A HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PEBA-YAGUAN

LINGUISTIC FAMILY

by

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A THESIS

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In this thesis, a reconstruction of Proto-Peba-Yagua is attempted using the

comparative method. Peba-Yagua had three members in the past: Yagua, Peba

and Yameo. Yagua is the only extant member of the family. Information about

the sound inventory and the morphology of the proto-system is provided and

discussed based on comparisons of all three varieties. Results show that Proto-

Peba-Yagua had at least the consonants *p, *t, *k, *m, *n, *tʃ, *R, *h, *w, *j and

at least the vowels *a, *e, *i, *u. Peba and Yameo show more similarity with

regards to the historical development of their sound inventory. With regards to

morphology and grammar, because of lack of evidence for all involved linguistic

varieties, the only categories that can be reconstructed are parts of the

pronominal system, some classifiers and the locative morpheme *-mV.

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CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE PEBA-YAGUAN FAMILY

1.1 Introduction

The Peba-Yaguan languages were formerly spoken in the northeast

lowland Peruvian Amazon forest, in a territory located in the department of

Loreto, from near the border line with Brazil and Colombia along the Putumayu

and Yavari rivers to the east, to the Tigre, Napo and Marañon rivers to the west.

Although little comparative work has been done, in the past a fair number of

language names has been claimed as belonging to this family. Early references,

like that of the American ethnologist Daniel G. Brinton (1891), for example,

count as many as fifteen different languages making up two different language

stocks, the Peba and the Lamas.[1] The number of peoples and languages

estimated to belong to the Peba-Yaguan family would be subsequently redefined

---

[1] I will come back to Brinton's work later on in chapter 2.

by later works, as the family internal classification itself would be reconfigured

by the French scholar Paul Rivet (1911), who grouped together all of these

names in three languages: Peba, Yameo and Yagua. As we will see, the

multiplicity of names was due to external factors: for instance, a tribe could

receive the name of the chief or shaman, and the language they spoke be given

this name, but in fact they spoke the same language spoken by another tribe

with a different name. However, the lack of information on most of the Peba-

Yaguan languages would continue to exist. In the present day, unfortunately,

there is only one surviving member of the family: Yagua, spoken by around

4,000 people to the east of the city of Iquitos, capital of Loreto.[2] Thus, with the

exception of the latter, overall very little is known about the Peba-Yaguan

languages. Yagua has been extensively described by P. Powlison (1995), D.

Payne (1985, 1990), T. Payne (1987) and D. Payne and T. Payne (1990);

nevertheless there is scattered information about the other languages, often

times only in small quantities. As far as I know, of the other names mentioned in

---

[2] This is according to Gordon (2005). There is a notice that it is also spoken in Colombia.

colonial and modern texts, only Peba, Yameo and Masamae (a variety closely related to Yameo) have some sort of linguistic data attested, at least in the form of small glossary lists, although incidental information on the people, habits or at least some kind of anthropological description could be found in passages of old colonial and early Peruvian Republican era texts (18th and 19th centuries).

As all except Yagua are completely extinct, there is little we can learn about other relevant languages pertaining to this family. Yameo became extinct some time in between the 1950s and 1960s. Espinoza Perez (1955) was still able to collect data from elderly Yameo speakers, reporting that there were just a few speakers at that time in the locality of San Regis (formerly San Francisco de Regis), and that therefore the language was facing extinction as most people in town would use either Spanish or Quechua for communication and social interaction. Data from Masamae -which seems to be a variety very close to Yameo- and Peba, on the other hand, are available in old texts dating from before the 20th century, and indirectly available through more modern works such as Rivet (1911), Loukotka (1968) who relied on previous works of other

people, or the already mentioned Espinoza Perez (1955). To my knowledge,

there is no reference to an approximate date for the extinction of the Peba and

Masamae. They are mentioned in documents from the Spanish colonial era (18th

century) and in documents of the early Peruvian Republican times (19th

century), but by the beginning of the 20th century they seemed to have already

disappeared or on their way to extinction and there is no news about them being

fluidly spoken in the regions where they used to be.

Due to the lack of descriptive work on these languages, it is certainly

difficult to compare and establish classifications with an optimal level of

accuracy. Rivet's claim about the Peba-Yagua in his 1911 article mentioned

above, in which he considers that Peba, Yameo and Yagua constitute one single

family, has not been disputed at its core[3] and with good reasons, as we will see.

However, there is still the need to thoroughly explore the Peba-Yaguan family in

terms of internal affiliations to confirm Rivet's ideas about its status as a family;

in terms of its possible reconstruction (at least in as much as this is doable); and

---

[3] Actually, his claims are commented upon very little in the literature about Peba-Yagua.

finally, in terms of its external history taking into consideration, for example,

possible language contacts with other non-family members or its status with

regards to other language families and larger areal classification. The area of the

Peba-Yaguan languages is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Map of the Peba-Yaguan Languages (Peru)
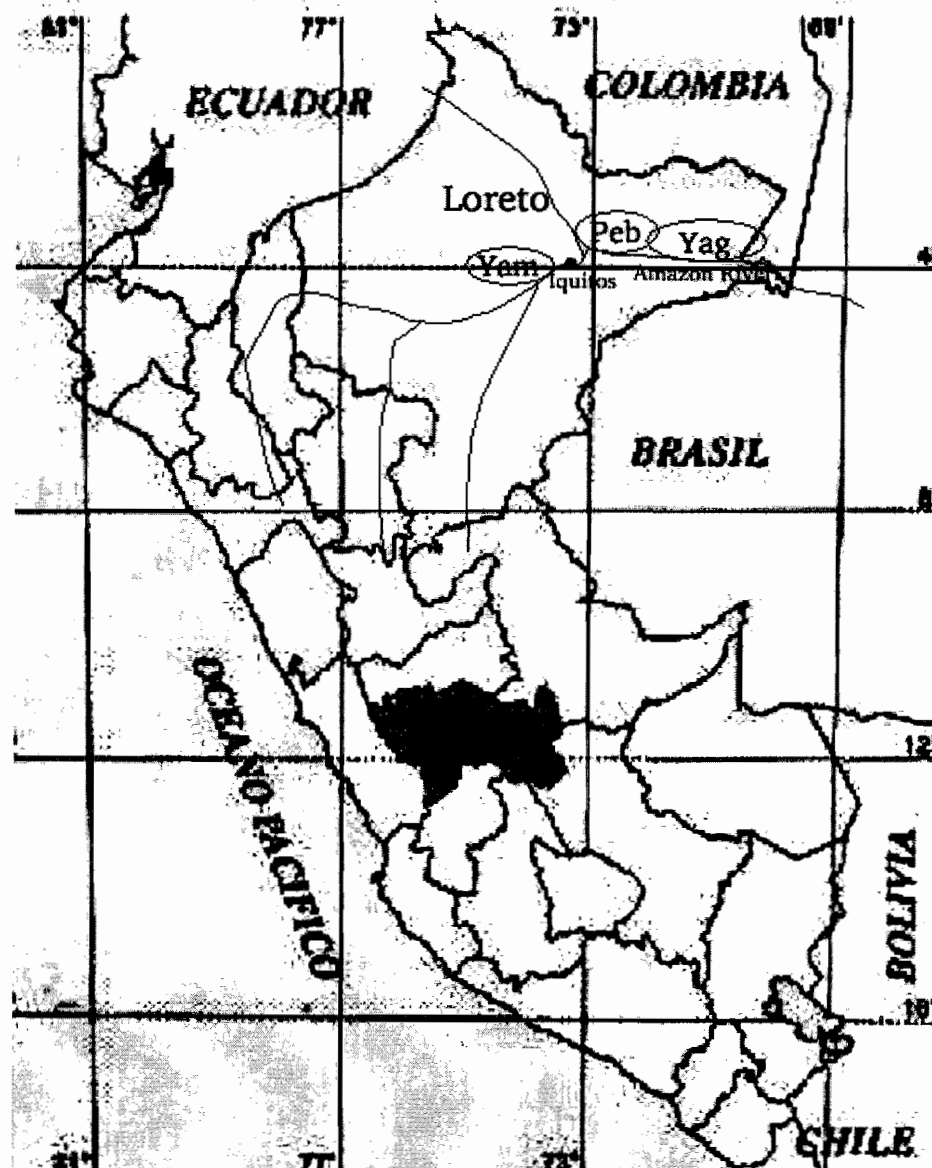
1.2 On the History of the Peba-Yaguan Peoples

The history of the northern Peruvian Amazon is obscured by the lack of

information about early cultures' settlements and the confusion between legend

and factuality in the early documentation about this area. It seems to have been long populated by a significant number of groups and there is still much work to be done to actually understand this area geographically and culturally. With regards to linguistics, it is common to find testimonies about the major communication difficulties that this region presented to the outsider who happened to travel there. In the 17th century, for example, the Jesuit Francisco de Figueroa (1661 [1986]) wrote about the difficulty of spreading Christian teachings to the 'gentiles and barbarians' given the diversity of languages because there were as many as there were 'nations', which they called provinces. Because of the relatively small amount of information about the different groups that could plausibly be identified as Peba-Yaguan, literature about the history of the these people is scanty and inconclusive, perhaps with the exception of Fejos's ethnographic description of the same group (1943), Espinoza's introduction to the Yameo (1955), Powlison's analysis of the Yagua folklore (1977), and Chaumeil's history of the Yagua (1981) and description of their culture (1987). Up until the middle of the 20th century, most of the information

that was available was the result of missionary or expeditionary accounts by

people who happened to have a charge in the mission towns or traveled around

giving incidental descriptions of the groups they found. There are passages in

books by modern travelers (mid-18th, 19th and 20th centuries), for example,

where they talk about these people and describe them (Condamine (1743)

[1993], Marcoy (1875), Castelnau (1851), Orton (1870); to name a few). As far

as I know, there is not any new publication that could provide more evidence to

shed light on the Peba-Yaguan history.

Pre-columbian contact between the Peba-Yagua and other Amazonian and

even Andean groups is very likely. A quick survey of a Yagua dictionary

(Powlison, 1995) shows words that are borrowed from Quechua,[4] for instance.

The Incas explored the region that the Peba-Yagua occupied (Garcilaso de la

Vega, 1609 [1991]), though they did not have the time to settle down for long

---

[4] For sake of clarity, it is important to distinguish words that may have a Quechua origin but that may (or may not) have come into Yagua through regional Amazonian Spanish, and words of Quechua origin that are not present in the regional Spanish but exist in Yagua. These latter are more useful in demonstrating previous contact between Yagua and Quechua, as for example wááta 'year' from Quechua wata 'year'.

over there. Fejos (1943: 17-19) suggests that given that the name of "the

neighboring rivers, such as the Putumayo, Yavas Yacu, and Ampi Yacu" are

Quechua, there is a strong possibility that the Incas knew of the Yagua and that

they actually came in contact with one another.[5] Whilst there is some truth to

this suggestion, notice that Quechua does not equal Incan culture; in fact, it

seems that this language was present in the area much before Inca times as a

vehicle of intercommunication[6] (Mercier, 1985), and therefore it is almost

certain that the Yagua (or Peba-Yagua, to make the statement slightly more

accurate given the lists of vocabulary that we have at hand from Yameo, Peba,

Masamae and Yagua which include Quechua words or borrowings) did have

---

[5] Incidentally, in the name Yavas Yacu, the second part is Quechua (from yaku 'water'), but the first *yavas* is not, unless one's interpretation is that it refers to the Quechua word yawar 'blood'. Phonetically, though, it would be difficult to explain the final [s] of *yavas* or, if one believes that it comes from the Spanish plural morpheme -s, then an explanation about the loss of the final [r] in the original Quechua is missing (add to that that semantically it would make no sense to use a plural morpheme with a name meaning 'river of blood' when neither Quechua nor Yagua (nor even Spanish) has an obligatory plural category for these cases). Thus, neither option seems plausible. The river Ampiyacu or Ambiyacu did have a local name of Tupian origin used extensively in the missionary literature of the 16th and 17th centuries: < *Uerari* > or < *Guerari* >.

[6] Language contact in the area is an issue that must be researched. Old texts tell about a complex multilingual situation. With the establishment of Quechua as lingua franca and the later arrival of Spanish, the situation became even more complex.

contact with Quechua speaking groups, albeit not necessarily Incan. Yet there were stories about the bonds of relationship between the Yagua and the Andes, of which little is credible (Maw 1829: 200). Marcoy, for example, was told by the Yagua themselves about their Quechua origin and how they were descendants of an ancient Inca ruler. He addressed this by saying that "I reflected that the characteristic traits, the physique, the manners and customs of the Yahuas present no analogy whatever with those of the natives of the Sierra" (1875: 354). At most, these stories could point to an Andean origin of the Peba-Yaguan people, but that is highly unlikely as there is no evidence to support (or even postulate) such an idea. All in all, however, more work is needed to establish comparison with other languages that seemed to have had a presence previously in the vecinity of Peba-Yaguan groups such as the Kokama (probably Tupian), Iquito (Zaparoan), Bora (Bora-Witotoan) and Omagua (Tupian) -notice that these other languages had contact with each other also. In this vein, Payne (2007) speculates on whether the classifier system of the Yagua could have formed from contact with Bora Witotoan languages. The question still remains:

was there some sort of contact among these peoples that is traceable in their

vocabularies or grammars?

The first bits of cultural information available about the Peba-Yaguan

groups come from colonial times. According to old Spanish chronicle references

as well as missionary texts, the Peba-Yagua used to live dispersed in the lowland

Amazonian rain forest territory surrounding the central areas of northeast Peru,

from the immediacies of Iquitos to the border with Brazil and Colombia, close to

rivers and other water sources. By all accounts, they were neither consummate

farmers nor herders; rather, they practiced subsistence slash and burn

agriculture for they did extensively cultivate certain crops such as manioc and

banana, and also had knowledge of plants with medicinal and shamanistic

powers, which is common in the Amazon. However, their main activities were

hunting and warring, and their social organization seems to have been based on

small clans with strong local autonomy that was still in practice in the 20th

century, as witnessed and described by Chaumeil and Fejos. These clans had

tighter links especially if they were geographically close to each other

(proximity usually meant that there was close-family, parental bonds) with geographically distant clans more prone to fight among themselves. Fejos (1943: 10) suggests that in ancient times it is possible that at least for the Yagua the clans were strongly localized and at some point the Yagua also had a dual social organization. War could be also a means of preserving political independence from other clans.

The original homeland of Proto-Peba-Yagua was probably a small area in the immediacies of the border of Brazil, Colombia and Peru along the middle course of the Amazon, on the north (or left) margin. Unfortunately, there is so little archaeological and historic-cultural evidence at hand that this suggestion is rather inconclusive and needs to be studied further. The Peba-Yagua have occupied the same territory for at least the last five hundred years: this area lies approximately between 2° to 4° South latitude and 74° to 70° West longitude, from near the Mazán River to the border with Peru and Colombia in the west-east direction and from the Putumayo River to some tributaries of the Amazon like the Mayoruna or Cochiquina Rivers in the direction north-south. This

territory has slightly narrowed with the disappearance of the Peba and Yameo.

According to Yagua myths of origin, migrations happened from east to west

following the main course of the Amazon River until they settled in the area

described above. As stated by Chaumeil (1987:23), the oral tradition of the

Yagua tells of successive migrations westwards from an unspecified 'land of

origin' in the forest: "los Yagua emigraron en oleadas sucesivas de **aruwáwa**, del

Este, más exactamente de **mëkándi mbahačëra** "cabecera de la tierra", que

para los Yagua, se sitúa más allá de la desembocadura del río Amazonas"[7] (bolds

in the original). In waves of migration, the Peba-Yagua would have settled in

their current territory, along the affluents of the Amazon River with the Yagua

in the eastern-most part of that territory, the Peba in the middle and the Yameo

to the west. The Yameo, who established themselves more towards the Upper

Amazon (near the Marañon River), seem to have arrived at the areas contiguous

to the Tigre and Ucayali rivers after wars and skirmishes forced them to move

---

[7] "The Yagua migrated in successive waves of aruwáwa, from the East, more exactly from
mëkándi mbahačëra 'the headwaters of the earth', which for the Yagua is located beyond the
mouth of the Amazon".

towards the west. With regards to this, an interesting note has been left by the

Jesuit priest Pablo Maroni: "El primero [pueblo] a que llegamos fué el de los

Amaonos, que son Yameos del río Nanay, de donde por las invasiones de los

Masshamaes, se retiraron al Itayay[8]"[9](P. Maroni 1889: 553). This and the

pressure of other tribes, like the Tukanoan and Zaparoan from the north, would

have separated the Yameo from their Peba and Yagua counterparts. When the

Jesuits arrived in the Amazonian region (which they called Maynas Province),

they still found groups of Yameo populating the Tigre River borders:

> Por fin, ya cerca del Marañón, viven unos Yameos que se están
>
> recién poblando en un río que llaman Nauapó... Desde la boca de
>
> este río hasta las juntas de Napo se extiende la nación poco antes
>
> memorada de los Yameos. Su principal reducción es hoy la de San
>
> Francisco de Regis, fundada como a cuarenta leguas más abajo del

---

[8] The Itayay is a small river to the west of the Mazan River, where the Masamae ('Masshamaes'), an important Yameo group, lived.

[9] "The first town that we reached was that of the Amaonos, that are Yameos of the Nanay River, from where because of the invasion by the Masamaes they went to the Itayay".

Tigre en la ribera del Marañón.[10] (P. Maroni 1889: 47)

In general, all Peba-Yagua groups lived in the hinterlands of the Amazon, as the banks were primarily settled by the Omagua, of Tupian origin. Whether they had to retreat to the forests as the Omagua (who came also from the east) expanded their territory is an unresolved question. In every old account of first explorations and missionary texts, however, the Omagua are portrayed as excellent sailors and as having a sophisticated fluvial culture, unlike the Peba-Yagua, who were hunter-gatherers of the forests. Among the Yagua, hunting, warring and gathering are more important activities whereas fishing or trading are secondary (Chaumeil 1981: 32-33). Similar descriptions of the Peba and Yameo appear in different texts. Only after the Omagua, as a culture, gradually declined, almost vanishing from the banks of the Amazon River, would the Yagua come closer to the banks and establish themselves in towns and villages on the shores.

---

[10] "At last, near the Marañon River live [a group called] the Yameos that are recently populating an area near a river called Nahuapo... From this river to the Napo [River] one finds the 'nation' not long ago remembered of the Yameo. Its main 'reduction' (town) is today San Francisco de Regis, founded around 120 miles down the River Tigre on the Marañon shores".

The idea of a migration from east to west staying mainly in the northern hinterlands of the Amazon course is further supported by the fact that the Yagua are not really familiar with the upper Amazon basin or the Andean mountains; neither are they familiar with the northern-most territories with the exception of the Putumayo River (Chaumeil 1987: 23). In the case of the Yameo, there are testimonies that depict how they were populating the Upper Amazon and the Marañon when the Jesuits arrived. The Peba-Yagua would have stayed in the area right next to the north of the Amazon River (left side), with settlements on the right side as well but without venturing too far south. One reason to believe this is that the "only" historical memory that the Yagua have of a great intertribal war is that against the Mayoruna, who lived to the south, by the end of the 19th century (Fejos 1943). This war (which is an attested historical fact) was due to the movements of Yagua people outside their territory, far too south into Mayoruna's territory because of the pressure they received from rubber patrons. The main affluents where the Yameo and Pebas were located (Mazan, Nanay, Chichita and Ampiyacu rivers) were also on the left side of the Amazon.

Thus, although they would move south, the Peba-Yagua were always close to the

great river, staying mainly in the northern hinterland areas in small social units,

occasionally moving southwards but always close to the Amazon. In summary,

though myths of origin and legends are not to be confused with historical facts,

there are bits of information in these legends and myths that, when analyzed,

can support the idea portrayed by them about the possible geographic origin of

these peoples.

According to Fejos (1943: 18) and Chaumeil (1981: 16), the first

European contact with an identifiable Peba-Yagua group was without doubt

recorded during *conquistador* Francisco de Orellana's very first trip into the heart

of the Amazon River from the Ecuador-Peruvian mountains. He and his

companions passed through Yagua territory, navigating down the Napo and

Curaray rivers into the Amazon, coming into contact with groups located in the

area. Accounts of the first trips to the Amazon, such as that of Orellana by

Carvajal (1942 [1540-1542?]) or that of Lope de Aguirre by Pedrarias de

Almesto (1986 [1561?]) describe an important cacique by the name of Aparia,

after whom the province is named. They also mention the indigenous group

Irimaraes, ruled by one cacique Aparia, who came to meet the Spanish in the

place they called Aparia the Great. It turns out Aparia is the Yagua word for 'red

macaw clan'. Mejía (1894) and Jiménez de la Espada (cited by Mejía) confused

the 'Irimaraes' with the Omagua, of Tupian origin; confusion that still happens

nowadays (see, for example, Meggers and Evans 1981, Barletti Pascuale 1992,

dos Santos 2006, among others). Partly, this confusion is due to the fact that the

Peba-Yaguan history is obscure and they are scantly attested in the different

sources; besides, sometimes they are not properly identified as a separate group

when they are mentioned. The Omagua, on the other hand, had an active

presence in the area and are mentioned constantly in different documents as

they were excellent sailors who lived on the Amazon and made deals with —or,

alternately, fought— the Spaniards. But in the 16th century expeditions like the

ones headed by Orellana or Ursua undoubtedly had contact with a group of

Yagua people; actually, the Yagua were one of the most helpful groups in their

adventure. According to Gaspar de Carvajal, chronicler of Orellana, the first non-

native European person who learnt Yagua would have been none other than

Orellana himself: in different parts the chronicle tells how he could

communicate with people of Aparia in their language. Though unlikely, this

would not be surprising given that Orellana stayed around two and an half

months with the chieftain Aparia in the 'city' that they called 'Aparia the Great' -

certainly, Orellana might as well have been using some Quechua words that he

had learnt before and the level of 'real' communication was likely poor and full

of misunderstandings by both parties. The legal documents written by Orellana

and members of his army like scribe F. de Isásaga also tell how then they

'peacefully' took over several towns: "y tomó en nombre de Su Majestad, por el

señor gobernador Gonzalo Pizarro, posesión de este pueblo de Aparia y de

Irimara, la cual dicha posesión tomó sin contradicción alguna"[11] (Mejía, ed.

1894: 97). They also mention a list of *caciques*, or tribal leaders, that were

subjugated by Orellana on behalf of the king of Spain 'on their own will' while

they were near the place where the current town of Pebas would be founded by

---

[11] "And he took possession of this town of Aparia and of Irimara on behalf of his Majesty, and the Governor Gonzalo Pizarro, without any resistance".

the Spanish missionaries in the next century:

> en nueve días del mes de Enero, año de mill é quinietos é cuarenta
>
> y dos, el señor Teniente pidió á mí el dicho Francisco de Isásaga,
>
> escribano, le dé fee y verdadero testimonio de como toma posesión
>
> en once caciques que han venido de paz agora nuevamente, sin
>
> otros que tengo tomados, los cuales son: Hirimara, Paraita, Dimara,
>
> Aguare, Piriata, Ayniana, Hurumara, Aparia, Macuyana, Guaricota,
>
> Mapiare . . .[12] (Mejía, ed. 1894: 102)

As we saw, the name Aparia (modern Yagua $ap^wiɻja$ or $háp^wiiɻjá$)[13] refers to

the Yagua word for 'red macaw clan'. Dimara is the word for 'shaman' and could

be referring to a Yagua or Peba chifetain (modern $ɻimjaɻa$ in Yagua, *dimasa* in

Peba as attested by Erben (1948)), and it is probably related to Hirimara. This

---

[12] "On the ninth of January of 1542, the Lieutenant asked me, Francisco de Isasaga, scribe, to bear witness of how he took possession of eleven caciques that have come in peace again, besides those [whose names] that I have already taken, and who are: Hirimara, Paraita, Dimara, Aguare, Piriata, Ayniana, Hurumara, Aparia, Macuyana, Guaricota, Mapiare...".

[13] In this thesis, I will use IPA symbols to transcribe sounds. h is a pharyngeal approximant. High tone in Yagua is marked by an ´ as in $á$. In later chapters, especially for Yameo, an accent means that the vowel is stressed but it does not necessarily indicates tone since tone is not represented in the Peba or Yameo sources used for this thesis.

seems to be the source of the castellanized name of 'Irimaraes' that the

Spaniards used and that Mejía and Ximenez de la Espada confused for a group of

Omaguas. Other names mentioned seem Yagua in their form, but their meanings

are unclear (for example, Hurumara and Apiria, which appear in another

document, look like variations (perhaps dialectal, perhaps they are variations of

local names as heard by the untrained Spanish ear) of Dimara and Aparia,

respectively).

From that first encounter on, the history of the Peba-Yagua would be

related to the work of missionary religious groups. From around the 1690's the

Jesuits attempted repeatedly to establish mission towns in the area under the

rule of the Spanish Crown and the protection of the Pope. With the arrival of

missionary people (Jesuits —until their expulsion in the 18th century— and,

later, Franciscans), different cultural groups were moved to live in these towns

and be catechized. From the end of the 17th century to the 18th century these

towns would be founded throughout the Amazon basin and would face different

problems (from violent revolts to plagues and Portuguese raids), some would be

destroyed and re-built, some others abandoned, and still a few survived. The

Jesuit Samuel Fritz established the first mission of San Joaquín de Omaguas on

an island in the Amazon in 1686 and then moved said mission to Peba territory

in 1693. In San Joaquín, Fritz first contacted the Pebas, and then he tried to do

the same with the Yagua who lived more to the northeast. Probably the most

significant town founded by the Jesuits was Nuestra Señora de Pebas, near the

mouth of the Ampiyacu river. There, they 'reduced' (i.e., moved) the different

Peba and Yagua groups, as well as people from other ethnic origin like the

Ticuna or Omagua.

As for the Yameo, they were brought to different mission towns as they

were separated geographically from the Pebas and Yaguas by the Napo River

and by Tukanoan groups that lived along its shores. The first missions for Yameo

people were established between 1691 and 1700 around the Yarapa lake, near

the Ucayali River. Probably the most important Yameo mission town was San

Francisco de Regis, that continues to exist until today. With the years, more

mission towns would be formed, but many of them existed only temporarily as

most would be abandoned either because of epidemics or war (many missions

were also attacked by the native people).

Although there were different mission towns for different groups, it was

not uncommon to have more than one ethnic group in one place, and for around

one century the Peba, Yagua and Yameo lived alternately in towns with people

of different ethnic/cultural origin like the Cocama (Tupian?), Omagua (Tupian),

Iquito (Zaparoan), Mayoruna (Panoan), Payaguas (Tucanoan) or Ticuna

(isolate). Sometimes inter-ethnic marriages happened, but the groups where

otherwise well-differentiated and there is not any evidence of major linguistic

mixing or pidginization processes coming out of the towns, in large part due to

their inconstant nature.

In general terms, these mission towns, to where the indigenous

populations were 'reduced' to live, failed in their purpose of gaining souls and

establishing flourishing, 'civilized' places. In fact, not all of the native people

were taken to the mission towns. There are constant references to people who

were still in *el monte* —the forest— and who were reluctant to abandon their

places. The missionaries would either come -sometimes even forming small armed bands for these excursions- or sent people to preach among them, bartering 'valuable' objects (like machetes, tools or food) to attract them to their towns.

The history of the people who did not come to the towns is unknown. At the time of Orellana, it seems that some clans of the Yagua or Peba had certain preeminence in the area but, if any, this was only temporary —the Yagua were subsequently dominated by the Omagua (Chaumeil 1987: 24), the largest group that ruled in an extended area along the Amazon River banks in territory that today belongs to Peru and Brazil. Actually, it is possible that the Omagua already had dominated Peba-Yaguan groups long before the Europeans came.

On the other hand, as we saw before, according to Fejos (1943: 24), it is interesting that there is no recollection of great wars amongst the Yagua and other groups, with the exception of that against the Mayoruna (Matsés), a Panoan group who live to the south of the Yagua, near the Yavari River, probably due to the movement of these groups because of the rubber boom

which enabled a system of virtual slavery from which local groups tried to

escape if they could, clashing while moving throughout the forest.[14] However,

small wars and fights with the Cocama, Omagua, Ticuna, Witoto or among the

Peba-Yagua themselves are often described by missionary texts. In sum, the

Peba-Yagua must have been in constant uncertainty because of these wars, not

to mention the Spanish and Portuguese raids, and the plagues they had to face

after the contact with Europeans.

