PROTO HIANACOTO: GUAQUE-CARIJONA-HIANACOTO UMAUA*

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0. Guaque, Carijona and Hianacoto-Umaua[1] are Carib languages located in south-central Colombia, near the borders of Ecuador, Peru and Brazil.[2] There is a well known report by Marcoy (1867) of

[1] Some alternate names for these languages are Guake, Guagua, Guate, Gwate, Huake, Huaque, Hwake, Murcielaga and Murcielago for Guaque; Kalihóna, Karixóna, Carifona, Karijona, Kalihona, Umawa and Omagua for Carijona; for Hianacoto-Umaua we find Umaua-Hianakoto, Umáua, Máua, Hianákoto-Umáuna, Saha and Tsahátsaha. As regards the last two names Loukotka (1968: 221) lists them as separate languages, while Koch-Grünberg (1908: 4) states that Hianákoto-Umáua is fully comprehensible with the Tsahatsaha language as well as with Carijona. Further, Friede (1948) states that Umaua is identical with Karijona, that the Huaque are part of the Umaua tribe, and that the Piana-Carifona mentioned in a mission report of 1773 seem to be a subgroup of Huaque. Friede adds that the Umaua are probably the Guagua, which in 1862 seemed to be identical with the Huaque (Ortiz 1965: 231).

[2] Patagon, at one time spoken around the modern city of Jaen, Department of Cajamarca, Peru, supposedly would be one of the southernmost languages in the Carib group. However, because of lack of sufficient data (only five words recorded; see Loukotka 1968: 221), we have proposed that Patagon be left as an unclassified language (Durbin and Seijas, 1972a).

Umaua speakers in Brazil, but later inspection of Marcoy's word list showed that Marcoy had confused Umaua with Omagua, a Tupi language in northwestern Brazil.[3] Furthermore, his 'Umaua' informant, whose native language was probably Lingua Geral, had incorporated Quechua words as well as a few items from a Carib language. Eight Carib words in Marcoy's list are very similar to Carijona and Hianacoto so that one is inclined to believe that the words were probably borrowed from one or both of these languages (Koch-Grünberg 1908: 2, 6–7).

Guaque probably is by now an extinct language (Ortiz 1965: 232), but there are still Carijona and Hianacoto-Umaua speakers living in the Yarí, Apaporis and Vaupés river areas (Igualada and Castellví 1940; Castellví 1954–1962; Dussan de Reichel 1965: 21).[4] The available literature on these

[3] Umaua has been confused with Omagua on several other occasions (see Koch-Grünberg 1908: 1–3, 6–7). This is probably due to Spanish orthography where/wa/ and/gwa/may both be represented by ua and gua. Nimuendajú (1914) lists in his comparative material a language called Maué, which may be confused with Umaua; Nimuendajú does not give the source for his Maué data. According to Leacock (1964: 2) Maué is a Tupi language spoken between the Tapajós and Madeira rivers.

[4] Reichel-Dolmatoff (1967: 326–331) noted that there were 50 Carijona speakers at Puerto Nare near Miraflores on the Vaupés River. They once lived more to the south. Curiously, he does not mention the Hianacoto-Umaua which are near this area. But he does mention groups of Maku who move in the interfluvial forests of the Vaupés River. Some of these groups live for more or less long periods with agricultural groups, principally the Desana and Tukano. Reichel-Dolmatoff lists the Maku as CARIB and reports that some 800 of them had recently been seen (1967 or before) in the northwest part of the Vaupés where they occupied

three languages is relatively scarce and varies both in quantity of lexical items and accuracy of transcription.[5] Various proposals have been made regarding the internal and external relationships of Guaque, Carijona and Hianacoto-Umaua. All sources agree in

placing these three languages in a common group within Carib. Koch-Grünberg (1908: 4–5) notes that Carijona is a dialect of Hianacoto-Umaua, and that Guaque is closely related to these two dialects. Ortiz (1965: 198, 231), following an inferential suggestion by Friede (1948), equates Carijona and Guaque, and then places this Guaque-Carijona language along with Hianacoto-Umaua within the Caquetá-Apaporis group of Carib. Dussan de Reichel (1965: 21) lists Hianacoto-Umaua and Carijona as Carib languages, with Tsahatsaha, Mahotóyana, Kaikuchana, and Riama as subgroups. Mason (1950: 228) includes Carijona, Hianacoto, Guaque, Tsahatsaha (Saha), Guagua, Riama, Caicushana, Mahotoyana and Yacuoyama within the western Amazon group of Northern Carib. Loukotka (1968: 220–221) places Guaque, Carijona and Hianacoto, along with Saha, Riama, Mahotoyana and Ajajú, within the Carijona group of Carib. Most of the groupings of these languages have been based upon geographical proximity rather than on linguistic evidence. Guaque, Carijona and Hianacoto-Umaua form a linguistic as well as a geographical unity in that they share innovations which no other Carib subgroup shares (see below). As regards the external relations of these languages one would expect to find their closest geographical Carib neighbors, the Carare, Opone and Yukpa on the Venezuelan and Colombian borders, to be also their closest linguistic neighbors. This, however is not the case. It has been posited that the closest linguistic neighbors of the Hianacoto were the Pianacoto (Koch-Grünberg 1908: 3–4). We presume that Koch-Grünberg's idea about the close relationship between these two languages was based on (1) the similarity of their names, (2) the fact that there is a systematic sound correspondence of Pianacoto /p/ corresponding to Hianacoto /b/ and /h/, and (3) the similarities of the vocabularies of the two languages. As is well known, one cannot rely on similarities of tribal names to establish

