰⁶	sun	75	75	90	<i>təhā</i>	sun	<i>təhō</i>
91	<i>takū</i> ¹⁰⁷	turn	87	86	99	<i>takā</i>	finished	<i>bztā</i>
92	<i>taméyava</i> ¹⁰⁸	hook	37	39	48	<i>kunĩ</i>	hook, thorn	<i>kunĩ</i>
93	<i>tapí</i>	ceremony over the dead ¹⁰⁹	23	23	18	<i>ta-pi</i>	3-die	<i>hahi</i>
94	<i>tiriwa</i> ¹¹⁰	sleep	77	78	91	<i>nūtā</i>	to sleep	<i>nōtō</i>
95	<i>tũ</i>	hammock	42	44	47	<i>ti</i>	hammock	<i>tetə</i>
96	<i>ũh ũh</i>	yes	100	99	82	<i>hāʔā</i>	yes	<i>hāʔā</i>
97	<i>ukoni</i> ¹¹¹	salt or ashes	81	81	17, 87	<i>kukənĩ</i>	salt	<i>kukəbzi</i>
98	<i>vihi</i> ¹¹²	road	70	70	21	<i>wɪ</i>	path	<i>vikũ</i>
99	<i>vira vira</i> ¹¹³	star	74	74	34	<i>wirəwirə</i>	small star	<i>bzrebzre</i>
100	<i>viuchá</i> ¹¹⁴	walk	98	97	84	<i>kəʔj</i>	to walk	<i>djekire, dudu</i>
100a						<i>wɪ-txe</i>	path-LOC	<i>wikũ-txe</i>
101	<i>yako</i> ¹¹⁵	eaten	26	25	61	<i>ku</i>	eat	<i>ku</i>

¹⁰⁴ In the London manuscript, the form is followed by '(?)', which probably means it is uncertain. Nevertheless, one could speculate about a purposive construction such as ARI *tə iʔowə(j)* 'Bring, in order for us to drink!' Caspar's (1955b: 6) form *tejvẽ* 'receive' could not be confirmed.

¹⁰⁵ In the London typescript, this form is followed by '(see bring)'.
¹⁰⁶ R: *táxó*. L: sun *tájó* (spanish "hota" - pronounced "ta(g)ko"). — The remark between parentheses was added in handwriting. In Fawcett (1915: 224) the form occurs as *tájó* with the remark: "the "j" being the Spanish "hota"".

¹⁰⁷ L: *takú*.
¹⁰⁸ L: *tameyáva*. R: *atiá*. — Rivet has a completely different form here that does not occur in Fawcett's documents at all: *atiá* 'hameçon' (which happens to look rather like AIK *ātiza* [ãti'ða] 'fishhook').

¹⁰⁹ L: dead (ceremony for).

¹¹⁰ L: *tirihua* (pronounced *tiriwa*). — The remark between parentheses was added in handwriting.

¹¹¹ L: salt *ukóni* (probably alkali). — Rivet lists this form twice, under (17) as 'cendres' and under (87) as 'sel'. Native salt was made of the ashes of aricuri (*Cocos coronata*) palm tree spathes.
¹¹² See *chivi*.

¹¹³ L: *víravíra*. — Fawcett (1915: 224): *vira vira*.

¹¹⁴ R: *riučá*. L: *viucha*. — The initial consonant of the form in the Paris manuscript is difficult to identify.

¹¹⁵ L: *yakó*. — Perhaps the first syllable is POR *já* [ʒa] 'already'.