Following the expulsion of the Jesuits from America in 1768, the missions

were abandoned, only to be re-taken by the Franciscans in the middle of the

next century. The Franciscan missionaries in turn had to abandon the missions

in the 1860's, after which the Peba-Yaguan territory was open to settlement of

different kinds. During the 19th and 20th centuries, during Republican times in

Peru, the Peba-Yaguan groups were decimated by epidemics and virtual slavery

as they were taken for labor by different *patrones* —'bosses'— to work either in

---

[14] A good source of information about the rubber boom and the relationship between the rubber barons and the Yagua —with all the negative consequences to the Yagua society that continue to be replicated under other forms today— is Chaumeil (1984).

plantations, or mineral and rubber extraction. Fights against the *caucheros* (as

the rubber extractors were known) was not uncommon, and many natives would

go away to hide in the forest. During this time, though it is uncertain exactly

when, both the Pebas and the Yameos vanished without major notice. According

to Powlison (1956:1, cited by Chaumeil, 1987: 23), the Peba perished after

successive wars against other native groups. Chaumeil adds that another reason

for the extinction of these groups was the different illnesses brought by the

Europeans. It is not unlikely that while the population of Peban people

diminished, a few survived by mixing through intermarriage with the Yagua or

their neighbors the Tikuna (Steward and Metraux 1948: 728), making their

identification almost impossible. For all we know, since the last decades of the

19th century, the Peba disappeared slowly from the literature and only the

Yagua are referred to, with few exceptions like Erben (1948) who mentions the

Peba -probably the last few distinguishable individuals who were still living

around the town of Pebas. On the other hand, in 1925, according to Tessman

(1930), there were around 50 speakers of Yameo in San Regis. By the 1950's

Espinoza (1955) found only a few Yameo-speaking people, stating that the Yameo language was on its road to total extinction. Thus, to the present day only the Yagua have survived and some 4,000 continue to speak the language.[15]

1.3 The Peba-Yaguan Groups: Names and Location

There are many names associated with the Peba-Yagua, but we can say that there were three major groups in the family: the Peba, the Yagua and the Yameo.

As we saw in the previous sections, the known Yameo history is relatively independent from that of the Peba and Yagua. The Yameo, in general, were not located in the same mission villages. The territory of the Yameo was separated from the territory of Pebas and Yaguas by the lower Napo River course. Cutting across that territory to the north were the culture of the Payaguas (also known as Orejon or Coto), a Tukanoan group, and further south to the right of the same river were the Iquito, a Zaparoan group.

---

[15] Two good sources about the modern situation of the Yagua and the migrations they have carried out are provided by Chaumeil (1984 and 1987).

On the other hand, the Peba and Yagua were grouped in the same missions, though they are differentiated in the texts. The different Peban and Yaguan groups are often described as having essentially the same language -no problems of communication between them are ever mentioned- and warring culture, though their behaviors and attitudes were different to the eye of the European. The franciscan Manuel Uriarte, who was in Maynas in the 18th century, described these groups:

> Hace como una C el pueblo, en gran altura (por lo que no tiene mosquitos), y es más fresco. Los pebas son despiertos y robustos, aún algo toscos; los caumares, bien ladinos, y el brazo del Misionero, para todo (estaban desterrados los matadores y cómplices del P. Casado); los cauachis, más broncos, que ni lloran sus muertos ni entienden de policía; mas son constantes y trabajadores de chagras. Los yauas, muy inconstantes, van y vienen y tienen sus peleas en el monte, en que se matan familias enteras; andan desnudos, con sólo un como rabo de zorra en lo más preciso;

y así los cauachis; algunos usan camisetas de llanchama (corteza de

árbol) . . .[16] (Uriarte 1986: 240)

1.3.1 The Yagua

The Yagua language is currently spoken in the territory around the lower

Napo, Nahua and Nauta Rivers, tributaries of the Amazon. It is also spoken in

affluents of the Putumayo River such as the Yaguas, named after the population

of Yagua that used to lived there. Their territory was confined historically to the

upper Huerari (known today as the Ampiyacu River) and the Yaguas River, not

far east from the town of Pebas. Their geographic habitat would be around 3,25°

South latitude and 73° West longitude approximately. The Yaguas lived to the

north of the Amazon in the immediacies of the lower Apayacu, the Ampiyacu

---

[16] "The town has the form of a 'C', [it is located] at good height (so it does not have mosquitoes) and is fresher. The Pebas are lively and robust though a bit rustic; the Caumares are ladinos [ie. they are good interpreters] and they are the support of the Missionary for everything (the murderers of Father Casado and their accomplices had been exiled); the Cahuachi [are] so tough that they do not even cry for they dead nor do they understand policy, but they are constant and hard-working in their farms. The Yaguas, very inconstant, come and go and they have their fights in the forest, in which entire families are killed, they go about bare just with a loincloth; and so the Cahuachi; some also wear llanchama shirts ([made of the] bark of the llanchama tree)".

and the Yaguasyacu rivers, and also in the Atacuari and Yaguas rivers. To the south of the Amazon they could be located along the Yanashi, Oroza and Cochiquinas ravines. The old system of clans and clan names that was probably shared with the Yameo and Peba still exists in Yagua.

The Yagua are dispersed in many village communities nowadays. Chaumeil states that the Yagua live in "dispersed habitat consisting of about sixty local groups whose numerical importance varies from 10 to 180 individuals" (1984: 4). Probably the most notable town where the Yagua lived was Pebas (which is where the Peba group also lived), which was the last important mission town in the Province of Maynas in the by then Spanish territory during the 18th century (after Pebas, continuing down the River Amazon, one would reach the Portuguese colonial territories of Brasil). Pebas still exists today. Throughout the 18th, 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, several explorers visited this town and others where the Yagua lived, leaving varying descriptions: some would stress their 'naiveté' and 'uncivilized modals' (for example, Condamine 1993 [1743]), while others talk about their

intelligence and aptitude for labor or expertise as craft workers (Woodroffe

1875, Marcoy 1875, to cite some names). In all accounts, the Yagua are very

well distinguished from other ethnic groups. Woodroffe, for example, says that

"They speak their their own language quite distinct from other Indian tongues,

and though not in the habit of using any other than their distinctive dress, are

semicivilized" (1914: 37-38). Similar descriptions are provided by Marcoy

(1875) and Orton (1870).

The name 'Yagua' is of uncertain origin. The Yagua call themselves

nihjãm^{w}áj or *niham^{w}o*, 'people'. It is likely that the population of the Yagua

diminished profoundly after the arrival of the Europeans conquerors. The

numerous diseases and epidemics had to have affected them greatly. For

example, the spread of measles in 1932 caused the death of around one third of

the population (Fejos 1943: 16, footnote 2). In 1930, according to Tessmann

(1930: 459), there were around 1,500 individuals; by the 1950's Espinoza gives

the same number -probably they were recovering from the measles epidemics.

Today their number reaches some 4,000 people spread in northeastern Peru, and

into Colombia and Brazil.

1.3.2 The Peba

We know that in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, according to

missionary documents, the Peba lived near the source of the Shishita River (in

the upper basin), an affluent of the Amazon between the Napo and the Ica

Rivers (Latitude 3°30' S., Longitude 72° W., approximately). The town of Pebas,

where now Yagua people are located, was undoubtedly named after them. This

has led to some confusion: For example, Fejos refers to the 'mistake' made by

other people that distinguish the Peba from the Yagua stating that there is in

fact only one group:

> Some nineteenth century writers and travelers, notably Sir
>
> Clemens Markham and Paul Marcoy, erroneously speak of Yagua
>
> or Yahua and Pehua or Peba, as if they were different tribes,
>
> although they describe them as living in approximately the same
>
> area. This error is most likely due to the practice of naming Indian

tribes after the locality in which they happen to be encountered;

during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for instance, Pebas

was the trading center of the region inhabited by the Yagua, hence

the latter were called the Indians of Pebas and later simply the

Peba or Peva. (1943: 15)

Nevertheless, the tradition of dividing Peba from Yagua comes from

colonial era, not from modern-age explorers. They are always distinguished as

different albeit related groups, Peba being the ones first contacted by Father

Fritz when he began the mission in their territory. The Yagua were talked about

as related to the Peba, but it seems that they were not 'mixed' groups. In fact,

some of the Yagua missions of the 17th and 18th centuries were to the north of

Pebas, in the district of San Ignacio de Yaguas (Wilkens de Mattos 1984 [1874]).

Thus, Pebas and Yaguas were separate groups with a related modern history, not

only with some geographical overlapping but also with ties because of some

mission towns where they lived together.

Whether we regard Peba and Yagua as dialects or two different languages

is relative: it is rather a matter of the point of view we choose. In this work, I

will assume the tradition of three different branches (Peba, Yameo, Yagua). I

think that there is some comparative basis to do this, and it will help present the

data in a clear manner. If, in the outcome, undeniable facts can safely be shown

such as to state unequivocally that Peba and Yagua were indeed one and the

same language, then those facts and their consequences for classification will be

pointed out in the conclusions. In the meantime, I will continue to consider them

as two different linguistic varieties.

Groups regarded as Peba included the Cahuachi, the Caumari and the

Pacaya. Castelnau confirms the linguistic unity of these groups and distinguishes

them from the Yagua:

> Le village de Pebas est construit sur un terrain très inégal, et se
>
> compose d'une trentaine de maisons. . . Qui appartiennent aux
>
> nations des Yaguas et des Pebas: ces derniers, aujourd'hui tous
>
> convertis, se répartissent entre les deux tribus des Caumaris et des
>
> Cauwachis. Nous y vîmes aussi les Pecayas [sic], qui parlent la

même langue que les précédents.[17] (1851: 9)

Both Peba and Yagua populated a continuous territory that extended from

the Ampiyacu to the margins of the Putumayo near the border with Colombia.

This territory was not exclusive to the Peba and Yagua though, as they had to

share the Amazon banks with the Omaguas. Further South, to the right of the

Amazon there were the Mayoruna o Matsés, a Panoan group; while to the North

their neighbours were Witotoan groups such as the Bora, Witoto, Ocaina and

Muinane and the now extinct Resigaro. To the East, there were the Ticuna, a

small group considered an isolate; and to the West towards the Napo River there

were the Payagua, as well known as Coto or Orejon, a Tucanoan group.

1.3.3 The Yameo

The Yameo were numerous at the time of the first missions. The towns

where they were re-grouped by the Jesuits flourished with relative success.

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[17] "The village of Pebas is built above an irregular terrain, there are around thirty houses. . . which belong to the 'nations' of the Yaguas and the Pebas: the latter, nowadays all converted [to Christianity], are divided between the Caumari and the Cahuachi. We also saw the Pacayas there, who speak the same language than the preceding [i.e., the same language as the Caumari and Cahuachi]".

Tessmann (1930) says that the name *yameo* is how they called themselves, but Espinoza (1955) points out that this word was not in used anymore when he visited San Francisco de Regis and they preferred the denomination of *san reginos* instead, though there were people who remembered the term *yameo*. He hypothesizes that *yameo* could come from *ñiamé-u* 'dog arm', which in Cocama —neighbours from whom the Spanish would have borrowed the term— would be pronounced [ʎamju], and refers to a possible totemic cult as the origin of this denomination. Espinoza (1955: 259) further states that the motivation could be "la fonética predominante de los Yameos"[18] which would includes the trill sound [r] and its relaxed variations which are pronounced as though they were 'the sounds of an angered dog'. There is a 'clan of the jaguar' verifiable in Yagua (*nĩᵐbjíĥúɽiɽja*)[19], so one could think that there was probably one for the Yameo. However, the semantics of 'dog-arm' do not make much sense, and the

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[18] "The predominant phonetics of the Yameos".

[19] Yagua *nĩᵐbjíí* and Yameo *niamé*, 'tiger' (or 'dog') are cognates. Notice that by 'tiger' the old texts meant 'jaguar' —there are no tigers in the Amazon.

gratuitous, expressionistic link between the term and phonetics of Yameo (the

trill sound) make this idea seem like an example of a folk etymology: there is no

objective reason to think Espinoza was right. Thus we must conclude that the

origin of the term *yameo* is simply unknown and not necessarily of native origin.

As in the other cases, many of the names under which Yameo groups

appeared are taken from the names of their *curacas* (chieftains) or places they

inhabited (perhaps the word *yameo* has this origin as well). Maroni, in a letter

published in his *Noticias Auténticas*, provides an example of this naming

tradition: "He comunicado hasta ahora con veintidós Curacas o Principales, de

quienes toman su nombre las parcialidades. Las más numerosas son: Pativas,

Zamúas, Parano [usually appears as Parranos], Necaonos, Muenos,[20] Baulines,[21]

Molouceos,[22] Nicahalaes, Miguianos, Mohalas, Amaonos y Masshamaes"[23] (1889:

---

[20] The denomination is based on the name of the *curaca* Mueno.

[21] After the name of the *curaca* Baulín.

[22] After a *curaca* by the name of Molonceo or Molucé.

[23] "I have communicated with twenty two chieftains so far, from whom the groups take their names. The more numerous are: Pativas, Zamuas, Parano, Necaonos, Muenos, Baulines, Moluceos, Nicahales, Miguianos, Mohalas, Amaonos and Masamaes".

515). More Yameo "group" names include: Nahuapos (from the River Nahuapo

or Navapó[24]), Napeanos,[25] Alabonos, Maynos,[26] Taracurus, and Yarapas.

The Yameo occupied a territory between the lower portions of the Tigre

(around its confluence with the Marañon) and Napo rivers (latitude 4° S.,

longitude 74° W.). They lived in the forests and ravines surrounding their main

smaller rivers, the Curaray, Mazan, Nahuapo, Nanay and Itayay. They were

surrounded by several different groups: to the west, there were the Itucales (of

the Urarina family); to the north, the Semigae, Zaparo and Iquito (all of them

Zaparoan groups); to the east, the Payagua (Tucanoan) to the west of the Napo

River, the Mayoruna or Matsés (Panoan) to the south of the Amazon, and

eventually some Peban groups like the Caumari; finally, to the south, and along

the banks of the Amazon and Ucayali rivers, the Omaguas and Cocamas

---

[24] The etimology of this term is probably from Yameo *nawa* or *naŋwá* 'water' and *pópó* 'earth, clay'.

[25] Probably the name is based on the name of the *curaca* Napé.

[26] After the name of the *curaca* Mayno.

(Tupian). All these different groups are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Map of Indigenous Groups of the Northern Peruvian Amazon
(reproduced from Espinoza 1955)

CHAPTER II

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE PEBA-YAGUAN LANGUAGE FAMILY: THE

SITUATION THUS FAR

2.1 Introduction

The internal linguistic classification of Peba-Yagua is especially difficult

because of the lack of knowledge of the languages that used to be constitutive

parts of this family. Little is known about Peba or Yameo, much less about any

other members of the family, besides Yagua. The first studies attempting to

classify the Peba-Yaguan languages date back to the 19th century. To my

knowledge, there has not been any single work dedicated exclusively to the

classification of the Peba-Yaguan family with the exception of Rivet (1911).[27]

The rest of the studies are parts of broader classificatory efforts, or rather

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[27] There is a small note by Powlison (1971) that I have been unable to read. Judging by the number of pages (only two), it is unlikely that it is a defining study.

cataloguing efforts, often times concerning areal groupings based on small word lists with the aim to simply establish relationships. These posited relationships have relied on 'scanning' the similarities in vocabulary items (and, not uncommonly, they confuse or mix different languages in doing so), but without really comparing the information at hand; sometimes authors have not even provided data. Other times, the classification criteria are historical or anthropological but without any linguistic basis; for example, such is the case of Steward and Metraux's "The Peban Tribes" (1948). Though they may be interesting for other reasons, examples like Steward and Metraux's work cannot be taken into account for the purposes of this thesis.

In this chapter, I shall give a fairly general view of the history of Peba-Yagua classification. It will cover a history that is essentially short in number of works. However, it is important to review the research situation so far. We will notice that, overall, one of the characteristic of the works that have attempted to assign these languages to a certain linguistic family is the primacy of different classifying criteria (anthropological, geographical, historical) and the failure to

based their analysis on comparative linguistic data which would serve better to

identify historical linguistic relations. The major drawbacks in the study of the

Peba-Yaguan family, thus far, are the lack of comparative data (and their

analysis) and the common assumption that Peba, Yagua and Yameo, regarded as

languages or linguistic entities, are related either by geographic, ethnographic,

historic or cultural bounds but without really exploring the languages

themselves. In part, this situation is due to the little amount of linguistic

information available; therefore studies often rely on information provided by

missionary texts that make reference to an assumed linguistic unity of these

peoples. As reliable as the information in these texts may be, there is still the

issue of not having actual comparative studies to support the claim of the Peba-

Yagua linguistic unity. In that regard, Rivet (1911) is the most valuable work. It

was pointed in the right direction (at least 'instinctively'), even though it did not

attempt a reconstruction of the proto-language, or make a real comparative

analysis based on clear sets of correspondences.

2.2 First Classifications

Probably the first notice on the classification of the Peba-Yaguan family was made by Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro. A Jesuit father, Hervás was also a philologist and his famous work *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas* (1800) likely contained the best information available in his time about languages of the world, though it still lacked a lot of information and is confusing because of the mix of language names and their often arbitrary sub-grouping. Like other scholastic people of his time, Hervás tried to study the origin and anthropological connections of different nations or ethnic groups by studying the languages spoken by those ethnicities. Though a clear precursor of modern studies, his work is not 'linguistic' or 'philological' in the sense we understand these words today, but his purpose was to search for the 'distinctive character' of a nation in the language that their people spoke.

When he talks about the languages of the Province of Marañon, Hervás refers to the missions and their 'chaotic' mosaic of languages and nations. The data that appears in Hervás was received from several communications with

other Jesuits who were in the area. Hervás proposed sixteen different 'matrix'

languages with their respective 'dialects'. The Yameo language is 'matrix'

language number fifteen in this catalogue of languages, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. The Yameo language matrix (Hervás 1800: 263)

Matrix Language	Dialects
(...)	Amaono
XV. Yamea	Nahuapo
	Napeano
	Masamae

According to Hervás, the sixteen matrix languages that he proposes have

little in common among them. Notice that Hervás does not list the Peba or the

Yagua either as Matrixes or as dialects (nor does he list any of the other names

by which they were known). Interestingly, however, apart from his sixteen

Matrix languages, Hervás lists three other groups of different languages, labelled

(1) "Languages notably diverse, which the missionaries consulted have not been

able to find any affinity [to any of the other languages listed before]", (2)

"Languages that are known to have disappeared" and (3) "Unknown languages".

In each of these three lists of languages, we find names that have been linked to

the Peba or the Yagua.

In his subsection 82, "Languages notably diverse, which the missionaries

consulted have not been able to find any affinity [to any of the other languages

listed before]", Hervás lists -among others- the names Alabona, Cahuaci and

Cahumari. The Alabono are always identified as another Yameo name (or group)

in different colonial sources, while the Cahuachi and Caumari are also identified

as partialities or sub-groups of the Peba.

In his subsection 83, "Languages that are known to have disappeared",

Hervás lists one language Yapua, which is probably an orthographic variation

(or more likely a typographic error) of the name 'Yagua'.

In his subsection 84, "Unknown languages", Hervas lists also some

familiar names: Mighiana and Pativa. Mighiana and Pativa refer to the Yameo

subgroups known as Migueanos and Pativas, respectively, both of whom were

mentioned in the first chapter.

Although they are not mentioned in the catalogued languages, in his

subsection 85 Hervás says "las lenguas peva y ticuna se hablan aun, y tienen

afinidad"[28] (1800: 265). We have seen that Ticuna is an isolate and there is no

evidence that supports any link with Yagua or Peba. Hervás was probably

referring to the fact that the Ticuna, the Peba and the Yagua, besides being

neighbours, lived in more or less the same situation and missions. Thus the

information provided about them as having some degree of communication or

relationship likely confused him. Hervás may have thought that there was some

kind of linguistic bond. Furthermore, Hervás considers Yagua to be a Tupí-

Guaraní language, as he states that it is related to Omagua, which he considers

as a relative of the Guaraní of Paraguay and Brazil:

> con la lengua omagua tienen afinidad las lenguas jurimagua,
>
> payagua, yagua y cocama (con sus dialectos llamados cocamillo y
>
> huebo) la lengua yete (que se habla por una nación bárbara

---

[28] "The Peba and Ticuna languages are still spoken, and they have affinity".

establecida en las riberas del río Napo en el país de los

Encabellados), y quiza otras lenguas . . .[29] (1800: 269)

Hervás does not show evidence for his claims. He communicated with

people in Quito, not with the missionaries that were working directly with the

different groups. It is not surprising that despite his efforts he mixed languages

of different origin and confused some others. Also, the history of the peoples of

the Amazon River, as we have seen, is as confusing as the number of language

names one can find from text to text, hence the bewildering statements about

languages that are found in works like Hervás'. As we have seen in Chapter 1,

the Omagua were present on the Amazon River from Brazil to Peru, and the

Yagua had to 'share' the river banks with them. Again, there are different

references to the Omagua language as a sort of intercommunication code that

was spread in the area, along with Quechua language. The people who were

asked by Hervas about the linguistic situation in the Amazonian area may have

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[29] "The Yurimagua, Payagua, Yagua and Cocama (with its dialects Cocamillo and Huebo) languages, the Yete language and maybe some others languages have all affinity with the Omagua language".

referred to this circumstance (or, not being in the actual area but in cities like Quito or Trujillo, far from the Amazon, they may have been as confused as Hervás); and then Hervás may have surmised that the languages mentioned just were related. Rather than referring to a linguistic unity, the situation described above may be referring to a multilingual situation where Omagua was prevalent as a vehicle of intercommunication among people of different languages. A simple look at a vocabulary of Yagua, Omagua and Secoya (the "Encabellados" in the paragraph cited), for example, will suffice to show that there is likely no relationship whatsoever between them. So, despite the notable effort for his time, Hervás made many errors mixing languages (not only Peba-Yagua) that actually belong in different families.

It took almost 90 years until Brinton newly attempted classifying the languages of the Amazon, citing Hervás' suggestions in his work. Brinton criticizes Hervás' statements due to its "general inaccuracies" (1891: 278). With regards to the Peba-Yaguan family, the American anthropologist proposes instead two different stocks: the "Lama" and the "Peba" stocks. Both of them, he

says, are connected to the Javari River. His so-called "Lama stock"[30] is basically

composed of Yameo groups. Brinton classifies the following 'sub-tribes' in the

Lama stock (1891: 285):

> Aguanos
> Alabonos
> Amoanos
> Cahuaches
> Massamaes
> Miquianos
> Nahuapos
> Napeanos
> Parrranos
> Yarrapos

Notice that the term 'sub-tribes' used by Brinton tells again of a non-

linguistic criterion. In effect, the American author does not provide linguistic

evidence for the linguistic unity of these groups, which as we have seen, are not

necessarily to be understood as different or independent sub-tribes (with varying

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[30] The term *Lama* seems another example of the history of confusing information about this region. *Lama* is actually the area around the town of the same name, where there were (and are) Quechua speakers called the 'Lamisto' o 'Lamas'. Lamas is relatively far from Yameo territory, going south along the Mayo River valley, an affluent of the Huallaga. The Yameo territory was bounded by the Ucayali River, to the east of the Huallaga. If there were ever Yameo people near the Huallaga, it must have been because they were brought to the mission of Yurimaguas when the Portuguese raids came too close to the the Missions of Omaguas. Yurimaguas was near the confluence of the Huallaga and the Marañon rivers, but it was not the natural territory of the Yameo.

habits or cultural patterns) but as different names for closely-related groups,

names taken from their leaders or territories where they lived. Brinton heavily

relies upon previous descriptions of the Yameo as he writes that it is "stated by

various writers to belong to"(285) the Lama stock. The criterion for linkage then

turns anthropological: "Poeppig describes them as agricultural and industrious . .

. They are small, dirty and Mongoloid" (286).

The other 'stock' proposed by Brinton is the Peba stock, in which he

classifies languages spoken "higher up in the Javary [River]" where "there are a

number of tribes speaking related dialects" though, he continues, "there are

some reasons to consider it a corrupt dialect of the Omagua, and hence related

to the Tupi" (286). In the Peba stock, as conceived by Brinton, the following are

listed:

Caumaris
Cauwachis
Pacayas
Pebas

One first note concerns the names *Cauwachis* and *Cahuaches* -this latter

previously appearing in the Lama stock- which are obviously referring to the

same Peban group (i.e., they are just orthographic variations of the same name).

Secondly, Brinton is distinguishing the Pebas (from whom the Pebas mission

town received its name) from the other Peban groups (Caumaris, Cauwachis and

Pecayas) that I listed in the first chapter; this is understandable as Caumaris,

Cahuachis and Pacayas lived around, but are always given as 'parcialidades' (or

subgroups/tribes) of the larger Peban group. The idea of being a corrupt dialect

of the Omagua language is simply linguistically invalid; and, besides, they are

different languages. To the list above, Brinton adds the Yagua, "found in the

same vecinity" (286). In doing so, Brinton is the first to provide linguistic

evidence, presenting some words from the Peba and Yagua vocabularies

gathered by Castelnau (1851), and stating that the Yagua vocabulary "shows

unmistakable affinities to that of the Pebas". Some items of the Peba and Yagua

vocabulary that were compared by Brinton (287) are exemplified next by Table

2.

Table 2. Sample of Brinton's comparative material

	Yahua [Yagua]	Peba
Bow	cano	canou
Ear	on-tisiu	mi-tiwi
Hair	rinoncay	rainosay
Woman	huata	uatoa

Further in the text, Brinton also states that "The jargon of the Yaguas, on the Amazon between Nauta and Pebas, seems to have borrowed from this stock [the Araua stock]" and then gives as evidence just two words from the languages Yagua and Pammary (i.e. Paumarí). However, at least modern Yagua forms do not quite match the forms given in Brinton[31] (as we will see later). The words given by Brinton are shown in Table 3.

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[31] Notice that Brinton's data surely comes from indirect sources and lacks analysis -it could not be thourougly studied at that time because there simply was no information about Yagua.

Table 3. Brinton's evidence for postulating a Yagua-Pammary connection

	Yagua	Pammary
Sun	ini	saf-iny
Water	haha	paha

The Paumarí language belongs in the Arauan family spoken in Brazil on the Purus River banks. A quick survey of vocabulary and grammar would show that there is no relationship with the Yagua language (cf. Loukotka 1968, Chapman and Derbyshire 1983).

In general, it seems that Brinton failed to see the relationship between his proposed Lama and Peba stocks. It is most probable that when Brinton was sorting families, like the Lama, he was being guided by references and second-hand information and not with actual data. At that point, in effect, there was no data on Yameo (the Lama stock) except for some prayers published in Adelung and Vater's *Mithridates* and in a couple of missionary texts which were not available to the general public.

Brinton's classification, specifically regarding the grouping together of

Peba and Yagua, was subsequently disputed by Chamberlain (1910).

Chamberlain compared small Peba and Yagua lists provided by Castelnau (1851)

and Marcoy (1875), proposing that it was better to separate Peba and Yagua

provisionally, albeit he does not provide the reasons nor does he justify this

proposal. One year later, Chamberlain would be corrected by Rivet (1911) who

proposed the link between the Yagua, Peba and Yameo.

2.3 The Classification of Paul Rivet

In an article written in 1911, "La Famille Linguistique Peba", the

renowned French scholar Paul Rivet established the Peba language family,

grouping together for the first time (at least to my knowledge) all the known

Peban-Yaguan sub-groups, sorting names and clarifying statements about those

languages or dialects which were not members of the family.

Rivet corrects Brinton's separation of Lama and Peba, stating that they

should be combined together in only one family. Thus the French scholar

proposes the re-constitution of the Peba family with the following groups: Peba, Yagua and Yameo.

Rivet groups the Cahuachi, Caumari and Pacayas within the Peba language. He distinguishes then the Yagua and, finally, the Yameo which he considers is formed by the Nahuapo, Amaono and Massamae as well as the Migueano, the Parrano, the Yarrapo, the Alabono and the Napeano who lived on the Nanay River. Further, Rivet sorts out some names that appeared in previous classifications but which were not Peba-Yagua, specifying that Brinton's Lama stock member called Aguano were probably Cahuapanas or Jeberos and not related to Peba-Yagua at all.[32] For Rivet, this new configuration gives the Peba-Yagua a continuous geographical area, only interrupted by Tukanoan groups, that was more or less described in Chapter One:

Ainsi compris, le group linguistique Peba occupe au nord de

---

[32] The Aguano are considered unclassified. According to information from the Ethnologue, they may be related to the Chamicuro language, though this seems disputed (Gordon 2005). Crevels (2007: 104) says that in 1959 they consisted of some forty familial groups, stating that, as a group, the Aguano did not use their own language anymore (they had probably switched to Quechua), and today they are likely extinct. According to Crevels, the Aguano may have been of Arawakan origin, though this is uncertain.

l'Amazone un territoire allongé dans le sens est-ouest, dont la

continuité n'est interrompue qu'au niveau de la rive orientale du

Bas-Napo, où les Payaguas, peuplade du group Tukáno ou Betoya,

s'interposent entre les Yameos et les Yaguas.[33] (1911: 174)

Rivet's analysis is based on two main sets of data: for the Peba and Yagua,

he uses small lists of vocabularies gleaned from his readings of nineteenth

century explorers (Castelnau 1851, Marcoy 1875 and Orton 1870); for the

Yameo he uses prayers that appeared in Adelung and Vater (1813), Chantre y

Herrera (1901) and Gonzalez Suarez (1904).