an extended area south of the Guaviare River, towards the source of the Inirida. Another 1000 Maku are said to be on the Guaviare River, south of La Charra. Smaller groups of Maku are found southwest of Tipiaca, near the Vaupés, on the Macu-Parana, a northern branch of the Papuri River, and near Piracuara, on the Papuri River itself.

[5] For Guaque there are three original sources, Albis (1860–1861), Anonymous ms., and Rocha (1905: 201–202). These sources have been partially reprinted in Armellada (1943), Brinton (1901: 351), Goeje (1909), Landar (1968), and Loukotka (1968: 221). Most of the reprinted versions do not give information as to which original source is used. Usually the secondary sources do not include all the items given in the originals. We have used Albis (1860–1861: 68–70), which contains over two hundred lexical items, as our main source for Guaque. Rocha's word list is reprinted at the end of this paper.

For Carijona there is only one published original source (Crévaux 1882). Original unpublished sources for Carijona are Quito (ms.b), Tastevin (ms.) and Uribe (1931). As indicated previously, the material given in Rocha (1905) as Carijona in all probability is Guaque. Crevaux's materials are not extensive and are poor in quality, but since they are the only original source available to us, all Carijona materials presented in this paper come from that source. Secondary sources for Carijona are Adam (1890; 1893), Goeje (1909), Koch-Grünberg (1906: 203: 1908), Landar (1968), Loukotka (1968: 221), Nimuendajú (1914), Rivet (1943–44), and Tavera-Acosta (1907: 379).

For Hianacoto-Umaua we have used Koch-Grünberg (1908) which includes both vocabulary and morphology. The lexical material in this source is extensive and well transcribed phonetically; it has been partially reproduced in Goeje (1909), Koch-Grünberg (1910, table following p. 324), Loukotka (1968: 221), Nimuendajú (1914), Rivet (1943–44), and Tavera-Acosta (1907: 378). Tastevin (ms. a), an original source, remains unpublished; Koch-Grünberg (1906: 202) is an original source, but contains only a short vocabulary. As indicated previously, Marcoy's (1867: 106) Umaua word list is not Hianacoto-Umaua, but rather Omagua, a Tupi language in Brazil.

linguistic relationships (witness Apiaca found in both the Carib and Tupi language families), nor does vocabulary similarity within the Carib family carry much weight since all the Carib languages show a high degree of lexical similarity. As regards the p : h correspondence, it is exactly this point which sets Hianacoto and Pianacoto apart since the retention of a Proto-Carib *p in Pianacoto aligns it with the more conservative northern Carib languages, while the change of this Proto-Carib*p to /b/ and /h/ in Hianacoto places this language much closer to Bakairi-Yaruma-Nahukwa-Txikao (Lower Xingu Basin languages) and Maquiritare (Venezuela), all of which share with Hianacoto the innovation of changing Proto-Carib*p into b, f, w, h (see Durbin and Seijas 1972b).

Thus, we can say that Hianacoto's closest linguistic neighbors are Bakairi and Maquiritare, more than two thousand kilometers away and separated from Hianacoto by several intervening language families. The direction of the migrations remains unknown.

At this point we are attempting a reconstruction of the Guaque-Carijona-Hianacoto Umaua group since it is highly unlikely that more linguistic data will ever be forthcoming, even from those languages which still survive. In the process of reconstruction, we are biased toward Hianacoto-Umaua in that the best and most extensive materials are available for that speech community.

1.1. Koch-Grünberg's (1908) phonetic transcription of Hianacoto-Umaua is remarkably detailed and consistent; enough so that a fairly complete picture of contrasts can be extracted from the data. For the vowels Koch-Grünberg (1908: 7) lists the following phonetic information: 1) a, i, u = as in German; 2) ę = in initial position produced in the anterior part of the palate; in final position almost unidentifiable, almost like a reduced i, and sometimes equivalent to this sound; 3) e = very often an e, similar

to German ä, French è; 4) ë = dark guttural e, occasionally like u in English hut; 5) o = often o, like in Portuguese; 6) u = sound between u and o; 7) ã, ẽ, ĩ, õ, ũ = nasalized. Nasalization occurs very rarely; 8) w = consonantal u, like w in English *water*; 9) y = consonantal y, like English y in youth; 10) au, ai, eu, oi = both vowels are spoken separately; 11) au, ai, eu, oi = diphthongs.

On the basis of the above, we can make the following interpretations: 1) /a/, /i/, /u/ = low central, high front, and high back vowels, respectively; 2) ę should probably be interpreted as /i/. There is evidence that /i/ may be in complementary distribution with at least two other vowels, /e/ and /i/, but the evidence is not conclusive. /i/ appears to have two variants: [i], a high central vowel, and [I], a lower high front vowel; 3) e is interpreted as /e/ with two variants: [e], a higher mid front vowel, and [ɛ], a lower mid front vowel; 4) On the basis of the heavy gutturality mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, ë is interpreted as /ə/ with two variants: [ɨ], an unrounded high back vowel found in all Carib languages, and [ə], a mid central vowel; 5) o is interpreted as /o/ with two variants: [o], a mid back vowel, and [ɔ], a lower mid back vowel ('wie im Portugiesischen'); 6) u is interpreted as [ʊ], a lower high back vowel, a variant of /u/ given above. [ʊ] has a very low frequency of occurrence, and often alternates with [u], a high back vowel, the other variant of /u/. Its occurrence is mostly in word final position; 7) ã, ẽ, õ, ũ are interpreted as /ã/, /ẽ/, /õ/, /ũ/, series of nasalized vowels. Presumably /ẽ/, covers both /ĩ/ and /ə̃/, which, although not listed by Koch-Grünberg, are found in the data. No examples of a nasalized high front vowel [ĩ] are found in the corpus; 8) w is interpreted as /w/, a bilabial semivowel; 9) y is interpreted as /y/ with two variants: [y], a palatal semivowel and [dʸ], a palatalized voiced alveolar stop, in free variation with each other in the same word; 10) au, ai, eu, oi are interpreted as vowel plus /w/ or /y/,

according to the case, where the two segments occur in separate syllables: /a.w/, /a.y/, /e.w/, and /o.y/; 11) au, ai, eu, ei are interpreted as vowel plus /w͡/ or /y͡/, according to the case, where the segments occur in the same syllable: /aw/, /ay/, /ew/, /oy/. In addition to the above, Koch-Grünberg uses throughout the lexicon a macron over vowels (V̄) which does not coincide with stress markings. We interpret this as vowel length which is found to contrast in many Carib languages.

There are then seven cardinal vowels /i, e, ɨ, ə, a, u, o/. A lengthened version (indicated in our transcription by a repetition of the vowel) of these seven vowels occurs. Both long and short vowels occur with weak and strong stress, except */əə/ which does not occur in the data. Of the nasalized series we find only /ĩ, ũ, ə̃, õ, ã, ã́/. As Koch-Grünberg noted, they occur only rarely.

All lexical items have vowel-final terminations, though /ə/ and /ə̃/ are relatively rare in this position. Lexical items generally begin with a consonant or semivowel (/w, y/), but some vowels may also begin a word (see below).

Primary stress may occur on any syllable in the word. Comparative evidence from other Carib languages indicates that what is marked as stress may sometimes be an indication of glottal occlusion ['], especially when it occurs on the last vowel of a lexical item, but it is impossible in these data to distinguish this from stress. Consequently, all stress marks are consistently interpreted as stress. In several, but not all, cases primary stress co-occurs with vowel length; primary stress may occur with short vowels, and long vowels may occur with weak stress. In several cases there is more than one primary stress on a lexical item, but such items are always the product of a compounding process.

For the consonants Koch-Grünberg (1908: 7–8) states: 1) b, d, g, k, m, n, p, s, t = as in German; 2) h = German h as in haben; 3) l, r = lacking; 4) ł = sound between l and

r, similar to the rolling Polish r, at times gravitating toward l, at times toward r; 5) ž = French j as in jeter; 6) x = velar fricative articulated on the back palate, similar to Spanish j or a light German ch in Nacht; 7) x̣ = similar to a light ch in German nicht; 8) ǰ (=dž) = Italian g (i) in giorno, voiced palatal affricate; 9) d̆ = dž, voiced dental affricate.

From the above we make the following interpretations: 1) /b/ with variants [b], voiced bilabial stop, and [p], voiceless bilabial stop. [p] occurs only once in the data, [yepítaali] *mandible*; 2) /t/ with variants [t], voiceless alveolar stop, and [d], voiced alveolar stop. [d] rarely occurs except in alternation with [t] within the same lexical item; 3) /k/ with variants [k], voiceless velar stop, and [g], voiced velar stop. [g] is often a free variant of [k] in the same lexical item, and often occurs before back vowels; 4) /m/, a voiced bilabial nasal resonant; 5) /n/, a voiced alveolar nasal resonant; 6) /s/ with variants of [s], voiceless alveolar fricative, and [ds], an alveolar fricative with a voiced onset and a voiceless offset. In almost all cases [s] and [ds] are in free variation in the same lexical item, though [s] has a very low frequency of occurrence in initial position. It should be noted that as in most Carib languages, voicing is not a distinctive feature in Hianacoto-Umaua; 7) /h/ with variants of [h], a voiceless glottal fricative; [x], a voiceless velar fricative which occurs only before /s, m, n, t/ and sometimes in free variation with [h] in the same lexical item; and [x̆] (x̣), a post-palatal velar fricative which occurs only before /k/ and rarely in free variation with [h] and [x]; 8) /l/ a voiced lateral; 9) /ǰ/ with variants of [ǰ], a voiced palatal affricate occurring before /i/ initially and medially, and before /a/ in a few cases in medial position; [dx̆], a post-palatal affricate with a voiced onset and voiceless offset occurring initially before low and back vowels /u, o, a/, and between back and low vowels in medial position; [tx̆], a voiceless post-palatal affricate occurring