Rivet's methodology for exploring possible relationships between Peba

and Yagua is making lexical comparisons. His calculations are basic as he does

not intend to reconstruct the protolanguage or establish sets of cognates for

reconstructions, but rather to see if the languages can be related to one another;

he points out similar items but without really stating what is the historical form

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[33] "Understood in that way, the Peba linguistic group occupies a territory to the north of the Amazon River in the sense east-west, whose continuity is not interrupted but around the eastern shores of the lower Napo, where the Payaguas, a Tukanoan or Betoyan group, are inserted between the Yameos and the Yagua".

or rule that derives them. Rivet's procedure, using the available vocabularies

and texts, was thus to compare the languages to diagnose whether there is a

relationship or not based upon 'similarity' of forms. He finds, however, that

thirty four out of seventy words between Yagua and Peba correspond to the

same lexical roots (as we will see, a comparison of additional Yagua words from

more modern vocabularies with Rivet's Peba list will reveal that there are even

more coincidences between Peba and Yagua). An example of Rivet's comparison

follows here in Table 4.

Table 4. Sample of Rivet's cognate set

	Yagua	Peba
ara macao [scarlet Macaw]	apa	appa
bow	kano	kanu
arm	sa-mutú	vi-omoté
dog, jaguar	nimbu	nemey
sand	tišin, kinča	tenša

Based on his findings, Rivet affirms the family relationship amongst Yagua and Peba, adding that there are certain grammatical or morphological similarities as well: "Dans l'une et l'autre langue, les substantifs se trouvent précedés de préfixes qui indiquent vraisemblablement les diverses relations de la possession"[34] (177). The forms that Rivet calls attention to, in effect, are parts of the Yagua pronominal system that are used to refer to the possessor in possessive phrases, among other things, and that can be reconstructed for Proto-Peba-Yagua as well. Forms like *rai-huano* 'husband', *hüi-rana* 'finger' (Yagua), *vi-omote* 'arm' (Peba), cited by Rivet, can be more properly translated as 'my husband', 'our finger', 'our arm', respectively.

The other morphological aspect noticed by Rivet is the use of certain suffixes that are analogue in both languages, or used in the same slot, such as *-se* or *-sey* in Yagua *hü-nisa-se* 'eyebrow' and Peba *nema-sey* 'fruit', respectively. Rivet spotted the similarity and believed that they were the same form in both instances. He does not say what these suffixes are, however. He was wrong in

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[34] "In both languages, nouns are preceded by prefixes that indicate possessive relationships".

assuming that these were instances where we have the same forms, but his

instinct in assuming they could be representing another morphosyntactic

similarity was correct. For example, the French author considers the suffixes *-say*

and *-sey* as the same in Peba examples such as *reno-say* 'hair' and *nema-sey* 'fruit'.

Rather, they correspond to the Yagua classifiers *-hasij* for 'hair' and *-sij* for 'fruits,

grains, seeds and small rounded objects in general', respectively. Notice,

however, that these are both instances of classifiers, a category that Rivet was

not aware of *per se.*

For Yameo, Rivet uses data from ecclesiastic texts, giving a general

overview of what grammatical points he was able to discern from the rather

difficult-to-interpret documents. Rivet thus talks about gender, number,

declinations and other affixes. He also briefly touches on pronouns and lists a

few interrogative and verbal particles. Rivet's analysis, understandably, lacks the

sophistication of modern analysis. However, his brief description of Yameo sheds

light into an otherwise -at least in his time- unavailable language.

Rivet did not have any idea about Yagua grammar. However, he was able,

to see the affinities between the Yameo and Yagua pronominal system, though he only lists these pronouns: "Au préfixe *ra-* «je, mon» du Yameo correspond en effet le préfixe *rai-* du Yagua, aux préfixe *hoe-, he-, hi-* «tu, ton», les préfixes *hüi-, fi-, hü-, ü-, u-* (et son correspondant peba *vi-*), en fin au préfixe *za-* «il, son», le préfixe *sa-*"[35] (1911: 183). As an example, he lists the following Yameo conjugations in the 'present indicative', as he calls it, for the verb *besia* 'to live'. Though Rivet did not have much information about the Yagua pronominal system except what he could extract from a few nouns listed in the vocabularies he read, his idea about the correspondence between the pronominal systems proves correct overall. I have added the modern Yagua correspondences next to the Yameo forms given by Rivet in Table 5:

Table 5. Comparison of Yagua data

	Yameo (Rivet)	Yagua
I live	ra-besia	ɾaj-witʃa [ɾaβjitʃa]
You live	hoe-besia	hij-witʃa [hiβitʃa]
He lives	za-besia	sa-witʃa [saβitʃa]

---

[35] "To the prefix Yameo *ra-* 'I, me' corresponds the Yagua prefix *rai-*, to the prefix *hoe-, he-, hi-* 'you, your', the prefixes *hüi-, fi-, hü-, ü-, u-* (and the correspondant Peba *vi-*), and to the prefix *za-* 'he, his' [corresponds] the prefix *sa-*".

Based on these bits of information plus a short list of word items, Rivet

concludes that the Peba, Yagua and Yameo languages were indeed related:

> cette important corrélation, venant à l'appui de resemblances
>
> lexicologiques évidentes entre le Yameo, le Peba et le Yagua, me
>
> semble suffisante pour justifier la réunion de ces trois langues dans
>
> une seule famille linguistique.[36] (183)

Though he did not explicitly say it, Rivet seems to suggest that Yagua and

Peba were most closely related, whereas Yameo would be in a different branch

of the family. He pointed out that the observed similarities between Yameo on

one hand, and Peba and Yagua on the other hand, were difficult to put together

because of the few words that Yameo had in common with Peba and Yagua.

In the final part of his 1911 article, Rivet compares the Peba, Yameo and

Yagua languages in question with whole families, like the Carib, Arawak,

---

[36] "This important correlation supports the evident lexical resemblances between Yameo, Peba
and Yagua, and it seems to me that they are enough to justify the grouping of these three
languages in one single linguistic family".

Zaparo, Tukano, Ticuna, Witoto and others. This is the least successful and most

impressionistic part of his work. In effect, Rivet concludes that

> si, comme je le crois, les langues de la famille linguistique Peba ne
>
> sont que des dialectes caribes fortement mélangés d'éléments
>
> étrangers, leur corruption actuelle me semble facilement explicable
>
> en admettant que les tribus qui les parlent sont installées depuis
>
> fort longtemps dans la région et que par suite elles ont été brassées
>
> par les multiples migrations qui se sont produites le long de
>
> l'Amazone.[37] (187)

Rivet's comparisons with other languages/families are very basic in this

respect. As Rowe explains,

> If, for example, he [Rivet] finds a new language, which he thinks
>
> may be Arawak, he compares each word of its vocabulary with

---

[37] "If, as I believe, the languages of the Peba linguistic family are but dialects of the Carib languages strongly mixed with foreign elements, their current corruption seems easily explainable admitting that the tribes that speak them have been for a long time in the region and therefore they have intermingled [with other groups] because of the multiples migrations that have occurred along the Amazon".

words of similar meaning in perhaps thirty languages that he has

already classified as 'Arawak'. If he finds any similar form in any of

the thirty languages, it is evidence of relationship, and the fact that

the total number of similarities to any one 'Arawak' language may

be very small is lost in the comparative table. Rivet is looking for

similarities rather than systematic sound correspondences, and he

does no reconstructing. (1951: 15)

Rivet's idea about the relationship between the Cariban languages and the

Peba-Yaguan languages was adopted by several authors, among them Greenberg

(1960, 1987), who repeated the idea that Peba-Yagua was ultimately connected

to Cariban in a "Macro-Carib stock". However, recent work by Gildea and Payne

(2007) on this proposed affiliation shows that there is no support for the

hypothesis.

In sum, while Rivet's classification of the Peba-Yagua (or 'Peba' in his

terminology) family was, in general, correct, he did not analyze the structure of

words, do a reconstruction or propose systematic rules that derived one language sound from another. In that respect, his work is still impressionistic as he shows items that seem to have a resemblance but does not prove that such a resemblance is really systematic or is a motivated true genetic relationship. Despite its problems, Rivet's study was in the right direction and has been accepted by all subsequent investigators in the small literature that exists on the classification of the Peba-Yagua.

2.4 After Rivet

As just noted, other subsequent authors have adopted Rivet's classification in their own studies about Amazonian languages. However, while Rivet was basically correct in his analysis, some subsequent authors did not review his methods for establishing his classification and took Rivet's Peba family study as final without criticizing possible problems or adding further proof.

For example, Schmidt (1926) classified the Peba-Yagua in a North-

Western Group, a sub-group of the putative "Northern Amazonian Cariban

Languages". He distinguishes two branches here: one is arbitrarily composed of

the Motilon, Chake, Opón-Carare, Amarizano and Camaniba languages; the

other is the Peban Languages. Figure 3 illustrates Schmidt's classification.

Figure 3. Schmidt's North-Western Cariban
Languages
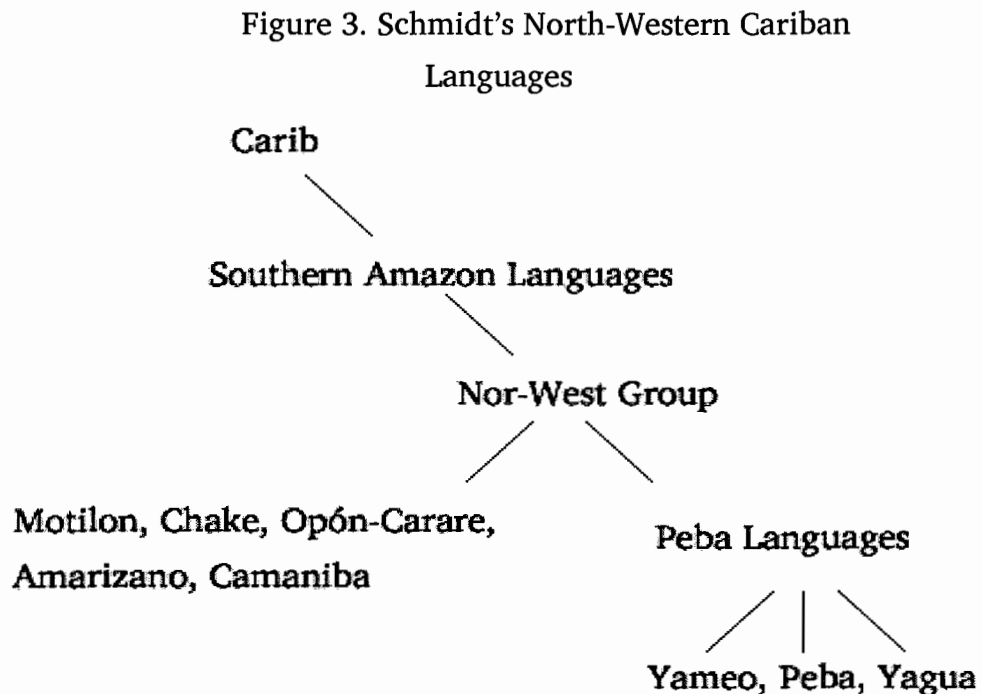
Jijón y Caamaño (1943) assumed Rivet's Macro-Carib phylum and listed

Peba, Yagua and Yameo in his "group VI". Notice that the incorporation of the

Peba-Yagua into the Macro-Carib phylum is unsubstantiated because, as I said,

so far there is no conclusive evidence of its belonging into this stock (Gildea and

Payne 2007). Jijón y Caamaño, based on Schmidt (1926), further divided the

groupings of Cariban languages based upon a geographic criterium, proposing

basically the same idea as Schmidt. In particular, Jijón y Caamaño divides the

Macro-Carib Phylum in two: Northern Amazon languages and Southern Amazon

Languages. However, he further distinguishes the Northern Amazon Languages

into four:

a. The North-Eastern languages

b. The Northwestern languages

c. Languages of Cauca and Atrata (Chocó group)

d. Peban languages: Yagua, Peba and Yameo

No evidence is provided for this subgrouping by Jijón y Caamaño, who

refers to other people's vocabularies or texts, like those of the 19th century

explorers mentioned before. Other sources for Jijón y Caamaño's classification

are texts by explorers and researchers with ethnological or anthropological data.

Years later, Rivet's disciple and former student Čestmir Loukotka would

provide his own classification in his book *Classification of South American*

Languages (1968), expanding on Rivet's ideas. Overall, the methodology and

information that he used was more comprehensive, yet his analyses are

sometimes not systematic and other times they are simply not justified.

Loukotka worked with all the vocabulary material that he could find. For

instance, Loukotka (1963) contains new information from very little known (at

his time) languages of the Amazon, including a few notes about Peba-Yagua.

Loukotka relied on mass comparisons and lexico-statistics for his classifications,

though again he does not always clarify the main reason why he classifies one or

another language in a certain family. He also used an expanded basic

vocabulary. Since he had access to more information than Rivet did, Loukotka

knew of Masamae texts that Rivet did not use, plus he also worked with a few

more Peban words from other sources (he cites, for instance, Erben's 1948 book

on Amazonian groups that he had 're-discovered', which contained a small list of

Peba words).

Loukotka (1968) classifies the Peba-Yagua (he calls it 'Yagua') as a stock

of the "North Central Division" of the "Tropical Forest Tribes". Notice thus that

he, as other authors, also mixes geographical, anthropological and linguistic

criteria to establish his classification. Besides he is not very coherent with his own proposed ideas of using lexico-statistical and mass comparison as the criteria for establishing relationships. In this book, Loukotka does not seem to consider Yagua to belong in the Carib stock, or at least he does not mention the idea at all. However, Loukotka and Rivet (1952) and Loukotka (1963) had proposed that Peba-Yagua was a member of the Macro-Carib group. Loukotka classifies his 'Yagua' stock with the following languages in it (1968:152-153):

a. Yagua or Mishara - spoken on the Nauta, Nahua and Napo Rivers, department of Loreto, Peru.

b. Peba or Nijamvo - spoken in the village of Peba in the department of Loreto.

c. Caumari or Cahumari - once spoken on the Guerari River, a tributary of the Napo River, department of Loreto.

d. Yameo or Llameo or Camuchivo - spoken on the Nanay and Tigre Rivers in the department of Loreto.

e. Masamae or Mazan or Parara - spoken in the departmen of Loreto on

the Mazan River.

Loukotka does not provide any data about Caumari as a stand-alone member of the family, which is -at least- arbitrary. He provides a small list of Yagua, Peba, Yameo and Masamae words, although this list is reduced to only five items in the case of Masamae. Loukotka's classification, while partially correct, cannot be supported by the evidence since there is no data on Caumari. How he classifies it as a different language when all evidence from colonial texts point out that it was the name of a tribe linguistically not distinct from Peba remains a mystery. Besides, the name 'Nijamvo' attributed to the Peba and not to the Yagua is not justified either, since modern Yagua has *nihjam^{w}aj* or *niham^{w}o* 'people'. As we can see, in certain respects, and despite being based on Rivet's classification, Loukotka's classification is overall less reliable than that of the French author.

The subsequent classifications of the Peba-Yagua would continue to be basically the same as proposed by Rivet, despite some dissimilarities such as we have seen with Loukotka. Both authors' classifications and methods would be

criticized later by different scholars, but Peba-Yagua as a family has been usually assumed to be correct in subsequent literature -and thus far there is no reason to think otherwise. McQuown (1955), for example, while criticizing the validity of existing classifications of South American Languages, maintains the Peba-Yaguan family in his list. Voeglin and Voeglin (1977) have considered Peba-Yaguan as a family under the Macro-Cariban phylum (following Greenberg's proposed Macro-Carib phylum (Greenberg 1960)). Antonio Tovar in his *Catálogo de las Lenguas de América del Sur* puts Peba, Yagua and Yameo together and follows Rivet and Loukotka in considering them only as one family, though he advises that they are little known and that he is mentioning them in his work "sólo por razones geográficas"[38] (1961: 149), stating that some think of Yagua as mixed with Panoan and Cariban, while others regard Yameo as mixed with Arawakan and Panoan languages. He does not cite the sources of these hypothesized relations. More recently, Greenberg (1987) continued to propose the Peba-Yagua ('Peban' in his work) as a member of above mentioned "Macro-

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[38] "only for geographic reasons".

Carib" phylum.

Kaufman (1990) also proposes the unity of the Peba-Yagua family under the name "Yáwan" or Spanish "Yaguano"[39] containing three languages, two of them dead.[40] Also, Kaufman includes the Peba-Yagua in his "Northern Foothills" region [i.e. pre-Andean] and not in the "Western Amazonian II" region where the Peba-Yagua would seemingly belong. While Kaufman probably had in mind the relative proximity of the Peruvian Amazon River area to the Andes, the natural habitat of the Peba-Yagua is the lowland rainforest; plus, there is no basis to think that Peba-Yagua is of pre-Andean origin (unlike, for example, the Jivaroan family, which is listed in said Northern Foothills area; cf. Taylor and Descola (1981) for a discussion on the origin of the Jivaroan languages). Kaufman also follows Rivet and Loukotka, among others, in contemplating the place of the Peba-Yagua within his "Macro-Kariban" phylum. However, Kaufman

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[39] In Spanish the term Yagua is more common and that is the name of the language used by the Peruvian Ministry of Education's educational texts.

[40] Kaufman does not mention them, but it is understood that he is referring to Peba and Yameo as the dead languages.

prefers to use the term 'cluster', noting that these are only proposed genetic groups and need to be evaluated and justified.

Unlike Kaufman, Campbell (1997: 186) lists "Yagua, Peba and Yameo (Masamae)" as members the "Yaguan" family, without assigning this family any particular place under a Macro-Cariban superstock; rather, he considers that many of the proposed South American 'Macro-families' lack support and need to be more investigated.

Finally, D. L. Payne (1985a) speculates about a potential Zaparoan-Yaguan grouping based primarily on her analysis of a shared morphological feature in the form of the unit -*ta* which is used as an instrumental/commitative mark as well as a transitivity suffix in both Yagua and some Zaparoan varieties. However, this idea has not been further investigated; also, a grouping of Zaparo and Peba-Yagua would require more support from other parts of the grammar and vocabulary of the languages involved. While a shared trait such as the one described by Payne is interesting to look at, more evidence would be needed to propose a Zaparoan-Yaguan stock.

CHAPTER III

SOURCES AND DOCUMENTATION

3.1 Introduction

In this brief chapter, a short description of the sources used for the

reconstructions in this thesis and methods of interpreting them will be given. As

has been said in previous parts, available data on Peba and Yameo are not rich

or numerous. Interpreting the few documents of these languages has been a

lengthy part of the research undertaken for completing this work. To a certain

degree, a philological approach has been used in interpreting the documents that

form the basic corpus for this thesis in order to attempt an accurate idea of the

sound systems and their representation, and to translate the symbols used in the

different original texts and vocabulary lists into modern IPA symbols. Three

considerations have been followed in doing so: Firstly, if the author gave clues

as to how to interpret what he is writing, then I have stuck to those clues.

Secondly, the original languages of the authors have been considered for

interpretation of the data —for example, a text may be representing a sound that

in the author's native language was written by the use of two letters of the

alphabet. (More specific decisions will be discussed further on in this chapter

and in subsequent sections of the thesis when necessary). Thirdly, sometimes an

author's own explanation of his data is not enough: several things can be

happening in one word. The most common is the occurrence of more than one

morpheme in a word, which often involved an incomplete understanding of the

language by a given author. For instance, it is common to find examples like

viomoté 'arm' which has the first person plural possessive *vi-* attached to the stem

for 'arm'. Also, classifiers —which were unknown for all authors on whose

material this thesis is based[41]— often occurred already attached to a stem, so it

is necessary to parse the word in order to do a proper analysis. Finally,

phonological processes, while difficult to spot, have been taken into account and

constitute another example of the third consideration.

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[41] With the exception of P. Powlison, D. Payne and T. Payne.

In what follows I provide a short overview of the specific materials used

for the reconstruction in this work. In subsequent chapters I present the data as

already interpreted and analyzed according to the criteria pointed out in this

chapter; i.e., they represent my interpretation of other authors' data. All

cognates and texts given as examples are thus interpreted, and the 'filtered'

material is put together to establish a reconstruction of the Peba-Yaguan family.

Other philological discussion about the material presented will not be further

detailed as it would be outside the goals of this work. The reader interested in

finding out more about the original sources is referred to the works cited in the

subsections below.

3.2 Documentation on Yagua

The primary documentation on Yagua used for this work is Powlisons's

(1995) dictionary. This is the main source of vocabulary and the standard for

comparison with other data in this thesis. Powlison's work is the most reliable

with regards to representation of sounds. Although there are some

inconsistencies here and there throughout the dictionary it is an overall modern

accurate description of the language. Powlison's data have been complemented

with Doris and Thomas' Payne own fieldwork data, and with personal study of

that data and personal communication with the latter linguists when a

clarification was necessary -which happened often. Grammatical references on

Yagua are based on D. Payne and T. Payne (1990), D. Payne (1985b, 1990), T.

Payne (1987, 1992) and P. Powlison's "Introduction" to his *Diccionario Yagua-*

Castellano (1995). More texts that helped me understand Yagua phonology and

other parts of the grammar of this language will be cited in other sections of this

thesis when necessary. I will not comment on the works just cited in the

preceding lines as they are quite easily available to the general public, and I

simply refer the reader to them for further information.

Other sources for Yagua, considered secondary here, are the vocabularies

left by Castelnau (1851), Marcoy (1875), Tessmann (1930) and Fejos (1943).

Also, Chaumeil (especially 1987), while not a formal vocabulary list, provides

lots of lexical information and is probably one of the most notable resources for

cultural concepts and vocabulary available for Yagua. Because of time

constraints and the difficulty in accessing the text I have not been able to go

over all of Chaumeil's lexical material, but the wealth of information would

merit future checking and comparison with what is available from other sources.

Castelnau (1851), whose native languages was French, gives a glossary of

Yagua and Peba. Castelnau is considered a secondary source for Yagua, but in

view of the lack of other sources he is considered a primary source for Peba

because his transcription is the oldest for Peba (and Yagua), it does not have

confusing alternation of symbols (like Tessmann, for example, who can write

one word with a long vowel and another word with the same root with a

different type of vowel), and it is generally clearly interpretable according to the

French alphabet-sound pattern. Thus, for example, I interpret his word for 'blue',

<*wasanou*>, as [wasanu] with the last vowel as a high back vowel. This makes

sense especially when we are confronted with Yagua *wásunū́* 'blue'. There are

some exceptions to this claim about clarity, like his symbol <r>. I have

interpreted this symbol, in principle, as a flap (by comparison with Yagua) or a

trill (because a trill also appears in Yameo).

Paul Marcoy, in his description of his travel throughout South America, notes that he passed by the Mission of Pebas and the towns of San José and Santa María where he visited the Yagua, accompanied by priests and local people. He left a brief description of some traditional Yaguan customs, and included a small glossary of around eighty terms. Marcoy's vocabulary was made to compare the Yaguan words with Quechua, as he had heard that the Yagua were supposedly related to the Inca. However, it gives an overall fair idea of the vocabulary, especially when compared with Powlison's modern Yagua. No major changes seem to be in place when we compare Powlison's and Marcoy's data, although Marcoy does not represent nasal or long versus short vowels. Accent is represented in a few words only, but there is no way to say if it represents tone or just stress.

In his volume about the indigenous cultures of the northern Peruvian Amazon, G. Tessmann -whose native language was German- offered a huge amount of data on the languages of the area for his time, most of them barely

known during the 1930's. He provides an account of the culture and then a

vocabulary for each of the groups described in the volume, which included

Yagua and Yameo. His vocabulary list was formed by two hundred and thirty

three lexical items comprising human parts, culture, numbers, names of animals

and plants. To this two hundred thirty three item list he adds a few at the end,

which are not numbered, with very basic phrases of the kind 'I eat', 'good thing'

or 'my head'. The problem with Tessmann's work, as far as its use for this thesis

goes, is his hyper-corrected fashion of representing the phonetics of the

languages. He writes short, long, open, nasal, tense, lax and 'whispered'

(aspirated) vowels, and a varied number of consonants. On one hand, the

problem with the data is that it is not very accurate or reliable because of his

hyper-phonetic tendency of representing sounds without regards to their

systematic phonemic nature (Tessmann does not differentiate phone from

phoneme).

I have reinterpreted Tessmann's data according to Tessmann's explanation

of his symbols, and by comparison with the Powlison, Castelnau and Marcoy

vocabularies. For example, all of the vowels represented by Tessmann can be reduced to five cardinal vowels (a, e, i, o, u) plus, though occurring more rarely, fronted vowels represented by <ö> and <ü> which Espinoza (1955: 292) attributes to Tessmann's first language (German)[42]. His open and close vowels are also taken as allophonic variations as explained by Espinoza (1955: 292-293). Consonants are more 'standardly'-represented and will be discussed when/if necessary.

Finally, Fejos (1930) also offers a Yagua glossary in the final parts of his ethnography about this group. However, Fejos states that "no linguistic analysis was attempted", informing the reader that "the transcription was devised outside the field" by another person who transcribed Fejos' pronunciation of his own

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[42] The few items with these vowels in Tessmann's Yagua vocabulary seem rather capricious. In some cases, especially word-finally, it seems that Tessmann is representing an /uj/ syllable. In Yagua, word-final /j/ is barely pronounced (Payne and Payne 1990: 432), thus compare: Tessmann <jilü̃> (which I interpret as [jiluʲ], most probably from hij-hiluʲ 'your- lip'] with modern Yagua híírⁿduj 'lip'). Other cases seem more arbitrary and, as Espinoza says, the occurrence of the vowels in question seem to be due rather to a predisposition of Tessmann to hear them than their actual occurrence. For Tessmann's Yameo data, the few items containing the German umlaut graph (which are rarer than in his Yagua data) cannot be interpreted as there is no words in Yagua or Peba to compare them with. Therefore, I have not taken them into consideration for the present work.

notes since Fejos "acted as a informant for the words given in the glossary" (1943:118); therefore, his forms are based on a non-Yagua speaker. Thus, Fejos' glossary has not been considered in forming the vocabulary data-base of this thesis except to confirm some items that appear in sources that differ from Powlison's dictionary.

In general, all the information on Yagua should be understood as coming from Powlison's dictionary and D. and T. Payne (either their database or one of their works). However, when an item is not found in Powlison but appears in one (or more) of the 'secondary' sources, then I have considered it (or them) for establishing the due comparison. Also, Powlison's data have been re-interpreted to use IPA symbols because he uses his own manner for representing sounds (his dictionary contains an alphabet proposed as a practical orthography based on Spanish writing conventions). While re-interepreting Powlison's data I realized that he was not always consistent with his own explanations on the phonetics/ phonology of Yagua. In those cases, I have analyzed his data considering Payne and Payne (1990) and personal communication with these authors: these are the

forms that are being used in this thesis (though largely based on Powlison).

3.3 Documentation on Peba

To the best of my knowledge, there are only two works with linguistic data about the Peba variety. Both Francis de Castelnau (1851) and J. Erben (1948) published descriptions of their trips through the Amazon forests, which included visits to Pebas and surrounding towns.

Castelnau's glossaries are one of the first accounts of any Amazonian language, and they contain Peba and Yagua lists. The Peba glossary consists of around one hundred words including human body parts, cultural and geographic concepts, numbers and names of animals and plants. For more discussion on Castelnau, *vid supra* the previous subsection of this chapter.

Erben's book, written in Czech, was 'rescued' from oblivion by Loukotka (1963) who used it for his study of the Peba-Yaguan family. Erben does not provide a glossary or vocabulary, but in his description of his travel through the Amazon he gives a few words in Peba and Yagua that Loukotka was eager to include in his research. Erben gives only twenty one words, including numbers,

a couple of names of animals and some cultural concepts.

3.4 Documentation on Yameo

Yameo is the other language for which there is not only vocabulary but also a description of the grammar. Vocabularies used in this thesis come from Tessmann (1930) -with the criticism noted above- and Espinoza (1950). Espinoza also provides an overview of the grammar of Yameo. His work presents several difficulties and is a mix of traditional and made-up categories that would not fit in a modern linguistic description of a language; for instance, it is heavily influenced by Latin and Spanish traditional grammar descriptions, and he based parts of his work also on translations or comparisons with Spanish and other languages like Quechua that have nothing to do with Yameo. He often notes the difficulty of working with a language like Yameo, in his case even more as he was working with undoubtedly one of the last generations of Yameo speakers. However, Espinoza is the only work available that looks at the grammar of this language and an interpretation of his text is the only thing available for a true historical work. Also, Espinoza includes a valuable small vocabulary of Yameo

along with another comparative vocabulary where he compares Tessmann's

words with his own gathered material. Despite its difficulties, much of

Tessmann's data is interpretable through Espinoza explanations. Even so,

Espinoza also gives more symbols than needed to represent the sounds (Espinoza

is also concerned with the phones and not the phonemes of Yameo).