initially between /a/ and /e/; and [ž], a voiced palatal fricative which occurs only twice, in medial position before /i/. [dx̌] and [tx̌] alternate in the same lexical item in initial position before /e/ and /a/, and medially before /a/. [ǰ] and [dx̌] alternate in the same lexical item initially before /i/ and medially before /a/. [tx̌], [dx̌], and [ǰ] alternate in the same lexical item medially before /a/ and /i/ in one case each. Koch-Grünberg (1908: 84) notes that [ǰ] and [dx̌] can be hardly differentiated acoustically; 10) /j/ with two variants: [dz], a voiced alveolar affricate with a strong onset, and [ᵈz], a voiced alveolar affricate with a weak onset. /j/ becomes neutralized in a few cases with /ǰ/ before /i/, and with /s/ before /a/, /e/, and /o/ in one case each. [dz] and [ᵈz] alternate with each other in the same word in all environments in free variation. It should be noted that [ž, x̌, z] also occur as parts of affricates (both homorganic and heterorganic); 11) From Koch-Grünberg's (1908: 84) remarks we can also posit /ñ/ based upon the fact that very frequently a medial [n] occurs simultaneously with the semi-vowel /y/.

In summary, the following consonants and semivowels are posited:

b   j   t   ǰ   k

w   s   y   h

m   n   ñ

l

The syllable types in the phonological word are V, CVS (semivowel), SV, SVS, CV, and CVC. CV is the predominant type and may contain any combination of consonant and vowel. The other syllable types are more limited in their structure: V may occur in word initial position and be composed of only /i, e, ɨ, a, ə, u, o, é, ee, áa/. The final consonant in CVC can only be /h/. The semivowels consist of only /w/ and /y/ in

SV, CVS, SVS. Except for V, all syllable types may occur in any position in the word. The phonological word, with one primary stress, ranges from one to six syllables.

1.2. Close inspection reveals that Rocha's (1905: 201–202) Carijona word list is very similar to Albis' (1860–1861: 68–70) Guaque vocabulary in almost all of the items with identical or similar meanings (nineteen out of twenty-one). This degree of identity is such that we feel we are justified in considering the two sources as representing the same dialect of the same language.

Since the materials for Guaque are not extensive, and since they are relatively poor in quality, we can reconstruct only the barest essentials of the phonological system. We can reconstruct only a five vowel system of /a, e, i, o, u/; early transcribers failed to record central and unrounded vowels—features found in all present-day Carib languages—and vowel length. Both /w/ and /y/ are recorded in various conventions. /p, t, k, b, d, č, s, h, m, n, ñ, r/ can be established without difficulty. Albis' Guaque vocabulary includes f which is doubtful as a separate contrast. f is more likely to be a variant of /p/ or /w/. The status of /b, d/ can be questioned since they are established on the basis of only a few lexical items and, as mentioned above, voicing is rarely found as a distinctive feature in Carib languages. We have, nevertheless, left these doubtful units as contrasts, because they may be useful for later comparative purposes.

/a, i, u/ may begin a word, while any vowel may end a word. All words must end with a vowel. The syllable types are V, CV, CVC, SV, and CVS. V may only occur in word initial position followed by other syllables. The other syllable types may occur alone, or in any position in the word. CV is the most frequent syllable type. A word may range from one to seven syllables.

1.3. There are very few data for Carijona, totalling approximately 100 words. The phonological structure for this language is

similar to that of Guaque, except for some evidence for /õ/ and for /l/ being separate from /r/ (Crévaux, 1892).

2. We can reconstruct the protocontrasts for Guaque (G), Carijona (C) and Hianacoto-Umaua (H) on the basis of identical correspondence sets as follows: *o > (G) o: (C) o: (H) o in neno, nono, nóono *earth*; koto, koto, wóto *peccary*; kinoro, ilinoro, kinóolo *kind of parrot*. * e > (G) e: (C) e: (H) e in emuru, yenuru, yenúulu *eye*; bey, bey, wéy *sun*; bebe, wewe, wéwe *tree*. * i > (G) i: (C) i: (H) i in kaykuči, kaykuči, kaykúji *tiger, dog*; mačihuri, mačihuri, majíhuli *tapir*; arimina, arimime, alímimɨ *kind of monkey*. *a > (G) a: (C) a: (H) a in kanawa, kanawaya, kanáwa *canoe*; arabata, alawata, alawatá *howler monkey*; tuna, tuna, túuna *water*. *u > (G) u: (C) u: (H) u in emuru, yenuru, yenúulu *eye*; mačihuri, mačihuri, majíhuli *tapir*; kaykuči, kaykuči, kaykúji *tiger, dog*. *t > (G) t: (C) t: (H) t in koto, koto, wóto *peccary*; atate, etate, atáati *hammock*; tuna, tuna, túuna *water*. *k > (G) k: (C) k: (H) k in kahu, kaho, káahu *sky*; kaykuči, kaykuči, kaykúji *tiger, dog*; kanawa, kanawaya, kanáwa *canoe*. *s > (G) s: (C) s: (H) s in iwasa, iwasa,[6] iwása *knife, machete*; (C) sakenay, (H) (kutu)-sakanay *sick*; (G) sohe, (H) soohé *hat*. *m > (G) m: (C) m: (H) m in ismu, imo, íihmu *egg*; arimina, arimime, alímimɨ *kind of monkey*; tamwe, tamwinto, táamɨ *tobacco*. *n > (G) n: (C) n: (H) n in tuna, tuna, túuna *water*; neno, nono, nóono *earth*; kanawa, kanawaya, kanáwa *canoe*. *y > (G)y: (C) y: (H) y in bey, bey, wéy *sun*; kaykuči, kaykuči, kaykúji *tiger, dog*; yeri, yeri, yéeli *tooth*. *w > (G) w: (C) w: (H) w in kanawa, kanawaya, kanáwa *canoe*; iwasa, iwasa,[6] iwása *knife, machete*; wa, wa, wá *no*. *h > (G) h: (C) h: (H) h in kahu, kaho, káahu

[6] This word occurs in the text as iaoussa /yawsa/ which probably is a printing error, and should be iouassa /iwasa/.

sky; mačihuri, mačihuri, majíhuli *tapir*; (C) konoho, (H) konóho *rain*.

The following reconstructions are established on the basis of non-identical correspondence sets: *ii > (G) i: (C) i: (H) ii in ismu, imo, íihmu *egg*; (G) hihi, (H) híihi *brother*; (C) inčiri, (H) yéejiilɨ *daughter*. * ee > (G) e: (C) e: (H) ee in yeri, yeri, yéeli *tooth*; (G) sukutume, (H) jukútumeemɨ *black*; (C) teni, (H) téeñi *one*. *aa > (G) a: (C) a: (H) aa in haro, paru, háalu *banana*; hanari, anari, banáali *ear*; kahu, kaho, káahu *sky*. * uu > (G) u: (C) u: (H) uu in emuru, yenuru, yenúulu *eye*; nuna, nunwa, núunɨ *moon*; tuna, tuna, túuna *water*. * oo > (G) o: (C) o: (H) oo in kinoro, ilinoro, kinóolo *kind of parrot*; (G) yočihoti, (H) yejíhootɨ *eyebrows, eyelashes*; (C) monome, (H) móonomɨnay *big*.

The following reconstructions are established on the basis of non-identical correspondence sets, which may be the result of transcription practices: * l > (G) r: (C) r: (H) l in haro, paru, háalu *banana*; hanari, anari banáali *ear*; erima, erina, ɨlinɨ *pot, jar*. * č > (G) č: (C) č: (H) j in mačihuri, mačihuri, majíhuli *tapir*; kaykuči, kaykuči, kaykúji *tiger, dog*; (G) heheči, (H) hehéeji *wind*. * ñ > (G) ñ: (H) ñ in (G) niñare, (H) yéeñalɨ *hand*; (G) niñakamoro, (H) yeeñakámulu *finger*.

The following reconstructions are based on correspondence sets which might possibly be in complementary distribution with other sets, but the evidence is inconclusive: * ȼ > (G) s: (C) s: (H) j in susuma, susuma, júsumɨ *cane, sugar cane*; isewae, ese, ije-waée *to want*; (G) sukutume, (H) jukútumeemɨ *black*. *N > (G) m: (C) n: (H) n in emuru, yenuru, yenúulu *eye*; erima, erina, ɨlinɨ *pot, jar*.