The other information available for Yameo comes in the form of old

missionary texts. These missionary texts, doctrines to teach the Christian

catechism, were supposed to be used in the missions. These texts are listed here:

a. A *Pater Noster* by an anonymous author from Adelung and Vater's

Mithridates (1813).

b. A group of short ecclesiastic texts found in Gonzales Suarez (1904)

written by an anonymous author which comprises the *Pater Noster, The Sign of*

the Cross, Ave Maria, Credo and a short question-and-answer *Catechism*.

c. A "Doctrine in Yameo and Masamae Language"[43] copied in Espinoza

(1955) and Manuel Uriarte (1986). Manuel Uriarte was a Jesuit missionary who

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[43] The name in Spanish, "Doctrina en lengua Yamea y Masamea" clearly refers to one language
only, the word lengua 'language' appears in singular.

was in the Yameo area in the 18th century. His diary was edited by Constantino

Bayle in 1952 with Uriarte's letters and other documents from the mission

Uriarte led as a member of the Jesuit society. One of the documents inserted in

the book that Bayle edited was the Doctrine cited above. I have not been able to

access Bayle's 1952 version. According to Espinoza, Manuel Uriarte himself or

Jose Bahamonde, another Jesuit missionary, may have written the doctrine. The

doctrine text found in Espinoza (1955 -copied from Bayle's 1952 version) and in

Uriarte (1986 -which is a re-edition of Bayle's 1952 book) are two versions of

the same *Doctrine*. Nevertheless, there are some differences in the writing or the

interpretation of a graph in the old document whence the *Doctrine* comes.

Whenever possible, I have analyzed the texts in a morpheme by morpheme basis

by referring to Espinoza's grammar or by comparison with Yagua. This is not

always possible because there are forms that are unknown and other times the

transcription in Espinoza (1955) and Uriarte's modern version (1986) differ,

rendering the text ambiguous.[44] Incidentally, the doctrine, written for preaching

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[44] As I say, I have not been able to get a copy of the 1952 edition by Father Constantino Bayle
(but originally written in the eighteenth century). I have used a modern version from 1986, but

the catechism in both Yameo and Masamae, is further proof of the closeness of both varieties.

From all of the texts cited in (a), (b) and (c) above, some Yameo vocabulary has been extracted. In the case of the "Doctrine in Yameo and Masamae language", if the words were the same in the two copies cited above (Espinoza 1955 and Uriarte 1986), they have been used for comparison. But overall, these texts have been interpreted and used primarily for an analysis of the grammar, for which there are fewer consequences from problems with the differences in transcription.

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errors in transcribing may have occurred considering some words written in different way. Espinoza says that he is copying a literal (i.e. supposedly 'exact') version; however differences with Bayle's text may be due to errors in any of the versions.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUND SYSTEM

4.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to clarify the genetic classification of the Peba-

Yaguan languages. In this chapter, I focus on the application of the comparative

method, which constitutes the major means for reconstructing previous stages of

languages. By comparing data from different languages it is possible to confirm

(or disconfirm) the grouping of languages into a family, to reconstruct the

protolanguage and to specify the major changes in patterns from past phases of

the languages involved to the modern system(s). While the lack of more

information may prevent fulfilling these general objectives for Peba-Yagua with

a high degree of completeness, the specific aim of the analysis presented here is

to give, as precisely as can be done, a good idea of the characteristics of the

Peba-Yaguan phonemic proto-system as well as a set of changes that explains its

development through history. Therefore, despite the limitations proper of this

kind of work, and particularly in the case of Peba-Yagua, the limitations of the

quality of the data, an approximation of its interpretation and confirmation of

the classification of the linguistic family is viable.

The analysis will be based on sets of cognates extracted from vocabularies

available for all three Peba-Yaguan languages: Peba, Yagua and Yameo. To this I

will add, when available, data from Masamae, a variety of Yameo. The Masamae

variety was, in any case, very closely-related to the Yameo to the extent that

there is not a single piece of information that denies its Yamean connection in

the texts cited in this thesis. To keep the data separated and give a better

impression of the original sources to the reader, I will write the Masamae

cognates on their own column. I will refer to these data as 'Yameo(-Masamae)',

because, as we saw in the preceding chapter, there was even a single 'Doctrine

in the Masamae and Yameo language' attesting their close link. The Yameo(-

Masamae) items come from this Doctrine. In addition, I will refer to the cognates

extracted from Espinoza's and Tessmann's works as 'Yameo'.

Before starting the actual comparison, a quick synchronic overview of the languages involved will be provided. After that, a series of correspondences on which the reconstruction of the proto-sound system is based will be presented.

4.2 A Phonological Survey of the Peba-Yaguan Languages

It was argued in the previous chapter that despite the numerous names of different 'partialities' or tribes of Peba-Yaguan people, there are no major reasons to consider that the Peba-Yagua family should not be conceived of as having three main members: The Yagua, the Peba and the Yameo. The comparison does not consider all varieties of these languages as unfortunately most of them have disappeared. The Proto-Language, however, is always a theoretical construct, i.e. a hypothesis of what the language could have been like. In that regard, the data available still provide a good basis for approaching the question of whether Peba-Yagua is really a language family, and if so, what the proto-language was like.

Given all the limitations described above, I have decided to use the

language on which there is more available information (i.e. Yagua) as the 'basis'

for comparison. This basically means that whenever I have been able to compare

an item to Yagua, even if the item was not present in all three languages,[45] I

have nevertheless compared the item to Yagua and then established whether or

not the pair or triplet is relevant for establishing a given pattern in the history of

the system by comparing it with other examples of similar sets of

correspondents.

4.2.1 Yagua

The Yagua language has been described extensively in different works by

Doris and Thomas Payne, and by Paul Powlison (see the *References*).

Most Yaguan dialectal differences are phonological or phonetic with

regard to certain lexical items only, although some non-mutually shared lexical

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[45] Only on one occasion a word not present in Yagua is present for Peba and Yameo. I have used this pair of cognates for comparison, but because of the limitations in vocabulary for the other languages, most 'evidence-supporting' partial cognate comparisons are Yagua-Peba or Yagua-Yameo.

items and some grammatical differences have been observed (Payne & Payne,

1990: 252). In general, all dialects are mutually intelligible but they have not

been studied in depth. The Yagua data gathered for this thesis come from the

Cahocuma and Vainilla dialects, which are the ones described in Payne and

Payne (1990) and Powlison (1995).

According to Payne and Payne (1990), Yagua has eleven contrasting

synchronic consonants: /p, t, k, m, n, s, tʃ, ɽ, w, j, h/. Notice that ɽ is a retroflexed

flap and h a pharingeal approximant. This coincides in general with Powlison's

(1962, 1995) analysis, although Powlison does not say anything about the

retroflexed realization of the flap. However, Powlison and Gordon de Powlison

(1971), who give a flap phoneme /ɾ/, state it can be realized as a voiced

retroflexed fricative [ʐ]. Also, Powlison and Gordon de Powlison (1971) consider

h as a fricative velar and not as pharyngeal, but they state that it has a very light

friction and sometimes it surfaces as a glottal stop which suggests that h does

not have an oral-cavity source of articulation. In this work, following Payne and

Payne (1990), I will use the retroflexed flap ɽ and the pharyngeal h to represent

the Yaguan words. Other interesting allophonic variations in Yagua occur for the

nasal consonants /m/ and /n/ which have pre-nasal oral realizations before oral

vowels ([ᵐb] and [ⁿd], respectively). I represent these allophones because we will

see that they are important for understanding the nasal consonants in Proto-

Peba-Yagua. Finally, before /i/ and /e/ the labial consonants /p, m, w/ and [ᵐb]

are labialized [pʷ, mʷ, ᵐbʷ]. I will not represent these allophones but I will refer

to them in later sub-sections of this chapter because I consider that some

sequences of words written <bue> in Yameo, for example, may represent

cognate instances of Yagua [ᵐbʷe].

Perhaps the main difference in analysis between Powlison (1962, 1995)

and Payne and Payne (1990) is with regards to vowels. Powlison (1962) argues

for a four vowel system[46]: /a, i, o, u/ —he states that [e] is an allophone of /a/

and [i] an allophone of /i/— whereas Powlison (1995) presents four vowels: /a,

i, o, u/. On the other hand, Payne and Payne (1990) argue for six vowels: /a, e, i,

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[46] Actually, Powlison argues for eight vowels because he says that the four vowels given here
have their nasal counterparts. Payne and Payne (1990) also state that the six vowels that they
propose have their nasal counterparts.

i, o, u/. The oral vowels have nasal counterparts, and also have a length

distinction. These authors state that *e, o* and *i* "are defective in terms of

frequency in the lexicon" (1990: 429). Also, alternation between *ɾ* and *n* has

been observed in some dialects of Yagua. For example, Chaumeil (1987: 19)

gives the forms for 'shaman' as <*rimara*> for the dialect of the Pebas town

area, and <*nëmara*> for the dialect of the Sarko group (who are located around

Atacuari and Cotuhe-L-Yacu).[47] In addition, sometimes there are alternations

between the vowels a ~ u and a ~ i (Doris Payne, personal communication).

Further, Payne and Payne state that "the norms of high front and high back

vowels are relatively lower than in Spanish counterparts. For non-native

speakers of Yagua, this may lead to frequent confusion between /e/ and /i/ on

the one hand, and between /o/ and /u/ on the other" (1990: 249). This

description may be important in understanding the variations in vowel

representation in the Peba and Yameo languages when compared to Yagua.

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[47] This kind of alternation also seems to occur diachronically. For example, the word for 'shaman' in Peba is *dimasa* whereas Yagua has the form *ɾimaɾa* or *nëmaɾa*, as we saw previously. No explanation can be provided (at least at this point) because there is no evidence to argue for a systematic pattern. In this work, I assume that these are random alternations.

4.2.2 Peba

There has not been any kind of phonemic analysis for Peba in the past.

From what can be analyzed from the data, the Peba inventory coincides in

general with that described for Yagua. It shows the grapheme consonants <p, k,

t, m, n, s, ch, r, l, w, j>. Given that the main source for Peba was written by

Castelnau, who had French background, we can interpret some graphemes with

French orthography in mind. Thus, for example, I interpret <ch> as

representing a voiceless alveopalatal fricative /ʃ/. The graphemes are being

interpreted as /p, k, t, m, n, s, ʃ, w, j/. There are certain issues when it comes to

analyze specific graphemes in Peba. The grapheme <r> is difficult to interpret.

I do not interpret it as the uvular sound that is so common in French. I think

that it is representing a sound similar to the Spanish flap /ɾ/ or the Spanish trill

/r/. The grapheme <l> represents the lateral [l] but, as we will see, I consider

it a synchronic allophone of /n/ in Peba, which corresponds to Yagua [ⁿd].

Notice that there are a few words in Peba that have an <l> grapheme but for

which there are no cognates in Yagua or Yameo (the word <*malayeré*>

'thunder', for instance). Whether the <*l*>'s in such words are real synchronic

phonemes or not in Peba is unknown because there is no evidence to prove it.

With regards to vowels, Peba shows five: /*a, e, i, o, u*/ (written also <*a, e,*

i, o, u>). Besides, some instances of vowels written <*ai*> seem to parallel the

Yagua /*e*/ occurrence (in French <*ai*> usually represents an open front vowel

[ɛ], which is a possible realization of Yaguan /*e*/); but sometimes <*ai*>

matches the phonological sequence /*aj*/ in Yagua, as in the 1.SG pronoun Yagua

raj: Peba <*rai*> (*[re] or [raj]?*). The vowel /*o*/ in the data for Peba occurs in

just a few lexical items. These problems will be discussed in further sub-sections

of this chapter.

4.2.3 Yameo

There has not been any phonemic analysis of Yameo in the past. The first

impression after looking at Yameo, as portrayed by Tessmann (1930) and

Espinoza (1955), is that it seems to have had a vast inventory of sounds.

Nevertheless, one can notice quickly that both authors are concerned with

representing phonetic realizations and not with distinguishing phonemes. After

analyzing both authors' texts, it is in fact clear that they are over-representing

the Yamean language sounds. To write a philological essay about interpreting

both authors would demand another long paper -which goes beyond the goals of

this thesis; however I will discuss some points later on when clarification is

needed. For the moment, it can be stated that Yameo can be described as having

the following phonemic consonants: /p, t, k, m, n, s, ʃ, w, j/ and possibly /l/,

which is interpreted as a synchronic allophone of /n/ as in Peba. That is, in both

Peba and Yameo <l> corresponds to Yagua [ⁿd] -an allophone of /n/. However,

there are several more examples of <l> occurring in words for which there are

no cognates in Peba or Yagua, Since its status as a phoneme in Yameo does not

depen on whether the other languages have cognate words; but on whether Peba

lacks any conditioning environment, I tend to conclude that /l/ has emerged as

a phoneme in synchronic Peba. The flap r and the trill r will be discussed in the

sub-section of this chapter about a hypothesized rhotic. It seems that Yameo may

have distinguished a flap from a trill -at least as I read Espinoza's work, but this cannot be confirm from Tessmann's work. Espinoza also mentions the palatal lateral ʎ but it has not been taken into consideration as a possible phoneme because not enough information is given: some examples are borrowings from Spanish, for example *sapáʎŏ* 'squash'; or Quechua, for example *sikwaʎa* 'a bird'. Espinoza provides very few examples of ʎ. In his small vocabulary there are only two or three words with this sound, all of them with a high front vowel (i.e. ʎi) except for *spaǝaʎá* 'dish' and *sʎa* 'axe' ('axe' is probably not an original tool of the Peba-Yaguan people an the form given looks similar to the Spanish word for 'axe', *atʃa*). Tessmann represents fronted rounded vowels <ö> and <ë> in a few cases, but Espinoza states that it is due to his predisposition to hearing them because Tessmann was German. Espinoza only gives one example where he 'seems' to have heard the vowel *ö*. The examples of these vowels in Tessmann and Espinoza are very few and I do not find correspondences in Yagua or Peba; thus I have not taken them into consideration for this work. The vowels that can be proposed as phonemes for Yameo, from Espinoza's description, are /a, e, i, o,

u/. As I said before, Espinoza and Tessmann over-represented Yameo vowels, but

without pointing out any evidence with regards to their phonemic status.

To summarize the Yameo representation of sounds in the data, I provide

the following correspondence in Table 6 (see next page), with graphemes and

my interpretation of their respective phonetic value in an IPA representation. If

a symbol is used only by one author (either Tessmann or Espinoza), I write the

author's name between parenthesis. Otherwise, symbols should be understood as

used by both authors.

Table 6. Graphemes used in the representation of Yameo sounds and their interpretation for this thesis

Vowels	Consonants (continuation)
<a> a	<ɣ> ɣ, occurs marginally, likely represents an allophone of /w/
<e> e	<θ> θ, allophone of /s/ or /ʃ/ (Tessmann)
<i> i	
<o> o	<č> tʃ
<u> u	<y> j
<ö> œ, ɨ?	<s> s
<ü> ɣ, y?	<z> z, allophone of /s/, in Yameo-Masamae doctrine (according to Espinoza) it likely represents an affricated sound [ts]
*Diacritics for vowels are explained when necessary throughout this chapter	
	<š> ʃ
Consonants	<ɽ> it represents a retroflex assibilated flap
<p> p	<ɹ, ɹ̆, r> ɹ, ɹ̆ (assibilated), ɾ, all allophones of /ɾ/ (flap) (Espinoza)
<t> t	
<k> k	<ɹ, r̄> ɹ ('relaxed' r), r, allophones of /r/ (trill) (Espinoza)
<b> b	
<d> d, occurs marginally	<l> l
<ḍ> ḍ (retroflex), occurs marginally, a variation of d (Tessmann)	<ḷ> ʎ
	*A consonant with an accent mark (<ś>)represents a syllabic consonant (Espinoza)
<g> g, mostly representing /w/	
<m> m	
<n> n	
<ṇ> ŋ (Tessmann)	
<ŋ> ŋ appears marginally, especially in sequences <ŋg>	
<ñ> ɲ, allophone of n	

4.3 The Reconstruction of the Proto-Phonemic Inventory

This section presents regular correspondences that can be identified on

the basis of the available materials, and its goal is to reconstruct the inventory

of sounds in Proto-Peba-Yagua. In the following parts of this section the

inventory of the proto-system will be justified.

Ideally, comparative series of regular sets of cognates will attest any given

sound in question in several positions (initial, medial, and final position in a

lexical form). For Peba-Yagua, in some cases there is more than enough evidence

exemplifying the phonemic nature of a proto-sound in a relevant comparative

series; in others, though, the number of attesting examples found is small. I have

taken the following approach to this problem: proto-phonemic segments for

which there is substantial information are considered to be 'first-level

hypothetical' units, i.e. their nature as part of the proto-system can be

established with full confidence. Phonemic segments for which there is not a

strong amount of information but whose place is thought of as likely in the

proto-system are considered as 'second-level hypothetical' units, i.e. they may

have been part of the proto-system but there is not enough evidence to confirm

it, and thus other criteria (apart from cognates) are brought into the discussion

to complement the idea of their possible 'proto' nature. These criteria include

context of occurrence, possible variation in representation (i.e. whether there

are more symbols representing a variation -possible allophones- or not),

linguistic typology and phonological asymmetry, among others. The 'second-

level hypothesis' units are presented between parenthesis as in (*p), unlike the

'first-level hypothesis' units which appear without them. Thirdly, if there is

even weaker evidence for a proto-phoneme, then I will be limited to comment

on the occurrence of instances of possible cognates that may suggest a series of

correspondences if I find it relevant. In general, I will avoid over-exercised

explanations of correspondences that appear only once, for example, and that

can be considered exceptions, as the result of idiosyncratic transcription or

simply representations of uncertain origin.

In the next sections, if there are cognates from all three languages, I

propose a proto-form for the words being compared. Vowel length is not being reconstructed at this time. Also, Yagua has two tones (high and low) but it has to be studied yet. I will not cover tone in this thesis. If a cognate is attested in only two languages, I only use the words for partial comparisons but I do not attempt to reconstruct the lexical item for proto-Peba-Yagua. The forms in the cognate sets are phonemic for Yagua and also my phonemic interpretation of the Peba, Yameo and Masamae data. The only exceptions where phonetic forms are presented are: (1) the pre-nasalized consonants ^mb *and* nd[48] in Yagua for reasons given later (basically, nd is cognate with Peba and Yameo); (2) in certain cases, in Peba and Yameo there are cognates that have a *[d]*, *[l]* or some other segment not considered phonemes in the languages but which correspond to Yagua forms, for example Yagua *satja* 'row' and Peba *sadja* <sadya> 'row' are obviously related. In these cases, I consider the forms like *sadja* as random variations that could have occurred for one of many reasons (e.g. it could be an error in transcription, a problem in interpreting the sound, or just a speaker's

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[48] These symbols correspond exactly to what Payne and Payne (1990: 430) represent by [mb] and [nd].

idiosyncratic pronunciation), but I provide the form with the *[d]* to remain faithful to the sources; (3) the vowels in Yameo, for which I use phonetic interpretation in the sense that I am writing long (*aː*), shortened (*ă*), opened (*ǫ*) and accented vowels (*á*) just as they are described in the sources -this is done to give a closer representation of vowels as they appeared in the sources; because there is a lot of variation, I think it is better in this case not to have the original source 'out of sight' to avoid the introduction of more confusion. However, I am taking an *a* in Yagua and Peba as corresponding essentially with *ă*, *aː* or *ǫ* in Yameo. I consider these as realizations of an underlying /a/. As I said before, there is no basis to claim that they are different phonemes in Yameo; Espinoza himself states that there are five vowels *a, e, i, o, u* and thus the rest are understood as allophones. Remember that an accent mark (*á*) in Yagua words means that the vowel has a high tone. Because of lack of evidence, an accent mark in Yameo is interpreted as just marking stress. Length in Yagua is represented with a doubled symbol as in: *aa*.

4.3.1 Consonants

The consonants postulated for Proto-Peba-Yagua are given in the table 7

shown below. The justification of the proto-phonemes is given in the following

sections.

Table 7. Consonants of Proto-Peba-Yagua

Stop		
bilabial (*p)	alveolar *t	velar *k
Nasal		
bilabial *m	alveolar *n	
Fricative		
	alveolar *s	
Affricate		
		alveo-palatal *tʃ
Rhotic		
*R		
Approximant		
bilabial *w	palatal *j	pharyngeal *h

4.3.1.1 Stops

The voiceless stops *(*p)*, *t* and *k* are postulated for Proto-Peba-Yagua.

They occurred in initial and middle position but not in final position.

Bilabial (*p)

There are few examples of the voiceless bilabial stop for real comparison.

Despite the small quantity of examples, we can take into account the fact that

there is no variation in the representation of *p* in the data: no plausible alternate

symbol is given and its occurrence does not appear to depend on the influence of

surrounding sounds or position in the word that it occupies. Also, by asymmetry

p is a very probable proto-sound as there is solid evidence for the stops *t* and

k.

The segment *p* occurs in initial and middle positions. The following are

examples of *p* in Yagua, Peba and Yameo. The only word that I have found as

cognate across all three languages is the one for 'macaw'. Other words provide

partial comparisons, either Yagua with Peba or Yagua with Yameo and one for

Masamae.

Yag	Peb	Yam	Yam-Mas	P-P-Y
pupá- 'white'	papa	---	---	
paɽu-j 'become white'	---	parlŏ 'white'	---	
pisij 'throat'	---	pę́iʃi	---	
-puu 'CL.short.cilinder'	---	-puu	---	
hapa 'red macaw'	apa 'macaw'	ápă 'macaw'	---	*hapa
popo-ko 'white earth'[49]	---	popó 'earth'	popo 'earth'	*pVpV

Alveolar *t

In all languages a voiceless alveolar is found in initial and middle

position. Cognates considered for reconstructing *t have been the words for 'ear',

the root for 'one', 'woman' and 'caiman'. Partial comparisons to complement the

full cognate series, either Yagua-Peba or Yagua-Yameo-(Masamae), also occur.

Consider the following examples that support the reconstruction of *t:

Yag	Peb	Yam	P-P-Y
tuwãj 'ear'	tiwa	tĩwẽ (Tess), tuwãə (EG)	*tiwãj, tuwãj
tá- 'one, another'	te-	ta- 'other'	*ta
wa-tu-ɽá 'woman without children'	wa-to-a 'woman'	wá-t-rã́ 'woman'	*wa-tV-Ra
nuɽutu 'caiman'	nuerto	nuɾtó	*nuRutV

---

[49] This item comes from Chaumeil (1987).

Sets of partial cognates follow here to give a broader idea of the

occurrence of *t. The first shows examples of cognates for Yagua and Peba in

initial and middle position:

Yag	Peb
taⁿdaj- 'five, half'	taone- 'five'
hũtó 'head' (compared to Peba initial-	to (most likely from a middle-position
position tó)	*hũto)
hṹnṹtij 'root'	nataj
homũtú 'hand'	omoté 'arm'
-mutá 'CL.tube.of.musical.instrument'	-matá

The following partial cognate sets occur between Yagua and Yameo,

including Yameo-Masamae when available.

Yag	Yam	Yam-Mas
toó 'forest'	tǫ:ǫ-la⁵⁰	---
tĩ 'someone, other'	aĕtín (aetĩ) 'people'	atín 'man'
taɾá 'thing'	tara	talan
nũmũtṹ 'shoulder'	nĕmatá	---
nũtju-ɾa 'what'	nit-rá 'how' (There is	---
	more likely a vowel after	
	t that would give a	
	reconstructable form	
	*nujtu- ~ nijtu-)	

---

[50] It seems that this form may have a particle -la that corresponds to Yagua -ⁿda, a classifier for

Finally, there is only one example in which a *t* in Yagua appears as *d* in other languages. Thus compare:

Yagua: *sáátjãã* 'row'   Peba (Erben): *sadja* 'row'

This is, incidentally, the only example where a voiced stop appears in the data for Peba and with so little data it is hard to say anything about it. Espinoza (1955: 207) says that in Yameo voiceless stops 'predominate', adding that he only found *d* in one word, *indélo* 'red' (for which we find no cognates in the other languages). If this were enough to establish anything regarding the proto-system, and provided that the comparative series for *p, t, k* are well established, this problem would have to be solved by positing another different proto-sound. In this case next in the list would be **d*. However, as I say, with so little information this is only speculative. Evidence to the contrary (i.e. that the *d* in *indélo* was really a *t*) is provided by Tessmann who gives the Yameo form *ntelǎ* for 'red'. Thus, for the moment we can say that Yameo *d* is at best an

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tree trunks.

idiosyncratic variation of *t*, and possibly a misinterpretation or a

mistranscription of a voiceless sound after a nasal.

Velar *k

The voiceless velar stop tends to occur in word-initial position, though

there are some examples where it appears in middle position. Here are a few

examples that support the presence of *k* in the proto-system:

Yag	Peb	Yam	P-P-Y
kããsij 'parroquet'	koasi	koaʃi 'parrot'	*kVasi
kããnṹ 'bow'	kanu	kanú-tĭ[51]	*kanu

Partial comparative series of examples are given next.

Yag	Peb
kaná 'howler monkey'	kanạ
-kunjo (Castelnau) 'four'	-koni
tííkii 'one (animate)	teki

---

[51] The particle *-tĭ* may be a classifier. Compare to Yagua *-tii* that classifies long, big branches and similar objects. Note, however, that the word *kanuti* can be a borrowing from Cocama, where it is also present (cf. Espinoza 1955: 304, Castelanau 1851: 294). It seems that the bow may not be an original weapon of the Peba-Yagua, information about the Yagua (Chaumeil 1987) confirms that the preferred weapon of the Yagua is the blowgun. We would have to explain why and how the last syllable was dropped in Yagua and Peba if this is really a borrowing.

For Yagua and Yameo there are just a couple of pairs, but they corroborate the correspondence between those languages:

Yag	Yam
káɽóósiíj 'clay pot'	kalʃé 'pot'
nikéé 'speak'	l̥eké

4.3.1.2 Nasal

Bilabial *m

The bilabial nasal sound is found in initial and middle position in Yagua, Peba and Yameo. In Yagua, /m/ has two allophones: a prenasalized [ᵐb] before oral vowels and [m] before nasal vowels. For Peba and Yameo, /m/ is also the phoneme. No allophones of /m/ in Peba and Yameo are evident from the data. However, there is one instance in Peba where we can have a possible allophone of /m/ realized as [b], or perhaps [ⁿb], written <b>. In the word for 'dog' or 'jaguar' we have two different forms, *nebi* (given by Castelnau) and *nemej* (given by Erben). As we will see in the next section, it is possible to think that in Proto-Peba-Yagua there were competing forms with either an oral or nasal grade

vowel. The alternations shown in forms like *nebi ~ nemej* suggest that in the first

form there was an oral vowel, whereas in the second there was a nasal vowel.

Unfortunately, this is the only example of an instance of <*b*> in Peba, so it is

difficult to expand on this idea for the moment. The reconstruction of **m* is

based on the examples below.

Yag	Peb	Yam	Yam-Mas	P-P-Y
mố 'forehead'	mo	məa	---	*mo
-mũ 'LOC'	-mo	-mu	-ma	*mṼ
-mĩj, -mũj 'PL.ANIM'	-mue	-mue	-m, -ma	*muj ~ mij
humũɲũ 'canoe'	munjo	mẹnəa, mẹ:nẽ́	---	*humVnV
nĩᵐbjíí 'dog, jaguar'	nebi (Cas), nemej (Erb)	niamẹ́, niamĩ́ (Tess), ɲiamé (Esp) 'dog'	---	*nimji

Alveolar *n

There are up to four correspondence series that I discuss in this section:

Yag	Peb	Yam
n	n	n
ⁿd	l	l
ⁿd	n	n
n	(l)?	l

First, an alveolar nasal *n can be reconstructed. In Yagua, [n] occurs before nasal vowels. In Yameo and Peba, it is difficult to say if there is a nasal vowel after [n]. Sometimes, Tessmann, for example, gives a nasal vowel after [n], like in *anúlara* 'here'; but many other times the nasal vowel does not appear (or is not represented), as in the examples below. However, I think that it is plausible to postulate nasal vowels in the context of a nasal consonant. The other hypothesis would be that the distinction oral versus nasal was gradually lost after *n* in Peba and Yameo, but there are a few instances that represent them in that environment in Yameo. As for Peba, the occurrence of nasal vowels is uncertain. The following series of cognates support the proto-phonemic nature of *n.

Yag	Peb	Yam	P-P-Y
nĩᵐbjíí 'jaguar, dog'	nemej(Cas), nebi(Erb)	niamĩ́	*nimji
nũɽúũ 'nose'	nero	nár?lǎ	*nVRV
nũɽutu 'caiman'	nuerto	nurtó	*nuRutV
kããnũ 'bow'	kanu	kanu-tĩ́	*kanu

Further partial cognate sets of Yagua and Peba for *n:

Yag	Peb
hṹnṹtij 'root'	nataj
-nĩhjátee 'number suffix'	-neti

And for Yagua and Yameo (and Masamae), these cognates show further

correspondences for *n:

Yag	Yam	Yam-Mas
nũtjuɾa 'what'	nitrá 'how'	---
nũmũtõ 'shoulder'	němatá	---
-hanũ 'NOMLR'	---	-anó 'NOMLR'

Apart from the series illustrated above, there is a second series of regular

correspondences. This concerns the pre-nasalized variety ^{n}d which has a lateral

approximant l correspondence in Peba and Yameo, as shown in the following

sets:

Yag	Peb	Yam	P-P-Y
^{n}deeɾa 'boy'	lɛra (Castel. <laira>)	láer	*neRa
-^{n}dasij 'CL.long.cilinder'	-lasé	-las	*nasij

In modern Yagua, [^{n}d] is an allophone of /n/ before oral vowels. There is

no evidence that l was realized with nasal vowels in Peba and Yameo; thus we

can consider *l* as a cognate of the Yagua pre-nasalized allophone. Notice that I

am considering vowels in Peba and Yameo to be nasalized in the context of a

nasal consonant. As I said, the data for Peba and Yameo does not always

represent nasal vowels (many times, it does not but some other times it does

represent them); but it is natural to assume a degree of assimilation from a nasal

consonant.

Thus I propose that at some point there was a synchronic allophonic

variation (that is still present in modern Yagua) due to a rule of the type:

Yagua: /n/ → [ⁿd] / _ V[oral] (verified in modern and in old attestations

of Yagua)[52]

Peba and Yameo: /n/ → [l] / _ V[oral]

If we can establish that Peba and Yameo branched off from an

intermediate daughter of Proto-Peba-Yagua, i.e. Proto-Peba-Yameo, then perhaps

this allophonic rule can be attributed also to this hypothetical Proto-Peba-

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[52] Castelnau (1851) gives the forms *<raluya>* (Peba) and *<randulia>* (Yagua) 'lightning'
(modern Yagua [ɾãá̃ⁿduuɾja]). I think that the *<d>* or *<nd>* sequence in Yagua is representing
the allophone [ⁿd], and corresponds to *<l>* in Peba. It seems, then, that the Yagua allophonic
variation is a relatively old one.

Yameo;[53] and I hypothesize that it is the same allophonic variation that we observe synchronically for Peba and Yameo. On the other hand, Yagua -which would be in the other branch- seems to have developed its own allophonic rule that can be still observed synchronically in modern Yagua.

The third and fourth correspondence series unfortunately need more exemplification but I would like to discuss them based on the available data. So, first is the correspondence of Yagua ^{n}d, and Peba and Yameo n; and second is the correspondence of Yagua n, and Peba and Yameo l. Examples of the correspondence $^{n}d : n : n$ are provided here below. They are all partial except for 'blow':

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[53] I discuss this idea in the conclusions.

Yag	Peb	Yam	P-P-Y
wá-^{n}dá 'bright'	wana 'sun'	--	
^{n}díj 'see'	--	nitę	
^{n}daku-[54] 'become dark'	--	néko-	'night'
^{n}duu[55] 'to blow'	no	nu	*nu

Above, I stated that ^{n}d was an allophone of the alveolar n in modern

Yagua whose mirrored form in Peba and Yameo would be l. But the examples

just shown would say otherwise. There is a good basis for maintaining that in

Yagua ^{n}d is an allophone of n, though: it occurs only before oral vowels. On the

other hand, albeit rarely, there are examples of alternations between ^{n}d and n in

Powlison's dictionary for the same lexeme, according to the vowels that occurs

after them. For instance, the number 'two' can appear with either a nasal or oral

vowel: nã̧ɾahű̧j ~ ^{n}da̧ɾahű̧j. The fact that we can find similar variation across

Peba-Yaguan languages, however, may suggest that this is not just a case of

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[54] Notice that in Yagua the lexeme for 'black' is wá-^{n}daku, in which ^{n}dakuj 'become dark' is the
base root. The morpheme wá- is a nominalizing prefix that derives abstracts names in Yagua. The
partial coincidence of forms with the word for 'bright' wá-^{n}da is interesting, but I failed to see
any semantic bond between them. Wilson (2008) discusses the Yagua root -^{n}da in more detail.

[55] The forms come from Yagua ^{n}du^{n}dasij 'blowgun', Peba nolasé <naulasé> and Yameo nulas. In
Yagua, ^{n}du means '(to) blow'.

synchronic 'free variation', but rather that it reflects a moment in which there were competing forms in the proto-language.

Although more concrete evidence is needed, for the moment I will discuss two possible hypotheses. The first is that a pre-nasalized phoneme ($*^{n}d$) was present in the proto-language. This phoneme $*^{n}d$ would have merged with $*n$ in all three languages as a consequence of a change $*^{n}d > n$ at a further stage in the proto-language. Thus there would be two historical moments for ^{n}d. The first was as a proto-phoneme $*^{n}d$ that merged with n. Then, in a second point in time, another [^{n}d] would appear before oral vowels but as a result of an allophonic rule in Yagua, while [l] would appear in Peba and Yameo in the same environment. The protophoneme $*^{n}d$ would be still traceable by its reflex n in Peba and Yameo.

There are a number of issues with this first hypothesis as just described. First, there is no support for suggesting $*^{n}d$ as a proto-phoneme except that it is the next consonant sound to consider if there are no better explanations for the alveolar nasal correspondence sets. Second, it is too suspicious —though not

impossible— that the same sound that disappeared as a result of a supposed

merger between *n and *^{n}d in the proto-language, appears again in one of the

daughter languages as an allophone. Third, postulating *^{n}d would have serious

consequences for the distinction between oral and nasal vowels. It would mean,

for example, that oral vowels became nasal vowels when *^{n}d and *n merged; and

those 'new' nasal vowels became oral vowels again when [^{n}d] supposedly

reappeared in Yagua. Sounds simply do not go on and off in that way. Fourth,

there is no evidence to postulate an analogous *^{m}b phoneme in Proto-Peba-

Yagua, which —while not necessary— would be the optimal system to have, in

view of natural linguistic asymmetry.

Thus, there must be another more plausible hypothesis, involving vowel -

and not consonant- variation. But first let us look at the fourth correspondence

series (n in Yagua: l in Peba and Yameo). The case of the series corresponding to

n - l offers more difficulty because I find only few examples to work with in

Yagua and Yameo:

Yag	Yam	Yam-Mas
nikéé 'to say'	leké	leke
néé 'no'	le	---

There are no true correspondences with Peba for this case, except maybe

a form given by Erben for the 'number four', although Castelnau gives a form

with an *n*:

Yag	Peb
naj- 'four'	na- (Cas), lau- (Erb)

Now that we have the four correspondences series, we can discuss in

more detail a second hypothesis for the problematic series *ⁿd-n-n* and I will add *n*

- (l?) - l to the discussion as well. It is possible that the situation in Proto-Peba-

Yagua was one such that there was allophony based on the nasal/oral quality of

the vowel following the alveolar nasal consonant —as we still have in modern

Yagua—, described by the following synchronic (in the protolanguage) rule:

$$*n \rightarrow *[n]_{[+nasal]} / \_\_ *V_{[nasal]}$$

$$\rightarrow *[^{n}d], [l]_{[coronal, +oralized]} / \_\_ *V_{[oral]}$$

For some words, however, there were alternate competing pronunciations

-some with the oral vowel, and some with the nasal vowel (i.e., 'oral grade' and 'nasal grade' options) In those cases where we have the correspondence set $^n d$ - n - n, Yagua took the oral vowel variant, whereas Peba and Yameo took the nasal vowel variant. In those cases where we have n - $(l)?$ - l, Yagua took the nasal vowel variant, and at least Yameo took the oral vowel variant. This hypothesis suggests also that there were nasal vowels in the proto-language (this will be discussed later on in this chapter). It seems that at least Yameo had nasal vowels, though they are not always transcribed, as we have seen before. In any case, if Peba did not have nasal vowels -i.e. if it lost nazalization- and if Yameo was losing the nasal/oral distinction (or had lost it) then we would have loss of the *V[nasal]* environment and emergence of a phonemic distinction /n/ versus /l/ in Yameo and, perhaps, Peba.[56]

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[56] Judging by Espinoza's description of Yameo and the texts in Masamae, it looks like Yameo(-Masamae) may have a lateral approximant *l* phoneme (at least its distribution seems unpredictable) but more data is needed to attest it. The words that in Yagua occur with $^n d$ have a cognate with *l* in Yameo. But there are more words with *l* in Yameo that do not have cognates with Yagua or Peba. These words may present a phoneme.

The second hypothesis outlined above accounts for all the

correspondences shown in this section. To summarize, consider Table 8 that

shows the correspondences for the alveolar nasal consonant:

Table 8. Correspondences of *n

Correspondence			Competing oral vs. nasal in P-P-Y?	Hypotesized phonemic form
Yag	Peb	Yam		
n	n	n	---	*nṼ
ⁿd	l	l	---	*nV
ⁿd	n	n	☞	*nV (Yag), *nṼ (Peb, Yam)
n	l	l	☞	*nṼ (Yag), *nV (Peb?, Yam)

3.1.3 Fricative

Alveolar *s

Evidence to postulate a Proto-Peba-Yagua alveolar fricative is present in

the material for all languages. The alveolar fricative appears in initial and

middle position in Yagua, Peba and Yameo. Yameo shows *s* in final position

although it is obvious that the underlying synchronic form has a vowel after the

/s/ (see, for example, the word for 'trunk (of tree)' below).

The following examples illustrate cognates in Yagua, Peba and Yameo,

allowing us to reconstruct *s in Proto-Peba-Yagua.

Yag	Peb	Yam	P-P-Y
kããsij 'budgerigar'	koasi	koáʃi, kwaʃi	*kVasij
-ⁿdasij 'CL.long.cilinder'	-lasé	-las	*nasij

Examples of *s in initial position are partial, but there are instances for

Yagua-Peba and Yagua-Yameo comparison. Here are a couple of Yagua-Peba

cognates with initial s:

Yag	Peb
sáátjãã́ 'row'	sadja
-sij 'CL.small.round'	-sej

For Yagua, Yameo and Masamae, the following examples are provided

initial and middle position:

Yag	Yam	Yam-Mas
sa- '3.SG.Animate'	sa- (Tessmann)	sa-[57]
pisij 'throat'	pḛ:iʃi'throat'	---

---

[57]The Yameo-Masamae doctrine writes this morpheme as <za> which was probably
representing ['sa] (cf. Espinoza 1955: 562). ['s] is also found in Yagua as an allophone of /s/
(Payne and Payne 1990: 432). The sound of modern Spanish <z>, the voiceless dental fricative
[θ], is not found in any Peba-Yaguan variety. Tessmann represents it, but it is clearly an
allophone of /r/ or /s/ between vowels or word-initially. For example, where Tessmann gives
Yameo θínʃẽ 'manioc', Espinoza gives sénʃẽ; for 'house' laǫθe is given by Tessmann, while

Notice from the examples that Yameo has an alveopalatal fricative ʃ

corresponding to Yagua and Peba *s*. However, ʃ occurrs in the environment of a

high front vowel; thus I take this ʃ as a synchronic allophone of *s* in modern

Yameo. Gutierrez also gives a dental *[ṣ]* and a voiced *[z]* but they are also just

allophones of */s/*. The dental variety only occurs before a */t/*: *aṣtawa* 'more', aṣti

'to fish'. The voiced allophone occurs before liquid (sonorant) segments: *ázle* 'to

be' (notice that in the old doctrine texts we find *asele* as a clear form with the

voiceless *s*), *kázle* 'black', and so on. Therefore, *[ṣ]*, *[z]* and *[ʃ]* are all allophones

of */s/* in Yameo. With this said, the proposal of **s* for Proto-Peba-Yagua is re-

confirmed.

Espinoza gives *laeɨ̃*. In the last example, Espinoza shows an instance of a fricative alveolar rhotic (an allophone of the alveolar sonorant in word-final position); the same fricativization is shown by Tessmann, though he gives a dental sound. The examples are just few, but it seems like Tessmann is again exaggerating the representation of the sounds by trying too hard to differentiate small non-systematic differences

4.3.1.4 Affricate

Alveopalatal *tʃ (> Yagua *tʃ*, Peba ʃ, Yameo ʃ)

    I propose the alveopalatal *tʃ* for Proto-Peba-Yagua. This proto-phoneme

has fricative reflexes in Peba and Yameo which yielded ʃ, while Yagua

maintained the original segment. The change of an affricate into a fricative is

attested in many languages and it seems more natural: an affricate may become

a corresponding fricative because the stop closure is not totally completed before

the fricative release of the affricate happens. In modern Yagua, though, many

instances of intermorphemic *[tʃ]* derive from /j/ plus /s/, for example *ɾaj* '1.SG'

+ *suuta* 'wash' gives the form *[ratʃuuta]* 'I wash'. However, there are some

instances of words in modern Yagua without any evidence of morphologically

distinct /j/ plus /s/ coming together. Therefore, said words constitute a good

basis for establishing comparisons.

    The alveopalatal affricate *tʃ* can be reconstructed on basis of the

following correspondences:

Yag		Peb	Yam	P-P-Y
haatʃi	'heart'	kaiʃi	áʃe	*Catʃi

There are plenty of partial cognates sets that confirm this correspondence.

For Yagua and Peba, here are some cognate examples:

Yag	Peb
tʃáá́ 'flesh of breast (of birds), breast'	ʃa-mo 'stomach, belly'
mitʃa-ɾij 'black (people)'	miʃa-laj 'black'
watʃuúj 'herb, grass'	vaʃi

More examples showing cognates between Yagua and Yameo follow here:

Yag	Yam
ɾáwitʃu 'rock'	ruwiʃŭ, ruwisu
wáátʃa 'kind of small monkey'	waʃam 'capuchin monkey'
ⁿdatʃíj 'tongue'	le?ʃi (Tess), leʃé (Esp) 'tongue'

Interestingly, then, we have to distinguish two types of palatal fricative ʃ in Yameo: a) one that is a synchronic allophone of /s/ as a result of a palatalization before a high or middle front vowel, as we saw in the previous section; and b) the other is a phoneme in Yameo which is the result of the diachronic change *tʃ > ʃ (i.e. this phonemic ʃ is a reflex of *tʃ). Synchronically, both ʃ's (the allophone and the phoneme) became neutralized before a middle or high front vowel; in other words, this is a case of a merger. To illustrate this

point consider Table 9, which summarizes the development of fricative sounds

for Yameo.

Table 9. Development of *s and *tʃ and their synchronic merger in Yameo

*/s/	*/tʃ/	P-P-Y
↓	↓	
/s/	/ʃ/	Yameo
↓	↓	
/s/ → [ʃ]/_ i,e	/ʃ/ → [ʃ]	(merger)

There is a cognate series in which the correspondences differ a little from

the one stated above:

'sky'   haɾitʃú (*Yag*)   : riesé (*Peb*)   : reʃió (*Yam*)

I still think that this is showing a reflex of *tʃ. What is probably occurring

is that in Peba and Yameo there was an *s* in a free variation with ʃ, probably

through a likely fricativization path of the form *tʃ > ʃ > s that was not

generalized. Notice that in Yagua, Powlison and Gordon de Powlison (1971: 78)

observes that the affricate varies freely in its realization between *[tʃ]* and *[s]*.

This random alternation would explain the forms *ruwiʃũ ~ ruwisu* 'rock' that are

found in Yameo. An alternative hypothesis would be that there was another

consonant but a voiced affricate **dʒ* analogous to the voiceless **tʃ*, based on one

example, seems unlikely.

4.3.1.5 Rhotic
*R (flap?)

Postulating the reconstruction of a rhotic in Proto-Peba-Yagua can be

challenging because of the varied symbols used especially for Yameo, which can

lead the hypothesis that there is more than one phoneme involved. Tessmann

represents by a symbol <*r*> a sound "not rolled or only softly rolled" (i.e. a

flap) and by another symbol <*ṛ*> -with the dot under it- a sound that is a

"hissing cerebral"[58] (1930: 47). However Tessmann, as pointed out earlier, is not

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[58] A 'cerebral', as understood in other linguistic traditions such as in Indic linguistics, is another term for a retroflex sound, while by 'hissing' I understand that a sibilant-like pronunciation is accompanying the retroflex flap. The assibilated pronunciation is also present in Yagua and is attested by Espinoza for Yameo.

constant in his representations. Therefore we have examples like *irɛ̞ʃamtaímela* 'thigh' and *irɛ̞ʃamtïíli* 'leg-below the knee', *iriwisɛ̞́* 'knee' and *iriwusɛ̞́* 'heel' that are likely referring to the same thing or at least the same nominal root; but Tessmann writes them representing different 'r-sounds'. In other words, there does not seem to be a contrast that distinguishes them phonemically, but it looks like Tessmann is representing the realizations of one and the same phoneme.

On the other hand, Espinoza (1955: 299-300) distinguishes up to five phonetic realizations of rhotic sounds, but apparently for two phonemes (he does not distinguish phonemes from phones most of the time): the flap *r* and the trill *r*. The flap has two fricative (approximant?) realizations: -a voiced alveolar <ɹ> and an assibilated voiceless alveolar <ɹ̥>. So <ɹ> appears in final syllabic position: *asáɹ* 'fat', *láeɹ* 'boy'; <ɹ̥> occurs mostly in initial position preceding a vowel that has been dropped: *ɹ̥móʃĕ* 'cotton', *ɹ̥núwă* 'curare (poison)' —only in one example does it occur in final position. Meanwhile, the trill *r*, according to Espinoza, can have a 'relaxed' apico-alveolar fricative realization that he represents by <ɹ̱>. That being said, Espinoza —like

Tessmann— is not always consistent with his own notations: for example, he gives '3.SG' as *ra* or *ɾa*, '1.SG' as *rae* or *ɾaə*, and so on with other words. Given these alternations in Espinoza, a question that arises is: is he really representing two (or more) phonemic units or just one?

Another question related to the last one is thus what happens with the r-sounds in Yameo? In comparison with Yagua, where there is one segment —a retroflexed flap /ʈ/ (which, in coincidence with Tessmann and Espinoza, can also be realized as assibilated (Powlison and Gordon de Powlison 1971: 78, T. and D. Payne, personal communication))—, Yameo shows either one or two rhotics according to which author we follow, Tessmann or Espinoza. One answer is that they are describing different dialects, but it is unlikely that at the time they were gathering their material for Yameo there was much dialectal variation, as the language was already in the path of becoming extinct -there were not many Yamean groups aside from the one that lived around the town of San Regis. The other explanation, more appealing to me, is that by the time Espinoza was there, the language was already almost obsolescent and the system

was dying away. In this situation, it is possible that Yameo had begun to

'acquire' sounds from other dominant languages like Spanish or Quechua.[59] In

this case, it is plausible that the trill is a loan from Spanish given the distinction

that it has from the flap in Espinoza's work. Tessmann does not give a trill and

there are no traces of a trill in Yagua. In the early Masamae texts there are also

not many trills represented: they are scarce, and some words even show

variation in their writing between the graphemes <*rr*> and <*r*> like *marinra*

~ *marrinra* 'good'. Thus *r* and *r* seem to have been realizations of a single

phonemic unit in Yameo(-Masamae). What is more, a conceivable phonemic

distinction between the two is not attested, except in Espinoza at a time, as I

said, when Yameo was being replaced by Spanish and Quechua. This issue,

nevertheless, is not clear and remains unresolved due to lack of more evidence.

However, there is still one more problem: in Peba we are not sure what

the symbol <*r*> represents. Castelnau and Erben did use the grapheme <*r*> to

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[59] The palatal lateral *ʎ* that Espinoza describes, and distinguishes from the alveolar *l*, appears in loan words from Quechua and Spanish, for example. For other few instances in which *ʎ* occurs, there are no cognates in Peba or Yagua, so no comparison is possible.

represent, of course, a rhotic sound. I will rule out that Castelnau is representing

the characteristic French uvular as there is no evidence to think so -no such

realization is ever mentioned anywhere in the Peba-Yaguan literature. Castelnau

was most probably representing a Spanish-like sound, either a flap or a trill. The

fact that Castelnau uses $<rr>$ in one word[60] (but, again, marginally in only one

word) may be indicative that by $<r>$ he is representing the flap. Erben, who

was Czech, uses $<r>$ only twice, so it is difficult to interpret (he does not use

$<rr>$, only $<r>$). In Czech $<r>$ represents a trill (there is no flap), but he

may have been representing a flap as well.

Under the hypothesis that the distinction between *r* and *r* was, at best, a

late one in Yameo (if there was ever such a distinction) and that the different

symbols represent one phoneme in all other parts of the data, we can reconstruct

a rhotic in the proto-language based on the following examples. Notice thus that

I am not reconstructing a distinction between a flap and a trill (but see the

section about 'Other residual cognates and correspondence sets?' further on in

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[60] In the word vinerro 'nose', which is composed by *vi-* '3.PL' and *nerro* 'nose'.

this chapter). I will represent this rhotic as *R since it is not possible to know the

exact nature of the sound because of the problems mentioned above.

Yag	Peb	Yam	Yam-Mas	P-P-Y
ɽaj 'I'	rɛ (~raj?)	raə, ɾae	ra, ɾa	*Raj
ɽuwéé 'arrow'	rue	ruwé	---	*Ruwe
haɽitʃú 'sky'	riesé	reʃjó (Esp), ɽeʃjŏ (Tess)	aresio	*haRitʃV
ⁿdeeɽa 'boy'	lɛra	láeɾ	---	*neRa
nuɽutu 'caiman'	nuerto	nuɾto	---	*nuRVtV

4.3.1.6 Approximants
Palatal *j

In word-final environment, the palatal approximant *j* seems to have

undergone a process of reduction of varying degree in Peba, Yameo(-Masamae).

Notice that in Yagua, *j* is barely pronounced word-finally, and when it is in a

sequence with /i/ and /e/, its occurrence is not noticeable (Payne and Payne

1990: 433). Word-finally and sometimes syllable-finally *j* becomes [e] or [ə] in

Yameo. In Peba, it is sometimes mantained in these environments, but some

other times it seems to occur fused (and represented) with an <i> or <e>.

Thus consider the following examples:

Yag		Peb	Yam	Yam-Mas	P-P-Y
wũũj '1.PL.INCL'		vi	wi	wue	*wuj
ɽaj '1.SG'		rɛ, (raj? <rai>)	raə, rae	ra	*Raj
hij '2.SG'		---	hi, i	---	
-tuwaj	'ear'	-tiwa	tiwẽ, tiwaə	---	*tiwaj, tuwaj
sátjã�	'row'	sadja	---	---	
---		rɛla (~rajla?) 'rain'	raela	---	

Bilabial *w

The bilabial *w can be reconstructed on basis of the correspondences in

initial and middle position given below. In Yameo, Tessmann and Espinoza use

sometimes a velar (<g> or its fricative counterpart <ɣ>) to represent the

semiconsonant /w/; Espinoza also uses <gw> in between vowels. I am

interpreting these as variations of /w/. Also, Tessmann and Espinoza sometimes

write <ŋg>. Notably their use of these letters are only on occasions when there

is a preceding nasal vowel. I think that they are representing (and maybe

analyzing?) the nasal vowel as an [n] after the vowel, and that it becomes a

phonetic velar before the <g>. The other possible explanation is that in Yameo,

after a nasal vowel, /w/ underwent a process of fortition (i.e. a strengthening of

its pronunciation), resulting in [gw]. In either case, in Yameo, [gw] is considered

an allophone of /w/. Besides, in Peba, in initial position and especially in the

context of a high front vowel, /w/ becomes fricativized labiodental [v]. In other

contexts, it remains w. The fricativization of /w/ is also observed in Yagua

(Powlison 1995: 32), but as a bilabial [β]. Thus consider these cognates:

Yag	Peb	Yam	Yam-Mas	P-P-Y
nãwa 'any kind of big river'	nowa 'Marañón River'[61]	nãŋgwá 'water'	---	*nawa
wátuɾá 'woman without children'	watoa	wátră	---	*wa-tV-Ra
-tuwaj 'ear'	-tiwa	tĩwẽ (Tess), tuwãə (Esp)	---	*tiwaj, tuwaj
wűűj '1.PL.INCL'	vi '1.PL'	wi	wue <bue> '1.PL'	*wuj
ɾuwéé 'arrow'	rue	ruwé	---	*Ruwe

Pharingeal *h (> Yagua h, Peba ∅, Yameo ∅)

There are basically two patterns for the pharingeal approximant *h that I

present here for consideration:

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[61] In Yagua, the name of the Amazon River is Nãwa. In general, nãwa seems to be the term for
'big water', so to speak informally. In Yameo, Tessmann provides Nawapai as the name for the
Amazon River. Two other rivers, Nawas (<Navas>) and Nawapa (<Naguapa>) are rivers that
one finds in the Peba-Yaguan territory.

	Yag	*Peb*	*Yam*
	hV	∅	∅
	hV	∅V	∅V

Notice that the vast majority of the correspondences for *h are instances of said sound appearing in word-initial position. The correspondences show that *h becomes zero in initial position but this deletion affects the vowel immediately after it within the syllable as well, resulting thus in *hV > ∅ for Peba and Yameo. Alternatively, in the other pattern *hV becomes V, with *h equally becoming zero in Peba and Yameo. Sometimes these two patterns appeared mixed as in, for example, the series *hūmuj ~ hūmij (Yag) : me (Peb) : amué, amú (Yam)* 'lake, spring'.

Yag	Peb	Yam	Yam-Mas	P-P-Y
haɽitʃú 'sky'	reʃió	reʃió	aresiu	*haRitʃV
hūmuɲu 'canoe'	munʲo	menəa	---	*humunjV
hūmuj-, hūmij 'lake, water spring'	me 'lake'	amǘ (Tess), amú (Esp) 'lake'	---	*hVmuj
hapa 'red macaw'	apa 'macaw'	ápă 'macaw'	---	*hapa
hiɲã 'celebration'	ɲa	---	---	
himij 'eat'	---	mę, mja 'eat'	---	

Checking the list of cognates offered above, we can see that Yagua

presents an *h* while Peba and Yameo(-Masamae) present a zero in the same

position. In view of the data, we can postulate that the proto-language possessed

a pharyngeal approximant that would be eliminated in Peba and Yameo(-

Masamae). The different examples show a weak syllable-initial particular

characteristic that is similarly present also in Yagua. In this language a vowel or

the whole syllable may be dropped in a word beginning with a syllable that

contains an /h/. For example, we can have in Yagua: *hũnõ ~ hnõ ~ nõ* 'head'.

The fact that *h* appears almost always in initial position can be indicative of a

non-phonemic status, inserted there in Yagua by epenthesis. This is briefly

discussed in Payne and Payne (1990: 438) who differentiate two types of *h*, one

phonemic and the other not; however the authors present only two examples for

the non-phonemic one stating that the epenthesis is optional. Of the two

examples, one is a loan from Spanish (Janita /haníta/ from the proper name

Anita /anita/). In this section, given the lack of evidence to the contrary (i.e.,

there is no evidence of any epenthetical-h in the Yaguan words given in the

cognate list; for example, no evidence of variation of the type *haɾitʃú ~ (aɾitʃú)* 'sky' or *hũno ~ (ũno)* 'head' in Yagua), I take **h* as a proto-phoneme with a defective distribution already in the proto-language, which does not mean that it necessarily occurred only in initial position. An example of it in non-initial position is the number suffix number *-nihjátee* (Yagua) : *-neti* (Peba).

Interestingly, there are some grammatical morphemes in Yameo and Masamae where the **h* seems to have been retained marginally. Thus, for instance we find Yagua *híj* : Yameo *i ~ hi* '2.SG', Yagua 'directional, dative' *-hũ* : Yameo *-u* (Espinoza 1955), but *-hũ (<hun>)* in the Yameo-Masamae text.

4.3.1.7 Other Residual Cognates and Correspondence Sets?

I have mentioned before that there are some problematic alternations across languages. For example, there is an instance of *d* in Peba that corresponds to *t* in Yagua (*saatjããá* (Yag) : *sadja* (Peb) 'row'). There a number of instances where we have alternations of consonant sounds that cannot be accounted for because they occur marginally. I have not considered them for establishing

comparisons because of the lack of supporting evidence, but I will describe some

of these data in this section.

Sometimes there is alternation between *l* and *ɾ* in the data. The example

below is the only in one for which there is data for all three languages and a

correspondence *ɾ* - *l* - *l* may be suggested. Consider the word for 'house':

ɾooɾíj (Yag) : *lowarej* (Peb) : *laðɹ* (Yam)

There are more partial correspondences of the same nature between

Yagua and Peba; and Yagua and Yameo. For instance, compare Yagua *káɾóósiíj*

'clay pot' and Yameo *kalʃé* 'pot'. It is interesting that Castelnau in the 19th

century writes the Yagua form <*randulia*> (probably [*ɾãⁿdulja*]) 'lightning',

whereas modern Yagua has the form *ɾããⁿduɾja* with the same meaning. The

alternation between *l* and *ɾ* in the last syllable is certainly intriguing. The

alternation between a flap and a lateral approximant have been observed in

well-known languages like Japanese or some dialects of Spanish. Ladefoged

(1996: 243) says that there are patterns of alternations between rhotics and

laterals that associate these classes together (hence the category of *liquids*);

however this author also observes that sometimes some of the reports of

alternations between a flap and a lateral may be because of different

interpretations of what is actually a consistent articulation, especially in an

environment conditioned by the occurrence of a vowel. For example, this

happens systematically in Tucano, a Tucanoan language from Colombia and

Brazil, where the flap becomes a lateral flap following mid and back oral vowels

(West and Welch 1967: 16). However, it is difficult to say that something similar

occurred in Peba-Yagua (for example, could it occur before mid and back vowels

like in the examples?) since there is little information for testing this idea.[62]

Another interesting case is the trill sound *r*. I have said before that the

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[62] Remember that Orejon (also known as Payagua or Coto), another a Tucanoan language, was a historical neighbor of Peba, Yameo and Yagua. Coincidentally, Peba-Yagua and Orejon treat some consonants in a similar way. According to Velie (1975), in Orejon voiced stops *b* and *g* are realized in front of oral vowels, and nasal consonants *m* and *ŋ* occur as allophones of the stops in front of nasal vowels (as we have seen, Yagua m and n are realized in front of nasal vowels and their allophones *ᵐb* and *ⁿd* in front of oral vowels; whereas in Yameo and Peba at least the alveolar n changed to *l*). There is also variation between *d* and *r* in Orejon, where the flap occurs as an allophone of the stop between vowels. As we have seen, alternations between *d, n, r* and *l* occur across Peba-Yaguan languages, although such alternations do not seem to be systematic as in Orejon —or rather, perhaps more evidence is needed to find a rule that accounts for a systematic change in Peba-Yagua. Maybe a study of linguistic contact between Orejon (and by extension, Tucanoan) and Peba-Yagua could shed more light on the matter of (or reveal an areal feature with respect to) the treatment of these sounds.

distinction trill versus flap is difficult to posit in Yameo and Peba, thus it is improbable for Proto-Peba-Yagua. There is one example, though, that may suggest a different story. The word for 'nose' is one of the scarce words that Castelnau writes with the grapheme <rr> (<vi-nerro> 'our nose'), suggesting a trill interpretation. There is also a trill in the Yameo form, which would give us the correspondence ɽ - r - r:

nũɽű (Yag) : nero (Peb) : nárʔă (Yam)

Finally, there are some instances in which we get k in Yameo where we have h in Yagua. In the example below, we can see the correspondence ⁿd - l - l, but the k in Yameo seems to be analogous with h in Yagua. If there was a vowel in the first syllable in the words for Yameo [kVlaréʃi], it may be clear how Yagua h corresponds to Yameo k. There is also the same h - k correspondence but this time for Yagua and Peba, in the word for 'heart'. Whether this is indicative of another change or not is almost impossible to establish.