The correspondence sets that follow are in complementary distribution with other correspondence sets: *p > (G) p: (C) p: (H) h / V₁—V₂ where V₂ ≠ i in hepu, tepo, tíhu *stone*; (G) ičipari, (H) yejíhaali *calf of the leg*; (G) ihupuru, (H) buhúulu *foot*. *p >

(G) f: (H) h / __ i in (G) fina, (H) hían̄a *morningstar, hawk*; (G) tufwite, (H) tuhíti *cleared patch*. * p > (G) h: (C) p: (H) h / ⚹ __ in haro, paru, háalu *banana*; *ñ > (G) n: (C) n: (H) ñ / __ front vowels, long vowels in kokone, kokoneneǯi, kokón̄enéeǯi *late, afternoon*; (C) teni, (H) téeñi *one*; (G) iniko, (H) yiñíiko *tongue*. *w > (G) k: (C) k: (H) w / __ o in koto, goto, wóto *peccary*; (G) komere, (H) wóomili *to talk, speech*. * w > (G) b: (C) w: (H) w / __ e in bebe, wewe, wéwe *tree*. * b > (G) b: (C) b: (H) w / __VC, V₁__V₂ where V₂ ≠ e in bey, bey, wéy *sun*; arabata, arabata, alawatá *howler monkey*; (G) kebey, (H) kewéy *fishhook*. *b > (G) h: (C) Ø: (H) b/h / ⚹ __ in hanari, Øanari, banáali *ear*; hutuye, Øutuhe, bútuhi *head*. It should be noted in this latter correspondence that Hianacoto-Umaua /b/ alternates with /h/ morphophonemically, with /b/ occurring in initial position and /h/ occurring in medial position: banáali *ear*, ti-hana *his ear*.

The following correspondences occur only once in the data, and usually only between two languages. They are considered correspondence sets because the remainder of the lexical item in which they occur represents correspondence sets which occur several times: *t > (G) nd: (H) t / __a in (G) indare, (H) yítali *mouth*. * s > (G) č: (H) s / ⚹ __i in (G) čirike, (H) silíki *star*. *s > (G) s: (C) Ø: (H) h / __C in ismu, imo, íihmu *egg*. *N > (G) n: (C) m: (H) m in arimina, arimime, alímimi, *kind of monkey*.

Some of the reconstructions which follow involve vowels based upon pairs of languages: * ə > (G) e: (C) e: (H) ə/ contiguous *l in erima, erina, ślini *pot, jar*; (G) umere, (H) ímələ *you, yours*; (G) berebere, (H) wəlíini *fly (insect)*. *ə > (G) i: (C) i: (H) ə / __⚹, w__in wiwi, wiwi, wówə *axe, hatchet*; (G) u-wi, (H) wóy *bitter manioc*; (C) awi, (H) iwə *I, my*. *ə > (G) a: (H) ə / __m in (G) hamuy, (H) həmíy *chili pepper*. *a > (G) a: (C) a: (H) i / high vowel, not from the same proto-source (*a), occurring in a contiguous syllable in nuna, nunwa, núuni *moon*; erima, erina, ślini *pot, jar*; susuma, susuma, júsumi

cane, sugar cane. The above correspondence set causes us to posit */'/ (glottal occlusion) in final position. Otherwise, */tuna/ would have become */tuni/ in Hianacoto. Koch-Grünberg does not record a glottal occlusion for Hianacoto, or for any of the Carib languages he worked with, though it is usually present at the phonetic level in most present-day languages. Thus, we reconstruct */núuna'/ *moon*. /'/ is found in several other Carib languages in this position for this lexical item. Further examples where glottal occlusion must be posited follow: * i > (G) e: (C) e: (H) i in hepu, tepo, tíhu *stone*; hutuye, utuhe, bútuhi *head*; atate, etate, atáati *hammock*. *i > (G) i: (C) i: (H) i / contiguous protoalveolar contrast in kinoro, ilinoro, kinóolo *kind of parrot*; (G) manatiri, (H) manátili *teat*; (G) ereri, (H) éleli *liver*. *u > (G) u: (H) i/ stressed syllables with contiguous nasals in (G) hamuy, (H) həmíy *chilipepper*; (G) umere, (H) ímələ *you, yours*. The above two correspondences underlying proto *i and proto *i indicate the need to posit at least two proto-stress contrasts: strong */'/ and weak (unmarked).[7] *u > (G) u: (C) o: (H) u / h, proto-bilabials in hepu, tepo, tíhu *stone*; ismu, imo, íihmu *egg*; kahu, kaho, káahu *sky*. *e > (G) e: (H) i/ __⚹, unstressed syllables in (G) komere, (H) wóomili *talk, speech*; (G) indare, (H) yítali *mouth*.

Due to lack of data, some possibility of printing errors, and especially to transcription errors, we cannot explain the following correspondences: (G) e: (H) ii in (G) yahere, (H) yahíili *arm*; (G) berebere, (H) wəlíini *fly (insect)*. (G) m: (H) w in (G) mesene, (H) wejéene *mirror*. (G) s:(H) y in (H) kahas, (G) kaháay *avocado*. (G) a:(C) e: (H) i

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[7] Proto-stress placement is based upon Hianacoto-Umaua, though it is formulated independently. It should be noted that Crévaux (1882) also records stress in his Carijona data, but his marking of stress seems to be associated with French è and é; just as Koch-Grünberg's (1908) stress markings for Hianacoto-Umaua are probably confused with glottal occlusion.