'star' hũ̃ⁿdaɽitʃij́ (Yag) : larse (Peb) : kláreʃi (Yam)

'heart' haatʃij́ (Yag) : kaiʃi (Peb) : áʃe (Yam) : ʃasi (or sasi) (Yam-Mas)

4.3.2 Vowels

If the analysis of the data has some difficulty with consonants, this

difficulty is even greater with vowels. There is so much variation in the

transcriptions available that many of these variations will remain unexplained.

This problem is briefly described in the next section. After that, I hypothesize

the phonemic inventory of Proto-Peba-Yagua. The final sections discuss the

possibility of positing nasal vowels and vowel length contrasts for Proto-Peba-

Yagua.

4.3.2.1 The Variation of Vowels in the Data

The aim of this short sub-section is to present examples of variation of

vowels in the data that I have gathered. I will not discuss these kinds of

examples because most of them do not seem to show systematic correspondences

and/or changes between vowels, thus it is little what one can say about them.

Simply put, there are no patterns on which one can work. I assume that these

examples represent variation in the informant's idiolect, or a 'problem' of the

investigator in interpreting and representing the sounds; besides,one should note

that some dialectal variation seems to have been important, but was never

studied. For example, although it has been reported that the dialects of Yagua

are mutually intelligible, they have yet to be thoroughly investigated. It is

important to add that in Yagua there is idiolectal and dialectal variation

especially for the vowels $a \sim i \sim u$ (Doris Payne, personal communication) and

dialectal variation for the same vowels plus $a \sim e$ (for a handful of examples, cf.

Chaumeil 1987: 19). Also, remember that, according to Payne and Payne (1990:

429), a non-Yagua speaker may easily confuse the pronunciations of /i/ and /e/,

and of /u/ and /o/ because the high vowels are not pronounced as high as in

other languages like Spanish. Here are some instances where we can see these

problematic variations:

ⁿdaku 'black' (Yag) : néko 'night' (Yam) a~e, u~o

taⁿdaj 'half, five' (Yag) : taone 'five' (Yam) a~ao

nihjatee 'number suffix, on top of' (Yag) : neti 'number suffix' (Peb) ee~i

nikee 'say' (Yag) : leké 'say' (Yam) : leke 'say' (Yam-Mas) i~e

haɽitʃú 'sky' (Yag) : riesé (Peb) : reʃió (Yam) u~e~o

-tuwaj 'ear' (Yag) : tiwa 'ear' (Peb) u~i

nũmũtű 'shoulder' (Yag) : nĕmatá 'shoulder' (Yam) ũ~e, ũ~a

4.3.2.2 The Vowel System (that can be reconstructed)

In this part I will deal with the vowel system in Proto-Peba-Yagua,

focusing on vowel quality. The vowel phonemes postulated for Proto-Peba-

Yagua are given in Table 10.

Table 10. Vowels reconstructed for Proto-Peba-Yagua

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i		*u
Middle	(*e)		
Low		*a	

I reconstruct *a, (*e), *i, *u. As with consonants, the parenthesis (as in

(*e)) means that it is possible to reconstruct the sound but more evidence is

needed to postulate it with an optimal level of certainty. I also discuss briefly the

possibility of reconstructing *o. It is very possible that Proto-Peba-Yagua had

more vowel quality distinctions. The varied realizations of vowels could indicate

that there were more vowels in the past, but as I tried to reconstruct vowels the

non-patterned variability was cumbersome -leaving little room for systematic

reconstruction. A comparative study of the high central vowel *i* present in Yagua

as proposed by Powlison (1962), Powlison and Gordon de Powlison (1971),

Chaumeil (1987), Payne and Payne (1990) and T. Payne (1992) is not possible

because this is not represented in the data. Notice that Powlison (1995), which

constitutes the main source of the lexical data gathered for this thesis, does not

consider *i* to be a phoneme in Yagua and he mixes its representation with either

<i> or <u>.

A mid close central vowel represented as <*ë*> in Chaumeil (1988) seems

to be a relaxed realization of *i* or *a* in some dialects of Yagua. It has not been

possible to compare this vowel either, though it seems not to be phonemic, as

opposed to *i*.[63] Informally speaking, there is an example that may suggest a

---

[63] Notice that Payne and Payne (1990) do not provide any example or evidence of the phonemic
status of *i*. Powlison (1962) and Powlison and Gordon de Powlison (1971) give a few examples
of its occurrence —though not minimal pairs—, but Powlison (1995) seems to have changed his
mind about *i* —however, his dictionary is meant to be for educational (alphabetization) purposes

central vowel (not necesarily *i*) in Proto-Peba-Yagua, especially for a some words

found in Yameo and Yagua. It is interesting to at least mention this instance:

comparing some of the early work of Powlison (1962), and Powlison and

Gordon de Powlison (1971), I find one word with the vowel *i*: *ri꞉ⁿdu* 'corn', that

has a correspondence in Yameo,[64] where Espinoza gives the word *rǫlǔ* 'maíz',

with a closed *o*, Tessman gives *rolǔ* with a 'normal' *o*. Whether this is telling that

Yagua high central vowel *i* corresponds to a Yameo back middle vowel is

uncertain though, because there are no more examples to examine this idea.

*a

     The following cognates sets allow for the reconstruction of *a* in the

Proto-laguage.

---

mainly, not as an accurate linguistic tool. This vowel in question is not very productive in Yagua, but its phonemic status is suggested specially by some morphemes (Thomas Payne and Doris Payne, personal communication).

[64] Remember that Powlison (1995) would later give the form *i* instead.

Yag	Peb	Yam	P-P-Y
wá-tu-ɾá 'woman without children'	watoa	wátră	*wa-tV-Ra
ɾimjaɾa 'shaman'	dimasa[65]	rmálă 'devil, spirit of plants'	*Rima-
-ⁿdasij 'CL.long.cilinder'	-lasé	-lás	*nasij
hapa 'red macaw'	apa 'macaw'	ápă 'macaw'	*hapa
ha-ⁿda, ha-nu 'teeth'	a-la 'teeth'	ã-la 'teeth'	*ha-

(*e)

The vowel *e is more controversial. It does occur in all materials for

Yagua, Peba and Yameo without being predictable in its distribution, but there

are few true clear cognates. In the data for Yameo, e is one of the vowels

represented with the most different realizations: opened (ę), close (ẹ), shortened

(ĕ), long (eː), with accent (é), etc. However, Espinoza clearly considers all of

them to be basically allophones of e; he says that there are five vowels in Yameo:

a, e, i, o, u, which are predominant, plus two vowels that appear rarely (in only

three words), the fronted ö and ü (Espinoza 1955: 291). He treats the rest as

---

[65] As indicated in the first part, there are some alternations between ɾ, ⁿd, and n in some dialects of Yagua. These alternations may be found as well in some cognates like in the forms for 'shaman' in Peba dimasa and Yagua ɾimjaɾa. There is probably a root ɾimja- ~ dima- in these words. For example, ɾimjinda means 'shaman darts' in Yagua, and it has the same root.

phonetic realizations, some of them with a clear distribution (for example, he

says that short vowels occur in unstressed final syllables). In Peba (in the data

from Castelnau), certain graphemes <ai> neatly match an e in Yagua; thus I

analyzed these words as having an open e (i.e. *[ɛ]*) since <ai> would represent

/ɛ/ in French.[66] The cognates to argue for an *e are given below:

Yag	Peb	Yam	P-P-Y
ⁿdééɾa 'boy'	lɛra	lea	*neRa
ɾuwéé 'arrow'	rue	ruwé	*Ruwe
-see 'CL.short.stick'	-ʃé	ʃé̃, ʃĕ	*-see

*i

As with e, the high front vowel also occurs in different unpredictable

environments throughout the data, i.e., it is a phoneme in all languages.

However there is a small number of examples showing genuine series of

cognates. In spite of this, positing an *i is less problematic because it is a

cardinal vowel that appears in the inventories of all three languages (plus

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[66] For Yagua, Chaumeil (1987: 18) also suggests an opened mid-vowel [ɛ] as a possible realization of /e/.

Masamae). An environment where the vowel *i* seems to have been more

maintained (taking into consideration the problems with variation cited above)

is at the end of the word. Some examples show its occurrence for Yagua, Peba

and Yameo-Masamae:

Yag	Peb	Mas	Yam-Mas	P-P-Y
nĩ^mbjíí 'dog, jaguar'	nebi	niamî	---	*nimji
ɽimjaɽa 'shaman'	dima-sa	r(i)má-lǎ 'devil, spirit of plants'	---	*Rima-
mitʃa-ɽij 'black (people)'	miʃa-laj 'black'	---	---	
tííki 'one'	teki 'one'	---	---	
pisij 'throat'	---	pę́:ʃi	---	
-witʃű 'rock'	---	-wisu	---	
tĩ 'someone, other'	---	aĕtĭn (prob. aĕtî) 'people'	atĩ (<atin>) 'man'	
nĩĩ '3.SG.ANIM'	---	---	nĩ (<nin>) '3.SG.ANIM'	

*o (?)

The reconstruction of **o* is perhaps the most problematic of all because

there are few words with this vowel. Indeed, it cannot be reconstructed despite

the fact that it appears in Yagua, Peba, Yameo and Masamae. The instances

where it occurs do not have clear cognates except in very sporadic cases. If we

expand the idea that *o* is less frequent in the lexicon of Yagua and apply it to the

lexicon of Peba and Yameo (as it seems to be defective in these languages as

well), we can find an explanation for the lack of evidence. Notice that though

less frequent in Yagua, it clearly occurs as both long and short forms. In Peba

and Yameo the occurrence of *o* seems to be unpredictable, but that is about all

we can say. Also, there are some instances in which *o* in Peba and Yameo

corresponds to *u* in Yagua, as in:

ⁿdakú   'black' (Yag)   :   neko   'night' (Yam)

Whether the confusion *u* ~ *o* stated in a previous section of this chapter

(see section 4.3.2.1) is working here or not is difficult to say.

Here are some examples of *o* corresponding to *o* (but notice that it not

always happens, even in the same word):

homũtú 'hand' (Yag)   :   omoté   'arm' (Peb)

too 'forest' (Yag)   :   tǫːǫ 'forest' (Yam-Tess), tao 'forest' (Yam-Esp)

hũtóó   'head' (Yag)   :   to   'head' (Peb)

popoko 'white earth' (Yag) : poːpoː? 'earth' (Yam) : pópo (Yam-Mas)

*u

The case of the high back vowel is similar to *i. We find examples for its

reconstruction in the following series of cognates.

Yag	Peb	Yam	Yam-Mas	P-P-Y
nũ 'road'	nu	nũŋ	---	*nu
ɾuwéé 'arrow'	rue	ruwé	---	*Ruwe
kãānṹ 'bow'	kanu	kanú-tí	---	*kanu
nuɾutu 'caiman'	nuerto	nurtu	---	*nuRutV
mu- 'three'	mu-	---	---	
-hũ 'DAT'	---	-ũ, -u	hũ (<hun>)	

4.3.2.3 Nasal Vowels

Nasal vowels occur in Yagua and Yameo. There is no direct evidence that

they occurred in Peba, but Castelnau may have represented them without any

diacritic symbols, like they usually appear orthographically in French, or

sometimes reflecting with a syllable final orthographic nasal consonant <n>. I

will not attempt to reconstruct nasal vowels per vowel quality because words in

which nasal vowels likely appear in Peba and Yameo do not always have them

represented explicitly, and sometimes a nasal vowel in Yagua does not have a

nasal counterpart in Yameo, or at least it is difficult to interpret that there is a nasal there from the written forms. However, I postulate that nasal vowels existed in the proto-language as a phonological category. In fact, hypothesized nasal vowels account for series of puzzling correspondences that otherwise would be not possible to resolve, like the correspondences for the nasal consonants *m and *n. There are examples in Yagua and Yameo where nasal vowels have correspondent forms. Thus consider:

hãã 'water' (Yag) : ʔã 'water' (Yam)

tĩ 'someone, other' (Yag) : aĕtĩn 'people' (Yam) : atĩ 'people' (Yam-Mas)[67]

nĩĩ '3SG.ANIM' (Yag) : nĩ '3SG.(ANIM?)'[68] (Mas)

mũ 'LOC' (Yag) : mũ 'LOC' (Yam)

---

[67] This word is written <atin>, and a nasal vowel in that environment is more than likely. The other idea here could be that nasal vowels come from an assimilation in the environment of old nasal consonant (the <n> that appears in Masamae for example) that was lost at the end of the syllable. However, more evidence would be needed to postulate that.

[68] Written <nin>.

4.3.2.4 Short and Long Vowels

In Yagua, vowel length is clearly contrastive. For example, we can have

sa-síj 'his seed' vs. *sa-siíj* 'he runs', *hánū́* 'type of firefly' vs. *háánū́* 'type of fish'.

Short versus long vowels are not represented for Peba. For Yameo, however,

they are represented. For example, Tessmann represents long and short vowels,

though Espinoza criticizes him because the German author "llega hasta el

absurdo en esta materia"[69] (1955: 293) —that is to say something, since

Espinoza is also of a hyper-phonetic tendency in representing sounds. Espinoza

(1955:293) states that in Yameo the pronunciation of vowels in unaccented final

syllables is shortened, thus the vowel is short. Therefore, the vowels in the other

syllables are perceived as long, he concludes. Further, Espinoza says that he is

marking the stress syllable with an accent, indicating both that it carries the

stress of the word and that the vowel is 'longer' than the ones in other syllables

(294). Thus notice the following examples[70] as possible correspondences:

---

[69] "He is even absurd in this matter [of representing short and long vowels]".

[70] All of the Yameo forms are from Espinoza (1995).

-hãã 'water' (Yag) : ʔá̃ 'water' (Yam)

nikee 'say, speak' (Yag) : niké (Yam)

ruwéé 'arrow' : ruwé (Yam)

If Espinoza were representing 'longer' vowels with an accent mark, then it would be possible to think about the possibility of long vowels for Proto-Peba-Yagua. However, coincidences aside, the majority of supposedly 'long vowels' in the Yameo vocabulary do not correspond to long vowels in Yagua. Besides, there are words in Yagua that have long vowels in different syllables, while Espinoza describes Yameo as having long vowels in just the stressed syllable. This, added to the unreliability of Tessmann and the inconsistencies of Espinoza, leaves the question of long versus short vowels in the Proto-language unresolved. I think that at best such a distinction could have been categorial indeed, but it is not possible to trace it (with cognate correspondences) from the material available. Thus, from what we can see, vowel length, while possible as a categorial distinction, may have followed its own specific development in each language.

4.3.3 Syllable Structure

From the comparisons and lexical reconstructions presented so far, the

basic syllabic structure reconstructable for Proto-Peba-Yagua is *CV(j)*.

Consonants in Proto-Peba-Yagua occurred in onset position but not in coda

position, where the only consonantal sound allowed was the palatal *j*. There

were at least two restrictions in Proto-Peba-Yagua:

a. Vowels needed a consonantal onset. In other words, patterns like *V* or

VC were not allowed.

b. Syllables were specified as [+ /- nasal]. This would account for the

different variations in the series of correspondences for the proto-sounds *n* and

m discussed earlier in this chapter. The [-nasal] feature would spread leftwards

to the nasal consonant onset of the syllable, explaining the occurrence of ${}^{n}b$, ${}^{m}b$

in Yagua and *l* in Peba and Yameo.

Most examples that could posit an exception to this restrictions are lexical

items that do not have a cognate with Yagua, or alternatively with Yameo or

Peba. Peba shows the syllable structure *V* at the beginning of a word in only

three instances: <*ain*> ([ɛ̃]?) 'water', <*ainoy*> ([ɛnoj]?) 'no', and <*aupou*>

([ɔpu]?) 'forest'. Notice that some of these words may have cognates in Yagua

that have a consonantal onset: *hãã* 'water', *hũnaj* 'negative'.[71] Yameo was

perhaps the most innovative language with respect to syllable structure. It

allowed vowels to occur without a consonant onset; i.e., it allowed the patterns

V or *VC* like in *awara* 'man' or *indélo* 'red', respectively. In general, though, if we

have words in Yameo or Peba that do not have the consonant onset and we have

their Yagua cognates, then we have evidence to postulate that the consonant

actually was present in the Proto-language. Compare these examples: Yagua

hapa 'red macaw', Peba *apa*, Yameo *apa*; Yagua *hij-* 'you', Yameo *i-* ~ hi- 'you'.

Because of an allophonic rule that seemingly deleted vowels of weak

syllables, we can observe that Yameo allowed coda consonants in surface forms,

as for example *l* in *kálʃĕ* 'small pot' (compare to Yagua *kaɽóõsij* 'pot'), *laðɪ* 'house'

(compare to Yagua *ɽ ooɽij*, Peba *lowarej*).[72] Because of the same process, Yameo

---

[71] Although the Peba and Yagua forms are similar and possible cognates, it is very difficult to
explain the vowel change in these words.

[72] This happens ocasionally in Yagua also, for example *nuɽtu* ~ *nuɽutu* 'alligator'.

also had syllabic consonants. Notice that this also happens with the consonant *h*

in modern Yagua; for example:[*hmŭta*] ∼ [*muta*] from /*hūmūta*/ '(to) hunt

animals'. But in Yameo more syllabic consonants are found, for example (they

are underlined): *nuns* 'hair' (the complete form *nánsĕ* is also given by Espinoza),

rmála 'devil, spirit of the plants' (compare to Yagua *ɾimjaɾa* 'shaman', Peba

dimasa 'shaman'), *ʃmelu* 'moon', and so on.

CHAPTER V

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

5.1 Introduction

If the sound system of Proto-Peba-Yagua is not easy to postulate, the parts

of morphology and syntax that can be reconstructed are more reduced.

Unfortunately, there is not much data about Peba for making a comparison. The

Yamean data is based on Espinoza's work on the grammar of Yameo (1955) and

on doctrinal texts that are basically very short but I have been able to do some

analysis via comparing with modern Yagua. His investigation of Yameo has a

fair number of problems in his interpretation of the data he gathered. Espinoza's

description of Yameo follows mainly a Latin mold that is also present in classic

Spanish grammars, which seem to be the 'inspiration' for Espinoza's own

description. Besides, his work is not without arbitrary explanations, and formal

distinctions are not always made. For example, he talks about "prepositions"

even though there are no prepositions at all in Yameo: what he means by

"prepositions" is how Yameo forms expressions that are translated into Spanish

with a preposition. In doing so he mixes totally unrelated categories and/or

constructions. For instance, in the section "Preposición A" (1955: 380), Espinoza

gives examples that would require a preposition 'a' but in Spanish, not -of

course- in Yameo[73] where both sentences involve two different constructions,

one without any type of adposition and the other with the locative postposition.

Here are the two examples (notice also how the two examples are very similar to

Spanish with regards to word order):

(1) raé waése   raə   ẽ
    1.SG love   1.SG   father
    'I love my father' (Sp. 'Yo quiero a mi padre')

---

[73] Even in Spanish, we would have to distinguish two a's here: the a that occurs in the first sentence is a marker that appears with [+human] objects; the a of the second sentence is a locative marker.

(2) ri   ja   laór-me[74]

    1.SG   go   house-LOC

    'I go home' (Sp. 'Voy a casa')

However, Espinoza's description is the most 'complete' work that we have

of Yameo, and, despite its problems, the only piece that addresses the Yameo

grammar.

In this chapter, I analyze three parts of the grammar that can be

postulated for Proto-Peba-Yagua. Other grammatical points will remain

unresolved for the moment -at least until new data is found-, especially because

of the lack of information about Peba. The three points that I discuss here are

these: the existence of a pronominal system and its likely nature, the existence of

a classifier system and the reconstruction of a locative proto-morpheme *mV. I

hypothesize that all three of these grammar pieces were already present in the

proto-language. The final sub-section compares three general post-positions (the

adlative, the commitative and the dative) that occur in Yameo(-Masamae) and

Yagua -no comparison with Peba is possible-, and discusses the possible nature

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[74] The 1.SG pronominal form *raé* ~ *raə* consistently appears as *ri* with the verb *ja* 'to go'. It seems that there is a morpho-phonological process affecting the vowels in front of the approximant *j*.

of Proto-Peba-Yagua as a post-positional language. With regards to this section,

notice that we should add the locative *mV to the three other postpositions -but

the locative will be treated in a separate sub-section because, as I said, it can be

actually reconstructed for Proto-Peba-Yagua. I consider that a comparison of

Yagua and Yameo can still shed light on the history of the family which they

belong to and thus the discussion presented proceeds in that direction.

5.2 The Pronominal System

The pronominal system can be partially reconstructed for Proto-Peba-

Yagua. In Yagua,[75] there is a concordial type of system which is expressed by

means of subject and object cross-reference clitics. This pronominal system is

comprised of two sets of clitics with largely the same forms, although they have

different functions and distribution, and some morpheme show the same form

but have different tone (see the tables below where I present the sets of clitics).

Set I clitics are used to refer to subjects, possessors and objects of postpositions.

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[75] The following description of the Yagua pronominal system is based on Payne and Payne
(1990) and Peña (2007, manuscript).

They are prefixed to verbs, auxiliaries, nouns and postpositions. Table 11 shows

Yagua Set I clitics.

Table 11. Yagua Set I Clitics (adopted from
Payne and Payne 1990)

Animate					COR1	INAN
	1	1+2	2	3		
SG	ɽaj-		hij-	sa-	hij-	ɽá-
DUAL	nã́ã́j-	vũ̃ũ̃j-	sã́ã́ⁿda-	nãã̃ⁿda-		
PL	nṹṹj-	vũ̃ũ̃j-	hiɽjej	ɽij-		

Different allomorphs have been reported (cf. Payne and Payne 1990:

361). Here we give some known ones that may be important in considering the

variations for the other languages:

1.SG ri-, 1.DUAL nã́á ⁿdja-, 1.PL nṹṹ ⁿdja

1.INCL.DUAL wuɽja-, 1.INCL.PL wuɽja-

2.SG ji-, 2.DUAL sã́ã́na-, 2.PL hiɽja-

3.SG si- ~ su-, 3.PL ɽiɽja-/ru-

Coreferential yí-

INAN ɽí-

Some examples of Set I clitics with the pronominal forms attached to different head constituents follow here for animate referents, where the forms *sa-*, *nűűj-* and *wũũj-* refer to the possessor of the construction in (3) and agree with the subject of the sentences in (4) and (5), respectively:[76]

(3) <u>sa-</u>   ɾooɾij
    3.SG.ANIM-   house
    'his house'

(4) ⁿdahij <u>nũũj-hija-haⁿda</u>   mũj   ta-ĩ-kii
    so   1.PL.ANIM-go-PT.DIS   there   one-CL:ANIM.SG-one

paturũ-sãã-ntij
boss-COMM-also
'so we went there before with a boss also'

(5) <u>wũũj-ã</u>   hĩmĩj nũmũ
    1.ANIM.INCL-AUX:IRR   eat   there
    'let's eat there'

---

[76] For this section, the examples in Yagua come from Tom and Doris Payne's fieldwork database and stories collected by Powlison that are also in T. and D. Payne database, with Powlison's permission. Also, the relevant forms will be underlined. The examples presented in this chapter are in an 'analyzed' form, rather than in surface phonemic form.

And now for inanimate entities:

(6) r̪á-nũṹj-nũmãã   r̪á-ruuⁿdii-mũ-sij   r̪oor̪ij
    INAN-burn.totally-now   INAN-peak-LOC-ABLAT house
    'It [the house] was engulfed in flames now from the house's peak'

The second set of pronominal forms are mostly similar in form to the Set I forms. According to Payne and Payne (1990: 364), some of the Set II forms are always phonologically bound, but others are realized as free forms. Set II clitics are basically used to mark object reference. They may attach to the verb if there is nothing else in the sentence; if the object is a full noun phrase, they are attached to whatever element immediately precedes the object; and if there is additional material but no full object Noun Phrase, the Set II clitics move to the end of the clause. Yagua Set II clitics for animate, coreferential and inanimate referents are shown in the following Table 12.

Table 12. Yagua SET II Clitics (adopted from
Payne and Payne 1990)

Animate					COR2	INAN
	1	1+2	2	3		
SG	-ɽaj		-hij	-níí	-yù	-rà
DUAL	nããj	-vũũj	saaⁿda	nããⁿda		
PL	nũũj	-vũũj	hiɽjej	-rij		

Example (7) shows the 3SG animate suffix -nɨ́ɨ́ making reference to *kiwã*

'fish', the object of the verb *hatʃij* 'hunt'. A similar function is showed in (8) by -

ɽà but this time for an inanimate entity (which concords with 'blowgun'):

(7) hij-nũ   tajĩtu-witʃã   hatʃij-<u>níí</u>   kiwã
    that-CL.ANIM.SG   gull-much   chase-3.ANIM.SG   fish
    'those gulls were hunting fish'

(8) hasij-ho-ⁿdee-ta   ɽij-hiwaj-nũ-jaⁿda-<u>rà</u>
    snail-CL?-DIM-INST 3.ANIM.PL-work-CONT-PT.DIST-INAN

ɽij-ɽuⁿdasij
3.ANIM.PL-blowgun
'with small snails they made their blowguns'

The distribution of pronominal forms in Peba and Yameo show —at

least— that: 1) much like Yagua Set I cilitics, a) they attach to nouns to form

possessive nominal phrases, prefixing to the noun root; b) they attach to verbs to

establish agreement with the subject NP; 2) much like Yagua Set II clitics, they

attach to verbs to mark object agreement. I have not found instances in which

clitics occur as pronominal objects of postpositions (as can occur in Yagua). This

distribution is illustrated by the examples given in the discussion that follows

below.

There is evidence to reconstruct not only the forms of some pronouns but

also some of the functions and distribution patterns of the pronominal clitic-

system in Peba-Yaguan languages. The different forms found in the data are

presented in Table 14. Notice that while we do not have many forms from the

Peba languauge, the similarity between the Yagua and Yameo pronominal

systems is evident, at least as far as forms go. I discuss this similarty next, and

then analyze the functions of the pronominal clitics in Yagua, Peba and Yameo.

Thus consider the correspondences shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Comparison of pronominal forms found in Yagua, Peba and Yameo

	Yag	Peb	Yam	Yam-Mas
1SG	ɾaj-	raj- (rɛ?)[77]	raé-, raə-, ri-	ra-
2SG	hij-		i-, hi-	hoe, he-, hi-, hoi/ (here, ere, hera[78])
3SG	sa-		ra-?, ranun-?, -sa-, san-, sanun-	sa- <za>
1INCL	wũũj-	vi-	wi-	wue- <bue>
1PL	nűűj-	—	—	nei-, ni-
2PL	híɾjej	re-	re, ret, rete	(here, re, ere, era)?
3PL	ɾij- ~ ɾu-	ri-	ru-, run, runun	re-
3INAN	ɾa-	—	ra-?, ran-?, ranun?	ra-?

As we can see from the table, we can hypothesize the existence of the singular and plural distinctions, including the first inclusive person. A Proto-Peba-Yagua dual category is more difficult to prove because Peba and Yameo do not show it. In other parts of the grammar of Yameo, however, there may be formal traces of a dual conceptual category (though not necessarily correlated

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[77] This is written <rai> by Castelnau.

[78] Cf. the discussion below.

with the occurrence of a pronoun form). Basically, two lines of reasoning can support the idea of a dual categorial distinction in the language: in Yameo, numbers are counted only until number two, and the rest are borrowed from Quechua. This is perhaps not such a convincing idea for arguing for a dual grammatical category (conceptual categories not necesarily have gramamtical expression), but one could argue that the 'one' vs. 'two' distinction was a primal category in Yameo such that they retained those numbers (original numbers from one to ten are present in Peba and Yagua). Secondly, a dual social organization has been also suggested for Yagua in Powlison (1977) and Chaumeil (1988). A third fact that may be invoked is that Espinoza, for Yameo, gives the form *watru* as the plural for women (*watra* is the singular form); *watru* does not carry the plural morpheme, which is *-la* in said language. There seems to be a particle *-ru* that occurs only in 'women' and 'men' (in Yameo, *awa-ru*). Whatever Espinoza understands as a plural form is unknown. However, the word for women may be composed of *wa-tu-ru*, a form that would correspond to Yagua *wa-tu-ɽũj*. The suffix *-ɽũj* is a dual morpheme in Yagua applied to 'women

who have borne children'. This possible cognate suffix may be involved in the

plural Yamean form for 'women'.

One important note is that there is a dual morpheme *-húj* that occurs in

the numeral 'two' in Yagua; but it does not appear to be in the Yameo word for

'two'. Instead, it seems that in Yameo there is a plural morpheme in the number

'two' that may be cognate with the Yagua animate plural morpheme *-mĩj*.

However the dual does seem to occur in the Peba numeral 'two'. Comparing the

number 'two' in these three languages we have:

Yagua:	ná-nū-<u>húj</u> 'two' (animate),	ná-ɽa-<u>húj</u> 'two' (inanimate)
	two-CL.ANIM-DUAL	two-CL.INAN-DUAL

Peba:	na-no-<u>hui</u> 'two'
	two-CL.ANIM?-DUAL

Yameo:	na-ra-<u>mue</u> 'two'
	two-CL.INAN-PL?

The evidence presented for the numeral 'two' may lead one to believe

that the conceptual category of duality was at least present in Yagua and Peba,

whereas Yameo does not show evidence of it, except for the word for 'women'

that we saw. Altogether, it must be admitted that this is not such a string

evidence for hypothesizing that Yameo had the dual grammatical category, as I

am not sure that the dual morpheme actually is present in the word *watru*

'women'. Although the dual pronominal clitics cannot be reconstructed, at least I

wanted to point out what can be known about the dual conceptual and

grammatical category in Yagua and Yameo.

Back to the discussion of the pronominal forms, for 3.SG, in Yameo,

Espinoza gives *ra-* but he says that sometimes *sa-* occurs instead. If we assume

that there was as animate/inanimate distinction in Yameo, this language may

have been losing the difference between *ra-* and *sa-* that is still present in Yagua

-remember that the data from Yameo come from around the time it was

becoming extinct. Besides, it seems that Espinoza was not aware of the animate

vs. inanimate difference; for example he never talks about classifiers —which, as

we will see, are present in his data— for which the animate vs. inanimate

distinction is basic. Notably, the Yameo-Masamae doctrine consistently uses *sa-*

(written <*za*>, probably pronounced [ˈsa]) where most subjects refer to

animate beings. Thus the existence of the distinction *sa-* (animate) versus *ra-*

(inanimate) can be considered a working hypothesis for Proto-Peba-Yagua.

The coreferential morpheme found in Yagua has not been found in Peba or Yameo-Masamae and therefore no claim is made about it -except that it is not reconstructable.

Evidence for distinguishing a first person plural from a first person inclusive in the Proto-language is found by comparing Yagua with forms in one of the Yameo-Masamae doctrine. First compare:

    (9) wue-hutʃa-la
       we-sin-PL
       'our sins'

However, in some parts a particle *ni-* occurs meaning 'we' or 'our':

    (10) amu-ahen-calá   ni-nenta Dios
       great-Father-??   we-know Dios
       '(as) our great Lord we acknowledge God'

The alternation between *ni-* and *wue-*, apparently both representing a first plural person, can be better understood if we correlate Yameo *ni-* to Yagua *nűűj-* '1.PL' and *wue-* to Yagua *wűűj-* '1.PL.INCL'.

Also, in Yameo-Masamae we have the supposed 2.SG form *here ~ ere ~ hera*. It can be hypothesized that the first part *he-* is a cognate with the second

person pronoun found in Yagua (*hij-*) and in Yameo (*hi-, i-*), and it is being

followed by another morpheme *-re* (apparently the same as found in the 3.PL).

Thus, could this morpheme *-re* be adding a plural sense that would explain both

the origin of the Yagua form *hiɾjej* (*hij* + *ɾej*) '2.PL' and the from *here* from the

Yameo-Masamae text? Notice that in the context of the doctrine (a question -

answer text), what is translated as 'you (SG)' (cf. Espinoza 1955: 554-558) could

also be translated as 'you (PL)', although the answer to the question in the text

(which is in first person singular 'I') definitely suggests a 'you (SG)' in the

questions. Consider the following passage:

> (11) eré naitá   termó   ere   haˈsi-ˈsaló[...]
>   you believe   all   you   heart-with
>   'Do you believe with all your heart...?'

> ra-natá   termo   ra-haˈsi-ˈsaló
> I-believe   all   my-heart-with
> 'I believe with all my heart'

However, the same morpheme appears under the form *eren*[79] with a likely

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[79] The nasal consonant at the end of the word may represent a nasal vowel or be just a typo (in transcription < *eren* >) without any real meaning. For example, *hutʃan* < *huchan* > 'sin', is a word borrowed from Quechua that does not have a nasal vowel or a final n in Quechua, nor in other parts of the same doctrine text; nor, if we compare, in Yagua *hutʃa* where it has the same

plural meaning:

(12) Ere jeibe   termo   eren hutʃan-la-ta...
     you sad   all   you sin-PL-INST
     '[are] you sad with all of your sins...?'

The form *ere* ~ *here* ~ *eren* would be more comparable, if understood as a

plural, with Yagua 2.PL *hiɾjej*, especially if we consider that Masamae form may

be composed of a 2.SG morpheme *he-* plus an old plural morpheme *-re* ~ *rej* that

was simply reanalyzed as part of the morpheme. Comparing it to Yagua, we

would have *hij-ɾej* (→hiɾjej) (Yag) and <*he-re*> (Yam-Mas). The absence of the

initial *h* in Yameo-Masamae is explainable because, as we saw, *h changed to

zero in Yameo (the change *hV > Ø would explain the Yamean form *-re* for

2.PL) and Masamae. In any case, the forms <*hoe*> ~ <*he*> ~ <*hi*> '2.SG'

found in the Yameo-Masamae religious texts are better cognates with the 2.SG

forms in Yagua and Yameo (as described by Espinoza) *hij-*, *hi-* respectively, and

can be used to establish parallel 2nd person forms between Yagua and Yameo.

In what follows I present the only clear pronominal forms posited here for

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meaning.

the Peba-Yaguan protosystem, i.e., those for which there is data from all three languages. As long as there is no Peba data for some items, reconstructing the entire proto-system is not possible; however, I do believe that Proto-Peba-Yagua had categories for singular, inclusive and plural in its pronominal systems, even if we'll never know for sure the form of these categories. Thus, I propose the following tentative proto-forms for the data where we have cognates for all three languages. I also hypothesized that *hij* + *Rej* formed *hirjej* '2.PL' in Yagua; and possibly *here* '2.PL'(?) in Yameo:

1SG	*Raj		
1.PL.INCL	*wuj		
3.PL	*RV	PL	*Rej

In Yagua, Set I and Set II clitics have several functions in terms of grammar and discourse. But we have seen that their basic functions are to express possessive relationships in nominal phrases, objects of postpositions, and to express subject (Set I) or object (Set II) coreference in the clause. Is this verifiable for the Proto-Language? It is indeed. Possession is verifiable for all

languages. In Peba, many of the words listed surely contain the clitic in

possessive function. For example:

(13) Peba: vi-omoté 'our arm'

rai-no 'my head'

vi-mo 'our forehead'

(14) Yameo: i-nẹːalá 'your blood'

wi-leʃé 'our tongue'

ri-nató 'my head'

(15) Masamae: nei-ke[80] ahen 'our father'

wue-renenla 'our souls'

The other function observed for the pronominal clitics is to mark subject

or object (co)reference. As in Yagua, in Yameo and Masamae the subject clitic

precedes the verb. In the Yameo-Masamae texts most forms are prefixed to the

verb, as in Yagua. In Yameo, Espinoza and Tessmann separate most of the forms

from the verb so it is difficult to say if they are prefixed or not, but they always

precede the verb and sometimes show allomorphy which would suggest

phonological influence from the verb stem. In Yameo (as described by Espinoza

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[80] The particle -ke is being used as a vocative.

and also in the Yameo-Masamae doctrine) the object is marked by suffixing the

pronominal morpheme to the verb, just as sometimes happens with Yagua Set II

clitics:

        (16) Yameo: j̧-anaé
                      2.SG-cry
                      'You cry'

                      rae   waesé-(i)-<u>ru</u>
                      1.SG love-?-3.PL
                      'I love them'

        The following passage from the Yameo and Masamae doctrine is trying to

teach how God becomes incarnate. God has been mentioned two prior sentences,

in a question. The *sa-* in line (c) refers to God and *-rá* in the same sentence refers

to the object 'man' of the verb 'do/become'. The function (discursive and

grammatical) of the pronominal forms shown in this passage exemplifies the

system of pronouns for Yameo-Masamae. This parallels the basic functions of the

Yaguan system. Therefore, it is very likely that this kind of system was present

already in the Proto-language. Consider the whole sequence to evaluate what I

just said:

(17) From the doctrine in the Yameo and Masamae language:

a. ná-wo-ma   dios lea   nona-le-<u>ra</u>   atín?
    what-womb-LOC   God son   do-??-3.O man
    'In whose womb God became man?'

b. virgen Sta. Maria   wo-ma
    Saint Mary   womb-LOC
    'In Saint Mary Virgen's womb'

c. espiritu santo   niusi   <u>sa</u>-na-le-<u>rá</u>   atin
    Holy Spirit   FOR   3.SG-become-??-3.O man
    'by the Holy Spirit he became a man'

In conclusion, while not all the forms are given for all languages (for Peba

we only have the first person singular and first person plural inclusive), the

pronominal system of Proto-Peba-Yagua clearly distinguished singular from

plural. Dual categories have been discussed but no evidence has been found with

regards to their actual existence in the proto-system. The possessive function of

the pronominal forms are attested in all languages, and the subject and object

agreement functions are attested in Yagua and Yameo; thus it is possible to

postulate these functions also in the proto-language.

5.3 The Question of Classifiers

Yagua possesses a system of more than 40 classifiers (D. Payne 1986).

These classifiers are obligatorily suffixed to demonstrative roots and infixed to

the lower numeral roots. They serve to show agreement between a

demonstrative or numeral and its head. Classifiers can also be suffixed to

nominal, verbal and adjectival roots. They would be akin to what traditionally

are considered numeral classifiers. In general, as happens in other languages

around the world, classifiers in Yagua have developed historically from nominal

items and that is clearly demonstrable. Payne and Payne (1990: 445) noticed

that when the "etymology is transparent, it is clear that noun classifiers derive

from the last one or two syllables of nominal roots". For example, ⁿdusuuj is 'bag'

and the classifier for bag-like items is -suuj. Some other classifiers correspond to

the entire nominal root. Such is the case of hãã 'water' and -hãã 'CLASS.liquid',

dasíy 'palm trunk' and -ⁿdasíj 'CLASS.thin.pole'.

The classifiers in Yagua seem to be a somewhat open set with varying

degrees of grammaticalization (Peña 2007). There are also unique classifiers that

work with just one noun, while others appear with a narrow array of referents.

Several classifiers are clearly associated to a noun typically categorized by the

classifier. Finally, while some classifiers are monosyllabic, others are bisyllabic

or in some other way are root-like in their phonology. According to Payne

(2007), these characteristics suggest a fairly young age for the Yagua classifier

system. Payne, in the article just cited, also proposes that the Yagua classifiers

developed from noun compounding, a process that is very productive in said

language. D. Payne suggests that one possible explanation is that there might

have been phonological reduction of the classificatory, or "head", compounded

root: "In some instances the original source noun disappeared, leaving just a

classifier phonologically unrelated to any extant noun root" (2007: 463). She

points out, however, that a noun-noun or a verb-noun compounding source for

classifiers does not straightforwardly explicate

how the classifiers appeared in demonstratives and numerals,

where their use is grammaticalized. This may have happened via

compounding of noun roots with demonstrative and numeral roots

. . . or it may have been initiated or reinforced as a structural

pattern under the influence of contact with other languages that

employ classifiers in such expressions. (465-466)

Payne proposes that the languages from Bora-Witoto family (a historical

neighbor of the Peba-Yagua family) may have influenced the Yagua system and

shows appealing comparative evidence of the use of classifiers in Yagua and

Bora-Witotoan varieties. She suggests that, while Yagua may have relied on its

own resources to get classifiers (via compounding), this does not explain the use

of these classifiers in numerals and demonstratives. In view of the fairly long

contact between Yagua and Bora-Witotoan people and the supposed young age

of the classifier system in Yagua, Payne hypothesizes that it may have arisen

because of language contact with Bora-Witoto. Payne notes that a question that

needs to be answered is whether we can reconstruct classifiers for Proto-Peba-

Yagua or not.

To answer this question, the evidence is small but we can explore various

forms at hand from Yameo and Peba, and compare them to Yagua. First, we find

lexicalized particles in some words which can be analyzed as classifiers. Thus

consider a couple of examples:

(18) 'blowgun': *ⁿduuⁿdasij* (Yag) : *nolasé* (Peb): *nolas* (Yam),

CL -*ⁿdasij, -lasé, -las* for long cilindrical objects like palm trunks,

blowguns, etc.

(19) 'fruit': *nĩnsij, ninusij* (Yag) : *nemasej* (Peb)

CL -*sij, -sej* for small round objects.

A possible alternative analysis might be that the (so far) supposed

'classifiers' are not really classifiers, but rather are simply parts of words

showing noun compounding: lexical items are constantly made by putting

together lexical roots, and noun compounding is clearly productive in Yagua.

Noun compounds are usually a means to achieve qualification or description of a

noun and in the examples we could have a noun-noun compound. For example,

ⁿduu is 'blow' in Yagua (compare to *no* 'blow' in Peba and Yameo) so we could

think of an old compound noun of the form [blow-trunk] in the formation of the

word 'blowgun' in Proto-Peba-Yagua. Despite the fact that the forms in the examples above seem to be already grammaticalized (i.e. reduced in their semantics and their phonological forms), in this case a given form —by itself— does not prove that it is a classifier; so more evidence is needed to postulate a system of classifiers for the Proto-Language.

But nominal words are not the only place where possible classifiers may be occurring in the data. As we saw previously, the numerals in Yameo and Peba also show structural resemblance with the Yagua numeral construction. In Yagua, lower numbers have the following structure:

[ROOT-CLASSIFIER-NUMERAL.SUFFIX]

There are only numbers 'one' and 'two' attested in Yameo (the rest of numbers in this language is borrowed from Quechua). Number 'one' in Yameo cannot really be compared to any form in Peba or Yagua.[81] But number 'two' in

---

[81] Number 'one' in Yameo is <*pwiter*> (Tessman) or <*pwiteara*> (Espinoza), and a root <*poetin-*> is observable in the Yameo-Masamae texts. One can speculate that there is an unknown root *pwi* ~ *poe* (possibly representing a pronunciation [p^wi] ~ [p^we]) for 'one' and the Yameo forms for 'someone, other, person' *atẽ* ~ *afĩ* (cf. Yagua *tĩ* 'other') plus the general classifier *-ra*, attested in Yagua and Yameo. But this structure does not fit the general pattern ROOT-CLASSIFIER-NUMERAL.SUFFIX that we find in Yagua, Peba and number 'two' in Yameo.

Yameo can be compared to Yagua and Peba. If the number suffix <-*mue*> in

Yameo is considered a plural morpheme (there is a plural morpheme -*mĩj*[82] in

Yagua that is used in numbers as well), and if we admit the following analysis

for numbers like 'three' for Peba, then we can have:

(19) nã-ɾa-hũj (Yag)　　　:　　na-ra-mue (Yam)
　　　two-CL.INAN-DUAL　　　two-CL.INAN-PL

nã-nũ-hũj (Yag)　　:　　na-no-hui (Peb)
two-CL.ANIM-DUAL　　two-CL.ANIM-DUAL

mṹṹ-waj (Yag)　　:　　<mun-goa> ([mũ-wa, mũ-woa]?) (Peb)
three-CL.ANIM.PL　:　three-CL.ANIM.PL

As we can see, there is a structural resemblance in the numeral

formations, at least for numbers 'two' and 'three'.

There are also examples of possible classifiers in the Yameo-Masamae

doctrine texts. In what follows we have an example where I suggests that a

classifier may be involved:

(20)

(a) ne-hun　　　Dios nane-a-rá　　erín termotan rinsiaren?
　　what-FOR　　God do-?-3.O.INAN　these all　　　things

---

[82] The phonetic realization of /m/ before vowels /i/ and /e/ is [mʷ] in Yagua. Therefore the
phonetic realizations of the number suffix in Yagua and Yameo ([mʷji] and [mwe] or possibly
[mʷe], respectively) are very similar.

'what did God do all this things for?

(b) wen-marin-<u>ra</u>   hun
  1PL-good-CL.INAN FOR
  'for our good'

Classifiers can occur with lexical noun roots to derive noun stems, to semantically specify or qualify said root. In the example above, the general classifier *-ra* (just like in Yagua) is heading a nominal root. Notice that *marin* is 'good' but in this case it is going to be the possessed object of a postposition in the discourse. I think that the classifier is therefore deriving a new nominal stem that receives the possessive marker. Such nominalizing functions are also found in Yagua (D. Payne 2007). The form of the hypothesized 'general' classifier morpheme in the doctrine texts is exactly the same as is found in Espinoza's Yameo description (though he did not mention classifiers at all, it clearly occurs in several examples). Since we have the same form in Yagua, it is very likely that this example represents an instance of said general classifier.

Unfortunately, the poor documentation for Peba and Yameo does not show many more examples of classifiers in these languages. There are no

examples of numerals counting contrasting objects, for example. From the

discussion above, however, we have seen that the the structure of numerals,

with classifiers formally playing a role in their formation, is found in Yagua,

Peba and Yameo. More examples of classifiers in text and possibly in lexical

items make it plausible to postulate that there was a classifier system -even if

very basic- in Proto-Peba-Yagua. It may have been re-inforced and expanded in

its functions by language contact with Bora-Witotoan as suggested by D. Payne.

Notice as well that Payne argues for a structural influence rather than massive

borrowing of classifier forms from Bora-Witoto to Yagua. At least for numerals,

we can see that the structure used in modern Yagua can be found in Peba and

Yameo.

5.4 Postpositions

5.4.1 The Locative Morpheme *mV

Another morphological piece that can be attributed to Proto-Peba-Yagua

is the locative morpheme *mV. It is attested in Yagua as -mū, Yameo(-Masamae)

as -ma, and I claim that it occurs in Peba as -mo.

In Yameo and Yagua -*mV* is the locative morpheme:

(21) Nautá-ma   'in the Nauta River'   (Yam) (Espinoza 1955: 386)
     Nauta-LOC

(22) ɾooɾij-mũ-nĩĩ 'he is in the house'   (Yag) (Powlison 1995: 339)
     house-LOC-3.SG.ANIM

The particle **mV* is also found as a formative in body-part words. One

example is the word for 'belly' or 'womb', *wimũ,* in Yagua, which we can

separate into *wi-LOC.* Compare this with the forms found in Yameo and

Masamae:

(23) wi-mũ (Yag) :   wo (Yam)   :   wo (Mas)

Notice the use of locative -*ma* from the Yameo-Masamae doctrine, and its

occurrence with *wo-* in the second example to form the word for 'womb':

(24) besian-lo   obasé   arreu-un-<u>má</u>   we-jan   sanla-hun
     live-NOMLZR   ??   heaven-(?)-LOC 1PL-go   LIMIT(?)-INST
     'so we can go to the heavens and live there'

(25) Sta. Maria virgen   wo-<u>ma</u>-ˈse   ˈsa-nanase-ra-ninle
                           womb-LOC-3? 3.SG-give.birth-3.O-ALSO
     'from/in Saint Mary Virgin's womb he was born also'

The word *wimu* in Yagua has developed the meaning of 'inside' also. We

find the same development in Yameo with what seems to be vowel reduction at

the end (from Espinoza 1955: 363):

(26) põpo <u>wome</u>   'inside the earth'

nãŋgwá <u>wome</u> 'inside the water'

Finally, in Peba we have the word ʃamõ <*chameau*> 'belly'. I think that

it has the *mV particle as well, just like *wimu* in Yagua. In Yagua, *tʃa* is the word

for 'breast', especially the 'breast of a bird'. Thus, I think that Peba took this

same lexical root (consider the historical change for this word *tʃa > ʃa) and, as

in Yagua, attached the locative particle to it: it follows the same construction

[Noun.ROOT-LOCATIVE].

As a result of the preceding discussion, I postulate the locative *mV for

Proto-Peba-Yagua.

5.4.2 Other Postpositional Forms in Yagua and Yameo

Peba has no attestation of any other morpho/grammatical unit besides

the possessive pronouns, the classifiers and the locative morpheme. But Yagua

and Yameo show several additional resemblances that may suggest more ideas

about the Proto-language. One major characteristic, from a typological point, is

that both Yagua and Yameo(-Masamae) are consistently postpositional

languages. There are no prepositions in either language. Apart from the

morpheme *mV that was discussed in the preceding section, other general

postpositions can be found in the Yameo-Masamae doctrine texts. The Adlative -

hũ in Yagua expresses motion towards the point of reference and can be

translated as FOR, containing as well benefactive and purpose meanings. In

Yameo(-Masamae), the form ũ[83], -hu, -hũ (<hun>) occurs with the same

characteristics except that the 'motion towards' the point of reference meaning is

not attested in the texts:

    (27) ɾáj-<u>hũ</u>   (Yagua) (Payne and Payne 1990: 379)
        1.SG-ADL
        'for me'

    (28) himjij-haⁿda-<u>hũ</u>   (Yagua) (Payne and Payne 1990: 379)
        eat-INF-ADL
        'for eating'

---

[83] Espinoza writes <õ> but he says that it is pronounced [ou] or [ũ].

(29) aré laór   raə-ū̠   (Yameo)
    this house   1.SG-ADL
    'this house is for me'

(30) areˈsiu-ma enalanrea re-ˈsenlan-lama   re-besia ˈsanla-h̠ū (Yameo)
    sky-LOC   eternally 3PL-be.happy-NOMLZ 3PL-be LIMIT?-INST
    '[he takes them] to Heaven so they be happy for ever'

The instrumental -*ta* is also common to both languages. Here are some

examples of its use from Yagua and the Yameo-Masamae doctrine:

(31) hij-ɽáãtʃa muɽtá-<u>ta</u>-ɽa   (Yagua) (Powlison 1995: 540)
    2.SG-cut   machete-INST-3.INAN.O
    'you cut it with machete'

(32)

(a) nen-<u>ta</u>   Dios nane ará? (Yameo)
    what--INST   God do   thing
    'with what God did everything?

(b) za-leke-ala-<u>ta</u>   za-basei-ala-<u>ta</u>
    3SG-say-NOM(?)-INST   3SG-want-NOM(?)-INST
    'with his words, with his love'

Finally, the Dative -*wa* is also present in Yameo-Masamae. In Yagua this

form varies between -*wa* and -*íwa*. Here is a couple of examples showing its

occurrence in Yagua and in one of the Yameo-Masamae doctrine texts:

(33) sa-ⁿdī̃j   sa-<u>íwa</u>   (Yagua) (Payne and Payne 1990: 380)
    3.SG-see 3.SG-DAT
    'He sees him'

(34) re-lakea ra-<u>wa</u>   asle dios   (Yameo)
       2.PL-say 1.SG-DAT exist God
       'Tell me: does God exist?'

In this chapter, I have attempted to compare what residual evidence we

have to establish hypothesis about some parts of the grammar of Proto-Peba-

Yagua. This evidence covers the pronominal clitic system, the classifiers and the

locative morpheme *mV*. Also, I have established a comparison between Yagua

and Yameo post-positions in order to shed light on the possible nature of the

Proto-Language as post-positional. A future more thorough analysis of Yameo

grammar or an in-depth discursive analysis of the Yameo-Masamae texts (though

they cover basically one genre: the ecclesiastic genre) may give a broader idea

about the Peba-Yaguan languages.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Peba-Yaguan peoples used to live in the northeast area of the

Peruvian Amazonian lowland forest area. It is more probable that they migrated

following the direction East-West along the Amazon River, from the Peruvian-

Brazilian border or perhaps from more in-land Brazilian territory. The Peba-

Yagua were forest people whose main activities were warring, hunting and

practicing slash-and-burn agriculture.

2. The sources for the study of the Peba-Yaguan languages, except for

Yagua, are scarce and they present many problems of interpretation. A

philological analysis of the data for Peba and Yameo should be done first in

order for the investigator to be able to understand the links and changes among

the Peba-Yaguan languages. Unfortunately, the sources for Peba and Yameo do

not provide enough evidence for some questions asked in this thesis that have

remained unresolved.

3. The sound inventory of Proto-Peba-Yagua had at least the consonants

(*p), *t, *k, *m, *n, *s, *tʃ, *R, *w, *j, *h and the vowels *a, (*e), *i, *u. There is

not enough good evidence for reconstructing more sounds, especially vowels like

*o and *ɨ. The likeliness of *o is specially appealing since it would be

typologically expected to have a back mid vowel as an symmetric counterpart of

the front mid vowel *e.

4. Proto-Peba Yagua seems to have had a pronominal reference system

that distinguished singular, plural, and probably dual. Animate versus inanimate

distinction is attested for Yagua and Yameo; it is likely that this distinction was

also present in the proto-language.

5. There is evidence to postulate a system of classifiers for Proto-Peba-

Yagua. They occurred in numbers and very likely in forming other noun stems.

There is also evidence that show that classifiers may have had nominalizing

functions, as is observable in modern Yagua.

6. Rivet's grouping of the Peban-Yaguan languages in one single family

(1911), subsequently adopted by many other authors, is confirmed by the data shown in this thesis.

7. Internal classification of the Peba-Yaguan linguistic family has never been attempted. Rivet (1911), primarily based on mass-vocabulary comparisons, suggested that Peba and Yagua were more closely related, thus giving the impression that they would form one branch of the Peba-Yaguan family, while Yameo would be in another branch. If we considered that the only formal criterion for subgrouping sister languages is shared innovation (Campbell 2004: 190), then we have a different scenario than what Rivet implied. From Chapter 4 of this thesis, we can state that Peba and Yameo shared the innovations (a) and (b) given below:

(a) *tʃ > ʃ

(b) *h > ∅

It is because of these shared innovations that an older intermediate-level Proto-Peba-Yaguan daughter can be postulated: Proto-Peba-Yameo. Peba and

Yameo would have branched off from this intermediate language. Therefore,

internal classification of Peba-Yagua would result in Yagua on one hand and

Proto-Peba-Yameo on the other. At the lower level, Proto-Peba-Yameo divides in

Peba and Yameo, as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. The Peba-Yaguan Family Tree

Proto-Peba-Yagua

Proto-Peba-Yameo

Yagua   **Peba**   **Yameo**
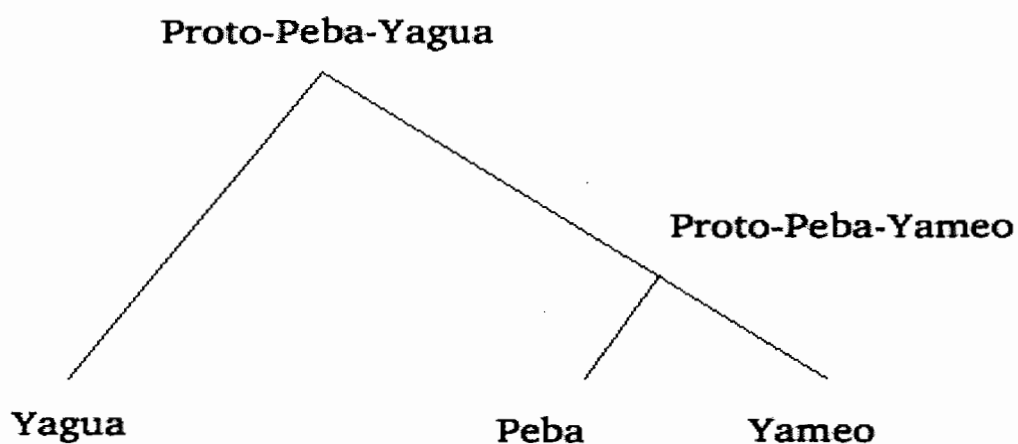
An interesting question with this internal classification is why, with

regards to the lexicon, Yagua and Peba seem to be more closely related that

Peba and Yameo. For example, a quick survey shows that around 60 out of 100

Peban words provided by Castelnau and Erben are cognates with Yagua,

whereas only around 34 out of 100 Peban words are cognates with Yameo. We

can find an answer to this question in the history of these groups. Peban and

Yaguan groups occupied a continuous territory, whereas Yameo groups were

separated from their Peban and Yaguan 'relatives' by alien groups, like the

Tucanoan and Zaparoan groups. Therefore, while Yameo and Peba may have

been daughters of an intermediate language, the contact of Peba with Yagua for

at least the last four hundred years (until the extinction of Peba) is a good

candidate to explain why these languages look more similar at least in terms of

vocabulary.