in (H) arimina, arimime, alímimɨ *kind of monkey*. (G) a:(C) e: (H) a in atate, etate, atáatɨ *hammock*; (C) sakenay, (H) (kutú) sakanay *sick*. (G) e: (C) o: (H) oo in neno, nono, nóono *earth*. (G) n: (C) l: (H) l in tane, tale, ɉáalɨ *here*. (G) t: (C) t: (H) ɉ in tane, tale, ɉáalɨ *here*. (G) y: (C) h: (H) h in hutuye, utuhe, bútuhɨ *head*. (G) h:(C) t:(H) t in hepu, tepo, tíhu *stone*. (C) a:(H) oo in (C) akamay, (H) elekóome-tinɨ-kɨ *all*. (G) e: (C) i: (H) ɨ in tamwe, tamwinto, táamɨ *tobacco*. (G) o: (C) u: (H) u in haro, paru, háalu *banana*; (G) niñakamoro, (H) yeeñakámulu *finger*. (G) a: (H) i in (G) ihimira, (H) bəməli *neck*.

There are no cognates for nasalization as a contrast in the proto-language, though we would postulate nasalization as a part of the proto-language.

Summarizing the above, the phonological system of Proto-Hianacoto appears to be:

VOWELS

	front		back	
	i	ɨ	u	high
	e	ə	o	mid
		a		low

CONSONANTS

p ¢ t č k '	voiceless stops & affricates
b	voiced stop
w s y h	fricatives (vd. and vl.)
m n ñ	nasals
l	lateral

Vowel length (except /ə/); vowel nasalization (possible)

STRESS[7]

strong /'/
weak (unmarked)

It should be noted that Proto-Hianacoto differs from most Carib languages in that there appears to be one point (labial) of voicing contrast.

3. The following represents the reconstruction of as many lexical items as was found possible. Unless noted otherwise, the order of the material presented is as follows: Guaque, Carijona, Hianacoto, Proto-Hiana-

coto, 1) (G) aribe, (H) aliwé, *aliwé *alligator* 2) (G) akoronó, (H) akólonoo, *akólonoo *another* 3) wiwi, wiwi, wə́wə, *wə́wə *axe, hatchet* 4) (G) yamaratari, (H) yamalátaali, *yamalátaali *beard, chin* 5) (C) monome, (H) móonomɨnay, *móonomɨ- *big* 6) (G) sukutume, (H) jukútumeemɨ, *¢ukútumee- *black* 7) (G) yetihe, (H) yétihɨ, *yétihɨ *bone* 8) (G) hihi, (H) hɨihi, *hɨihi *brother* 9) (G) iči̇pari, (H)-ɉíhaali, *-čɨ́paali *calf of the leg* 10) kanawa, kanawaya, kanáwa, *kanáwa- *canoe* 11) (G) tufwite, (H) tuhíti, *tupíti *cleared patch* 12) (C) inči̇ri, (H) yéeɉiilɨ, *-číli' *daughter* 13) (G) kahan, (H) kaháw, *kahá- *deer* 14) hanari, anari, banáali, *banáali *ear*, 15) ismu, imo, ɨihmu, *ɨismu *egg* 16) emuru, yenuru, yenúulu,- *eNúulu *eye* 17) (G) yoči̇hoti, (H) yeɉíhootɨ, *-číhooti' *eyebrows, eyelashes* 18) (G) tikatineme, (H) íkatɨ, *-íkati- *fat* 19) (G) mahoto, (H) mahóto, *mahóto *fire* 20) (G) kebey, (H) kewéy, *kebéy *fishhook* 21) (G) ihupuru, (H) buhúulu, *-bupúulu *foot* 22) kure, kurenay, kúule, *kúule- *good* 23) (G) bari, (H) baalí, *baalí *grandson* 24) (G) niñare, (H) yéeñalɨ, *-ñalɨ *hand* 25) (G) akihenay, (H) akíhɨe, *akíhɨ- *hard* 26) (G) sohe, (H) soohé, *soohé *hat* 27) (G) eremori, (H) elemóo(lo)li, *elemóoli *heart* 28) arabata, arabata, alawatá, *alabatá *howler monkey* 29) (C) awi, (H) ɨwə, *awə *I, my* 30) iwasa, iwasa,[6] iwása, *iwása *knife, machete* 31) kokone, kokoneneči, kokóñenéeɉi, *kokóñe- *late, afternoon, night* 32) (C) maykone, (H) manɨkonɨháa, *-konɨ- *let's go* 33) (G) manamanakane, (H) manámanakani, *manámanakane *lightning* 34) (G) ereri, (H) élelɨ, *élelɨ' *liver* 35) (G) meku, (H) méeku, *méeku *longtailed monkey* 36) (G) u-wi, (H) wə́y, *-wə́- *bitter manioc* 37) nuna, nunwa, núunɨ, *núuna' *moon* 38) (G) indare, (H) yítali, *-tali *mouth* 39) wa, wa, wá, *wá *no* 40) (G) onari, (H) yonáli, *-onáli *nose* 41) haha, hayre, hãhã́, *hã- *papa* 42) (C) teni, (H) téeñi, *téeñi *one* 43) kinoro, ilinoro, kɨnóolo, *-ɨnóolo *kind of parrot* 44) koto, goto, wóto, *wóto *peccary* 45) (G) karihona, (H) kalihóona, *kalihóona *people* 46) erima,