8. There is no evidence to postulate that Yameo and Masamae were truly

different languages. We will never know what was perhaps the most important

thing in order to determine this: how the people who spoke those languages felt

about it -whether the Masamae and Yameo considered themselves different

speaking-people (like for example Spanish-speaking and Gallego-speaking

people) or not will remained unanswered. The fact that the missionary texts

suggest a unity of language by writing one doctrine for Yameo and Masamae

may have been as well an external political decision taken by the church rather

than a fact about society/groups, so 'anthropological' information obtained from

the texts cannot be the only argument for claiming such a unity. Certainly, there

is evidence that the all Peba-Yaguan groups were able to communicate with

each other to some extent, but that does not necessarily define a 'language' as a

socio-political functional system. For the time being, it is necessary to state that,

linguistically speaking, the grammar written by Espinoza and that observed in

the doctrine texts are *grosso modo* alike despite the time difference between one

and the other (more than a hundred and fifty years). What is more, the Masamae

texts are understandable in their basics using Espinoza's Yamean grammar -and

though they are also structurally comparable to Yagua, as we have seen in

previous chapters, one can observe that the degree of separation from the latter

is greater. The sound changes of Yameo and Masamae (with regards to the other

two languages) are basically the same except maybe for sporadic retentions of *$*h$

in Masamae. However, it is true that, for example, Peba also shares the changes

with Yameo -at least in what is reconstructable of the sound system. The

difference between the relationship amongst Yameo and Masamae as opposed to

Yameo and Peba, however, is that lexically-wise there is more or less the same

vocabulary for the first couple, much more than for the second couple. For

example, in a small glossary given by Espinoza (1955: 562-563) that compares

Yameo and Masamae, one could conservatively say that only four out of sixty

one items could not be considered cognates; the rest clearly are.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
ADL	Adlative
ANIM	Animate
AP	Applicative
AUX	Auxiliar
CL	Classifier
COR	Coreferential
DUAL	Dual
INAN	Inanimate
INCL	Inclusive
INST	Instrumental
IRR	Irrealis
LIMIT	Limitative
LOC	Locative
NOMLR	Nominalizer
NP	Noun Phrase
PL	Plural
SG	Singular
V	Vowel

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE YAMEO-MASAMAE TEXT

Appendix B presents a sample of the analysis of the Yameo-Masamae

Doctrine found in Espinoza (1955). The text has been parsed and analyzed.

There are several parts that still need to be more studied. I have noted those

parts with the symbols (?) or (??). In what follows, the first line is the

transcription of the original source. This is indicated by the symbols < >. The

second line represents the text phonemically parsed morpheme by morpheme.

The third line contains the glossed morphemic analysis. The fourth line is the

English translation. The letters 'Q' and 'A' that appear in some lines mean

'Question' and 'Answer'.

Doctrine in Yameo-Masamae Language

001.

Q. < re-laquea rahua: assele dios? >

re-lakea	ra-wa:	asle dios
2SG-say	1SG-DAT	exist God

'Tell me: is there (exists) God?'

002.

A. < aselé nin. >

aselé	nin
exist	3SG.ANIM

'there is (He exists)'

003.

Q. < nentalan dios? >

nen-talan dios

what-thing God

'what is God?'

004a.

A. < arreciu, popó, termo tan rinziaren naneanó, muezaitin, >

aresju popó	termo-tan rinsiaren	nane-anó (?)
sky earth	everything	do-NOMLR

'heavens, earth and everything, creator/keeper [He is],'

004b.

< amuencalá ninenta dios. >

amu-ahen-calá	ni-nen-ta	dios [?]
big-father-??	??-do-INST/AP(?)	God

'(as) great lord we acknowledge God'

005.

Q. <nenta dios nane ará termotan rinciaren?>

nen-ta	Dios	nane	ará	termotan	rinsjaren
what--INST	God	do	??	everything	

'what did God do everything with?'

006.

A. <zaleque alata, zabacetalata>

ˈsa-leke-ala-ta	ˈsa-wasej-ala-ta
3SG-say-NOM(?)-INST	3SG-want/love-NOMLR(?)-INST

'with his word, with his love'

007.

Q. <raitará, armalen, nalanricialauau lara dios?>

rajtará	armalén	nalan, risja-la	uau	lara	dios
sun	moon	forest thing-PL	??	NEG	god

'the sun, the moon, the forests (and the other) things, aren't they God?'

008a.

A. <laratán dios viala;>

lara-tán	dios	wi-ala
NEG-??	god	3(?)-PL

they (are) not God

008b.

<errin termotan rinuaren dios nequelata>

erin	termotan	rinuaren	dios	neke-la-ta
these	all	things	god	say-NOMLR-INST

'all of these things (were created) by God's word'

009.

Q. <nehun dios naneara errín termótan rinciaren?>

nen-hun	dios	nane-a-rá	errín	termo-tan	rinsja-ren
what-FOR	god	do-??-O.INAM(?)	these	all	things

'what did god do all this things for?'

010.

A. <buenmarínra hun>

wuen(?)-marín-ra	hun
1PL-good-CL.INAN(?)	FOR

'for our good'

011.

Q. <Nen hun dios naneará bueninle?>

nen-hun	dios	nane-a-rá	wue-ninle
What-FOR	god	do-??-O	1PL-ALSO

'God created us also?'

012a.

A. <buenaíta salahún dios, buemucha sanlahun nin,>

wue-naíta	sala-hún	dios	wue-mutʃa	sanla-hun	nin
1PL-know	??-FOR	god	1PL-worship	??-FOR	also

'to know God, to worship [Him] also'

012b.

<zalequeala zaiaciaren bueceneazanlahun iño poponen, buevecianlamo,>

'sa-leke-ala	'sa-jasjaren	wue	senea'san-la-hun	iɲó	popo-nen
3-say-NOM	3-commandment	1PL	??-NOMLR-FOR	here	earth-LOC

wue-wesjan-la-mo
1PL-live-NOMLZ-LOC

'to follow his words [and] his commandments here on the earth [where] we live'

012c.

<becíanlo obacé arreuunmábueyan sanlahun>

wesjan-lo	obacé	areuun-má	wue-jan	sanla-hun
live-NOMLR(?)	??	heaven(-?)-LOC	1PL-go	LIMIT?)-FOR

'to go live in heaven'

013.

Q. <narrebe dios ase?>

narewe(?)	dios	ase
how many	God	exist

'how many Gods are there?'

014.

A. <Poetinten dios>

poetinten	dios
one	God

'one God'

015.

Q. <toma dios becia?>

to-ma	dios	wesja
where-LOC	god	be

'where is god?'

016.

A. <arreiumá, popóma, termo ma ninle dios becia>

arresju-ma	popó-ma	termo-ma	ninle	dios	wesja
sky-LOC	earth-LOC	all/thing-LOC	also	god	be

'in the sky, in the earth, in evrything God be'

017.

Q. < nentalan dios? >

nen-talan   dios

what-thing   god

'what [is] God?'

018a.

A. < dios ahén, dios lea, dios espíritu santo, >

dios   ahén   dios   lea   dios espíritu santo

God   father God   son   God spirit   Holy

'God father, God son, God Holy Spirit'

018b.

poetarorineroa persona alá, poetinten dios

poetarorineroa(?)   persona-alá   poetinten(?) dios

three   persons-PL   one   God

'three persons, one God'

019.

Q. < eve poeterorineroara dios viala? >

ewe(?) poeterorineroara(?) dios   wi-ala

these three   God   3(?)-PL

'[are] these three Gods?'

020a.

A. < lara poeta-rorineará dios vi-ala; >

lara poetarorineará(?)   dios   wi-ala

NEG three   God   3(?)-PL

'there (are) not three Gods'

020b.

< eve poetaroriireroa personaala poetintan dios, >

ewe(?) poetar-riireroa(?)   persona-ala   poetinte(?)   dios

these three-?   person-PL   one   God

'these three persons [are] one God'

020c. < sma. trinidad reciosará >

sma. trinidad resjo-sará

holy   trinity call-NOMLR

'[They are] called Holy Trinity'

021.

Q. < eve poetararinorea persona ni nú mañuzannalará atín? >

ewe(?) poetara-rinorea(?) persona   ni   númaɲu ˈsa-nna-le-rá atin

This   three??   person   Oblique? which   3-do-??-3.O man

'of these three persons, who became man?'

022.

A. < dios leanen alerá atin >

dios   lea   nena-le-rá   atin

God   son   do-??-3.O   man

'God son became man'

023.

Q. < nábuoma dios lea nonalera atín? >

ná-wo-ma   dios lea   nona-le-ra   atín

what-womb-LOC   god   son   do-??-3.O   man

in which [whose] womb God became man?

024a.

A. <virgen sta maria buoma,>

virgen sta. María   wo-ma

virgen saint Mary   womb-LOC

'in Saint Mary's womb'

024b.

<espiritu santo niusizenalerá atin,>

espíritu   santo niuˈsi ˈse-na-le-rá   atin

Spirit   holy POR 3(?)-do-??-3.O   man

'by the [grace of the] Holy Spirit he became man'

024c.

<sta. maria virgen buomaze zananceraninle>

St. Mary virgen   wo-ma-ˈse   ˈsa-nanase-ra-ninle

                       womb-LOC-3(?)   3-give.birth-3.O-ALSO

'From Saint Mary's womb he was born'

025.

Q. <dios lea atin zennala sao baze nen zantala?>

dios lea atin ˈse-nna-la   sao waˈse nen ˈsa-nta-la

God son man 3(?)-do-NOMLR   ??   ??   how 3-name-NOMLR

'having become man what [was] God Son's name?'

026a.

A. <jesucristo zatanla, entanenla dios,>

Jesucristo   ˈsa-tan-la   entanen-la   dios

                3-name-NOMLR   be.true-NOMLR   God

'Jesuschrist [was] his name, a real God'

026b.

<entanenla atínnile, buen amuen, buen Ramaitin>

entanenla   atín-nile   wuen amuen   wuen ramaitin

be.true.NOMLR   man-ALSO   1.PL lord, father   1.PL save(?)

'a true man, also [He is] our Lord, our Savior'

027.

Q. <neinto jesucristo ramaitinrabuen?>

nein-to   jesucristo   ramaitin-ra-wuen

what-??   save-3.O-1PL

'How did Jesus save us?'

028a.

A. <bue huchanla maraci zarobezin numalamá,>

wue-hutʃa-nla   marasi   ˈsa-roweˈsin numa-la-má

1PL-sin-PL   FOR(?)   3-body(?) give(?)-NOMLZ-LOC(?)

'giving his body for our sins'

028b.

<curuzanen huayayanzen, zaleia-lamá>

kuruza-nen wa-jajan-ˈsen   za-lei-ala-má

cross-LOC   ??-go-??   3-die-NOMLZ-LOC??

'he went and die on the cross' (lit. 'he went dying...')

029.

Q. <nena jesucristo, dios laobaze, zaleira?>

nena jecucristo   dios   lao-waˈse   ˈsa-lei-ra

cómo Jesus   god   ??-exist   3-die-??

'how [is that] Jesus, being God, died?'

o

APPENDIX C

COMPARATIVE WORD LIST

Appendix C presents a partial comparative list with words from Yagua, Peba and Yameo. The forms come from different sources: for Yagua, they are largely based on Powlison (1995); for Peba, on Castelnau (1851) and Erben (1948); and for Yameo, on Tessmann (1930) and Espinoza (1955). The Yameo-Masamae forms come from the doctrine texts. The list is based on the extended Swadesh word list, and the numbering of the items correlates with the numbers in Swadesh list. For items that are not present in Swadesh list, I have used greater numbers (for example 250 or 510) depending on the position of the item in my database lists. The forms given are phonemic and follow the same criteria used for the thesis. For cases where I was not sure what was the phonemic interpretation of a certain item, I provide its written representation, like in *<form>*, or present possible phonetic interpretations, like in *[form]*.

0	ENGLISH	YAGUA (Pow)	PEBA (CAS)	PEBA (ERB)	YAMEO (T.)	YAMEO (E.)	YAM-MAS
1	I	ɽaj	rai ([raj]? [rɛ]?)			raé, réə, ninle)ɹea	ra
2	You	híj				i, hi	eré, hera, here
3	3.SG.ANIM	sa-			sa-	san-	\<za\> ['sa]
3.1	3.SG. ANIM	-níĩ́					nin
4	We	wɯ́ɯ́j [PL. INCL]	vi			wi	\<bue\> wue
5	2.PL	híɽjej				re, ret, ret 2.PL	
7	This	híj				aré	
8	That	ɽu				rúnun, ru, run	
12	Interrog.	nũtju-ɽa. 'how'				nitrá 'what'	
16	NEG	ne -ta	aanoj			téal	
16.1	not	-tja, -ta			té:ąka	téal (no), tálo (prohibitive),	
16.2	not	nɛ́ɛ́	aanoj			-dle, -le, -le, -la	
22	one	tá-ɽa-kɨɨ ta-puu-see one- cilinder(CL)- short.stick(CL)				tápuʃĕ lã tápuʃĕ 'short finger'	

22.1	one	tĩĩkii (< ta-ĭ-kii?)	<tomeu lay>	teki			
22.2	one				puitér	pwitəáí, pwitəára	poetinten
23	two	ⁿdá-ɽa-hűj (with general classifier)	<nomoira>	manaxo	na-rá-muę	na-rá-ma, na-rá-m	
24.1	three	mu-waj	mu-mwa	<mu-ngoa>	kiŋʃá (Quechua)		
24.2	three (root?)	mu-	mu-	mu-			
24.3	PL.ANIM	-waj PL.ANIM		<-ngoa>	aţę́:ạ-wa 'people'		
25.1	four	nãj-nũ-hũjũ (anim) [nãnũjhűjű]	namerayo	lauxikoni			
25.2	four (root)	nãj-	na-				
25.3	four (root)			lau			
25.4	four (suffix)	hũjũ		koni			
26.1	five	táⁿdaa-hjo	<taone-lla>	<lala-xio>			
26.2	half / five	taⁿdaaj	<taone>	<lalaj>			
26.3	five	ho	<lla> (?)	<xo>			
32	small	-ⁿdeeɽa (dim)			ni:n-lę́:ra	nin-leɹ,	

36	woman	wá-tu-ɽá 'woman w/o children' wá-tu-ɽṹj 'woman w/ children' wá-tuj	wato(a)		wátrĕ	wátră 'woman' watrú 'women'	
37	man	wá-nũ	comoley		awáɽa	awára, awaɽ 'male, man'; áwarŭ 'men'	
38	person	tĩ 'someone, other'			aĕtín 'people'		atin ([atĩ]?) 'man'
39	boy	ⁿdee-nũ / ⁿdee-ɽa	laira			láeɹ	
39.1		ⁿdeeɽa	laira			láeɹ	lea
41	husband	wanũ, ɽimitju			i-lẹ:yá̃	liyá; i liyá 'your husband'	
42	mother	hŭnõⁿda			yaŋú:elọ̈	amá	
43	father	jã̃j, tatja (Quechua), jẽjẽ			í:yẹ:	ampá, ắe, ẽ	ahen (563)
47	dog	nĩ́ᵐbjíí	nemej nebi ('tiger and dog')		niamĩ́; niamẽ́ (jaguar)	ɲiamé	
51	tree	nĩ́nũ			ṍɣuŋ (nalố 'plantation')	ắoɣú́ (nanú 'liana')	
51.1	CL.tree	-ⁿdasij	-lassé			-laś	
52	forest	too	opu		tọ́:ọla	táo	

52.1	forest	kúruhúú, too, ⁿdapúuy 'montear'	opu	tǫ́:ǫla	táo
53	stick	-see 'CL.stick'	tapa-sej		tápu-ʃĕ ('short')
53.1	CL.stick	-nũ 'CL.stick'		-ló [???]	-nú
54	fruit	nĩnsij < prob. from nĩnũsij	nemasej		
56	leaf	nã́wĩ	semaj- nemej	niŋɣṹŋ	niɣṹ
57	root	hṹnũtij	nataj	ṛa-sá:lăŋ	ṛa-sá:lăŋ 'his root'
57.1	root	hṹnṹtij	nataj		
59	flower	sisa (Quechua)	susaman (Q)	sisă (Q)	ʃiʃă (Q)
60	herb, grass	wátʃuúj	vaʃi		
62	skin	haj		yáŭŋ	yáŭn
80	foot	nũmũtú	vi-nimotaj	erę:ʃamtínjǫ	nǫ
63	flesh/meat	sa-wij		sa-lái	
64	blood	nũⁿda		i-nę:alá	nę:alá
67	egg	hiwaⁿdá		waaláŋ	
71	CL.hair	-hasíy	-saj		-sĕ
71.1	hair	hasíj -mũ CL.feather		yanaʔaŋse 'your hair'	náns, nánsĕ

71.2	hair	-hŭnõ-hasíj (wuɽjįįnõhasíj)	rai-no-saj	j-ana?aŋse 'your hair'	j-ánansĕ ([i-??-hasĕ])
72	head	hŭnṍ	rai-no	wi-nátu	náto (319)
73	ear	-tuwãj	mi-tiwa	tíwẽ	tuwãə
74	eye	nĩsíj, hŭnútjãã́	vi-nimichi	wi nĩ̡nsĕ̡	wi nunsé 'our eyes'; nunsé-la 'eyes'
75	nose	nũɽúũ, wuj-nũɽṹ	vineRo	i-niɽʃe?á 'your nose'	náɹ?ă
75	nose	nũɽúũ, wuj-nũɽṹ	vi-neRo		náɹ?ă
75.1	nostrils	nũɽũ-jũ	vi-neRo-ay		
76	mouth	hŭtóó	ri-to (3PL+mouth)	í:-pĕ̡ 'your mouth'	po
76.1		hŭtóó (ɽij-hŭtóó 3PL+mouth)	to		
77	tooth	hãã́ⁿdá	vi-ala	wi ĕ̡: (E: 'our teeth')	wi ã-nlá 'our teeth', ã 'tooth'
77.1	tooth	hãã́ⁿdá	vi-ala		
78	tongue	ⁿdaatʃíj		wi le?ʃi	wi lešé
79.2	nail	hasu-muⁿdaj	re-lansmayja	iniʃmá:a̡la 'your nails'	

79.2	finger	hanã	\<brelan\> (re-lan?)		ya?lăŋ; yá?lăŋ ('dedo del pie'	lã (319, 415); lã́-nla 'fingers'; y-alã́-n)la 'your fingers'
82	knee	haⁿdasíj			iɽiwusę́	iɽiwusę́ ëyour kneeí
82.1	heel	haɽosij			iriwusę́	
83	hand	homũtú	vinitajli		win ų́ 'our hands'	win ũwǫ́-nla 'our hands'; ũ 'arm' = win ũ 'our arm'
83.1	arm	(nũmũto 'shoulder') homũtú 'mano' [vũhjomũtú]	vi-omoté		í:yŏ	i-ų́
86	belly/guts	wumų́, wimų́	ʃa-mo		i we:	i wo	bwo
86.1	belly	wimú, wumú	ʃa-mo			wo-ma	wo-ma
86.3	belly	tʃáá́ 'flesh of breast of a bird'	ʃa-mo				
88.2	back	wuj-ndunu/ wuj-ɽunu			iʃęn?á	your back'	
89	breast	hĩtjáá́			itę́:?ŋlă		
90	heart (guts)	haatʃíj	kaiʃi			áʃe	ʃasi (or sasi?)

No.	Gloss					
92	drink	hatú 'drink' (V)			ra rató 'I drink'	
93	eat	himjíj [often hmi]		me	mẹ	mja
99	breath	nãj		i-nẹ:i	i-nẹ:i 'your breath'	
101	see	ⁿdíj 'see, know'			nítẹ [ní-tẹ] 'he visto'	
512	emphasis	-tée			-tẹ, -tẽ̆	
103	know	ⁿdáátja			nétạ	naita, nata
140	speak	nĩkéé			lẹké	leke
140.1	say	hũũtáj, nĩkee				lakea
140.2	tongue	nĩkee-haⁿda		wi-liké:ẹ-la	wi lẹká|ị̆ ală	
140.3	word	nĩkee-haⁿda			leké-yala	leke-ala
147	sun	hinjí		natẽ̆ra	natəáɹ (314), nateára (562)	raitará
147.1	sun	wáⁿdá 'bright'	wana			
148	moon	wũhjẽẽj (= wũj + haaj 'our + father') hanĩmjũɽĩ́, harimjũnĩ́	remelané	ʃmẹ́:lŭ	ɪ̆məálu, ɹməálu	armalen

150	water	hãá̃ (also CL.liquid')	\<ain\> ([ɛ̃]?)	naŋʔwá, naʔã 'rainy season'	ná̃ŋgwă
150.1	water	-hãã		ʔá̃	
151	rain	ɾṹṹmũɾá (N) ɾũ̃ũ̃ᵐboⁿdá; ɾáhiiɾa- hũ̃ɾja 'it is misty'	rajla	ɾáelă	ráelă
151.1	rainy season	ní̃hjãã (nij + hãã)		naʔá̃	naʔálemă
152.2	water/big river	nãwa ('any kind of big river')		naŋʔwá ('water')	ná̃ŋgwă ('water')
153	lake	hũmutjõ/ hũmitjõ/ mitjõ/ mutjõ/ -tõ 'CL.pots, lakes, eye socket'	me-tao		amwé̃; amú 'manantial'
153.1	lake	hũmuj, hũmij	me		amwé̃; amú
153.2	spring	nawa ('any kind of big river')	nowa (Maragnon River)	nawaluneaʃ	nã̃ŋwá̃
153.3	CL.lake	tõ	tao		
153.4		nãwa	nowa	nawa	nã̃ŋwá̃
156	stone	há-witʃṹ ɾá-witʃṹ waⁿdanjṹ 'species of stone'		noroto	rŭʃŭʔ (ruwisu)	ruwɛ̧šó

157	sand	tít∫ãã, -tĩ 'sand'	ten∫a		tĕŋ ('sandbank, beach')		
159	earth	padjéj ('lowland')	kapalé				
159.1	earth	mű̃kaⁿdíi, mű̃ko, mű̃ki -ko CL.earth,			pó:po:?	pɔ́pɔ̌ 'clay'	
159	earth	popo-ko (Chaumeil 1987: 91) 'white clay'			pó:po:?	pɔ́pɔ̌	popo
162	sky	haɽit∫u	rjesé		ṛe∫jɔ̌?	re∫jó (562)	aresju
163.2	strong wind, hurricane	mítjanáj, mű̃tjanáj			watĕnɛ̌ ('wind')	wátenĕ ('wind')	
167	fire	híiⁿdáj	feula		o̧:lɛ̌	oləá	aule
170	path	nű̃	nu		nũ̃ŋ	nũ̃ŋ	
171	mountain	mũ̃síj	musoj				
173	green	súnũ 'blue, green' wá-sunű̃, wá-sunũ̃náj	wasanu 'blue'				
175	white	há-paɽu, wá-paɽu páɽuuj 'become gray, white', pupá	papasej		pa∫elá̃	paɹlɔ̌	

176	black	wá-ⁿdaku wá-nũku, wá-nũku, mĩtʃaɾij ('black people')	miʃalaj		kaʃelɛ̃́	kázlɛ̆	
176.1	black	mitʃa-ɾij	miʃa-laj				
177	night	nṹpooɾá			nkɔ́ǫši	nékošɛ̆	
177.1	black/ night	ⁿdaku			nkɔ́ǫ-	néko-	
178	day	hũⁿda ɾuⁿda			pã́pa	pápă	papa
178.1	star	hũⁿdaɾitʃíj	larsé		kláɾeʃi	kláɾeʃi	
208	DUAL	-ɾṹj				-rú	
209	bow (*prob. from Cocama)	kããnṹ	kanu		kanútĭ		
211	plantation	nuⁿdij/ nunij			nalɔ̃́		
212	CL.round small	-sij	-sej				
216	house	ɾooɾíj	lowaRey		laǫθɛ̃́	lăoɹ (320)	
218.	forehead	mɔ̃́, mɔ̃́ɔ̃́ mɔ̃́-mũ forehead/ face-LOC ('in front of')	vi-mo 'forehead'			məa-mṹ ('in front')	
218.1	LOC	mɔ̃́	mo			məa	
221.1	type of monkey	watʃa			waʃam		

221.2	howler monkey	kadna/ kanna; nũnu	numni	kanạ	nõŋelṍ	
221.3	capuchin	siɲikjo/ sinikjó	sundiko			sinekṍ
221.5	ape	katʃunu	amu		amṍʔ	amú ('mono en general')
221.6	kind of small monkey	wáátʃa			waʃam	
221.7	kind of monkey		amu		amṍʔ	amú
221.8	light capuchin	watáj (mono machín, mono blanco-716)			waʃampaʃela (waʃam paʃela)	
221.1o	saimiri	múju	mujiu		muit̜ṍʔ	
221.11	spider monkey	kawóóta/ kuwóóta	kowata		ĩntʃṍʔ	
221.12	night monkey	mútʃoó			maʃṍ	
228	pot	káɾṍõsiíj			ngắtʃĭ	kálʃĕ(small pot'); lkálʃĕ
230	vulva	tatʃij			it̜e:ʃi	
231	tapir	hũnũtʃa; hnũtʃa; nũtʃá			na:ʃĕʔ	násă
232	celebration	híɲắ		nja		
233	CL.short.cilinder	-púú	-pa			-pu

234	afternoon	híɲuwaaj 'become late'				ŋuwa- ŋuwa)nsŏ 'early afternoon' ŋuwá)lansŏ 'towards 3pm' ŋuwá)ntě 'sunset/last part of the afternoon'	
235	hug encircle	maɽíiy				mánri (336)	
236	diminutive	-ⁿdee				-leɹ nizlénleɹ raə ne̩təá ëpoquito yo traerí (335)	
237	DATIVE	-hiwa/- iwa/-uwa					-wa
238	DUAL?	-hűj		-xo [ho]			
239	chin	múⁿdi	vi-mela		i-me̩ːalá		
240	morning	tããɽijmjusí , tããɽij-				tánre-me 'sunrise', múĩ-mă 'in the morning'	
241	arrow	ɽuwéé, ɽuwee-ɽoó	< ruelou >		ruwé (arrow)		
241.1	arrow	ɽuwéé-	rue-		ruwé	ruwé	

No.	Gloss						
247	pan flute	ⁿduuⁿduu-mũtá; ⁿduⁿdu-mãta (Chaumeil 1987)		nuna-mata		néulŭ	
247.1	to blow	ⁿduuⁿduu		nuna		néulŭ ('flute')	
247.2	CL.tube or keys of musical instr.	-mũtá; -mãtá		-mata			
249	INAN	-ɽa		-na	-rá	-rá	
250	INSTR	-ta					-ta
252	go/future	hija/ ja				jă	aja, ja, jan
253	NOMLR	-saɽa		-sara			
254	canoe	hũmũɲũ, mũɲũ;	monej	munjo	mę:nę̃	mę̃nəa	
255	caiman	nuɽtu; nuɽutu	nuerto		no:ʃtő, noθtő	nuɹtó	
256	six	tí-kii-nĩhjátee		te-ki-neti			
257	seven	nã́-nũ-hṹ-nĩhjátee		lahoneti			
258	maize	ɽiiⁿdú/ ⁿdíiⁿdúú			rolṹ	ró̜lŭ/ rúlŭ	
258	manioc	hásuuj-see	coaleshé		θĭŋʃé	sénšĕ (320)	
259	food, meal?	mjitʃaɽá /himitʃaɽa			mesá̜ra		
260	CL.short stick	-see	-ʃé		ʃé	ʃĕ	
261	throat	pisij			i-pę́:iʃi		

263	NOMLR	-hanũ̃/ -haⁿda				-anó
269	above	nã́waj			nã́ŋgu	
270	thing	taɽá			ára, tára	talan
271	devil	baayántu	yuna		ĭmála	romala
271.2	spirit	baayanu	yuna			
271.3	forest demon	nuɽṹ	nero ('devil')			
274	to (direction)	-hũ			wátră-ǫ̃, wátră-ũ	-hun
277	LOC	-mũ			-mú, -mṹ	.-ma
271.4	Shaman	ɽimjaɽa	dimasa	sumí ('brujo')		
271.5	Shaman	ɽimja-ɽa	dima-sa		ĭmá-lă 'devil' (also the 'spirit of plants'	
283	row, oar	sáátjãã́	sadja		kulé	
284	budgerigar	kããsij-	koasi	koáʃi	kwaʃi ('parrot')	
285	blowgun	ⁿduu-ⁿdasij, ɽuⁿdasij	no-lassé		nu-laś	
286	nest	ɽuuj	ra-ru			
502	PL.ANIM	-mij [mʷij]	mua, ([mue]?)	-mue	-ma, -m	
503	macaw	hapa (red macaw)	appa		ápă	
507	son	ⁿdeenṹ			lę (562)	lea
509	bat	dítʃatú/ ɽítʃatú			ʃeatḗ	

510 Penelope ɽítʃuúj reiʃi řɛ̌ʃí̃ʔ riʃi (313)
Jacutinga

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