erina, ólini, *óliNa' *pot, jar* 47) (C) konoho, (H) konóho, *konóho *rain* 48) (G) hame, hamweyma, (H) háami̇̀, *háami̇̀- *salt* 49) (G) imotari, (H) móotaali, *-móotaali *shoulder* 50) kahu, kaho, káahu, *káahu *sky* 51) (G) ekeyma, (H) ikɨ́ymɨ, *ikɨ́yma' *snake* 52) (C) wakuru, (H) wakúlu, *wakúlu *stomach, intestine* 53) (G) čirike, (H) silíkɨ, *silíkɨ *star* 54) susuma, susuma, júsumɨ, *ȼúsuma' *cane, sugar cane*, 55) bey, bey, wéy, *béy *sun* 56) (G) komere, (H) wóomili, *wóomele *talk, speech* 57) mačihuri, mači-huri, majíhuli, *mačíhuli *tapir* 58) (G) manatiri, (H) manátili, *manátili *teat* 59) (G) čikiyermehe, (H) mawlwé(h)mehɨ, *-mehɨ *thread* 60) (C) serawere, (H) jeelá-wilɨ, *ȼeeláwilɨ *three* 61) kaykuči, kaykuči, kaykúji, *kaykčci *tiger, dog* 62) (G) iniko, (H) yiñíiko, *-iñíiko *tongue* 63) yeri, yeri, yéeli, *yéeli *tooth* 64) bebe, wewe, wéwe, *wéwe *tree* 65) (C) sekenere, (H) sikínilɨ, *sikínilɨ *two* 66) (G) kurake, (H) kuláki, *kuláki *ugly, bad* 67) isewae, ese, ije-waée, *iȼe- *want* 68) tuna, tuna, túuna, *túuna *water* 69) (G) heheči, (H) hehéeji, *hehéeči *wind* 70) wereči, wire *(man)*, wéliji, *wéle- *woman* 71) (C) nahake, (H) nahíkɨ, *naháki *yam* 72) (G) konare, (H) kokóñaali, *-kó-ñaali *yesterday* 73) (G) umere, (H) ímǝlǝ, *úmǝlǝ *you, yours.*

It was mentioned earlier that Guaque, Carijona and Hianacoto-Umaua could be characterized as a subgroup within the Carib family on the basis of their common innovations. These innovations can be seen in the correspondence set (G) h: (C) h: (H) h deriving from *h; the sets (G) p: (C) p: (H) h; (G) f: (C) —: (H) h and (G) h: (C) p: (H) h deriving from *p, and (G) b: (C) b: (H) w and (G) h: (C) Ø: (H) b/h deriving from *b. *p, *b and *h, in turn, all derive from a proto-Carib *p. Guaque and Cari-jona have merged the *b with /h/, while Hianacoto-Umaua has merged *p with /h/. These three languages can be placed within the Southern Carib group where the proto-Carib *p has also undergone similar but not identical changes, as opposed to the Northern

Carib group where *p remains unchanged (Durbin and Seijas 1972b).

4. Because Rocha's (1905) work is not readily available, we reproduce here his Guaque (Carijona) word list. (1) akira *cafuche, wax taper* (?); (2) ariminá *a type of monkey*; (3) bebe *tree*; (4) bereke *link*; (5) bokirí *chicha*; (6) chano *small knife*; (7) chare majotó *give me some fire*; (8) chitúi *needle*; (9) goto *peccary*; (10) huá *no*; (11) huanai *few, little*; (12) iguasá *big ma-chete*; (13) iguasá mungurú *small machete*; (14) ikóimo *a kind of wild turkey (paujil)*; (15) jamueima *salt*; (16) jarejo *chontaduro palm*; (17) jóre-jojá *careful!*; (18) jurují *cloth*; (19) kaikuche *tiger, dog*; (20) kanawa *canoe*; (21) kebéi *fishhook*; (22) kenajoró *who knows!* (23) kinoró *parrot*; (24) kumo *a type of plam tree*; (25) kuyuya *wild turkey*; (26) machijurí *tapir*; (27) mainedó *let's go*; (28) mama *mother*; (29) mesene *mirror*; (30) monome *enough*; (31) munguro *small child*; (32) najeje *(he, she) died*; (33) nocha *woman*; (34) numiyara *to sleep*; (35) sukutume *black (noun)*; (36) támue *tobacco*; (37) tuna *water*; (38) ute-jojá *I came*; (39) u-úi *bitter manioc*; (40) wajijá *dish*; (41) wíwí *axe, hatchet.*

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