

Johann Natterer and the Amazonian languages

Johann Natterer e as línguas da Amazônia

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Abstract

Johann Natterer (1787-1843) was a member of the Austrian scientific expedition that was sent to Brazil in 1817. As a zoologist, Natterer practised taxidermy *in situ* and provided the Austrian court with a large collection of stuffed animals and ethnographic objects. Less known is his dedication to the collection of linguistic data. After the expedition was called back in 1822, Natterer obtained permission to stay on. He remained in Brazil until 1835 and collected language materials (*Sprachproben*) of 72 indigenous languages. For many of the languages concerned, Natterer's hand-written data are either the first or the only records in existence. They are accompanied by ethnographic observations, indicating the original location of groups. In several cases, the speakers of language groups documented by Natterer have since then been removed from their original territories, if their languages were not brought to extinction. After a turbulent history, Natterer's original language data, which for a long time remained unnoticed, are now kept at the Library of the University of Basel in Switzerland, where they have also been digitalized. Their transcription and publication is being undertaken by the authors of the present article.

Keywords: Indian languages from South-America. Language samples from South-America. South-American ethnography. Indians in Amazonia. Johann Natterer.

Resumo

Johann Natterer (1787-1843) foi membro da expedição científica austríaca enviada para o Brasil em 1817. Como zoólogo, Natterer praticou a taxidermia *in situ* e forneceu à corte austríaca uma vasta coleção de animais empalhados e de objetos etnográficos. Menos conhecida é a sua dedicação a coletar dados linguísticos. Depois da expedição ter sido chamada de volta, em 1822, Natterer obteve a autorização para prolongar a sua estadia. Permaneceu no Brasil até 1835 e coletou amostras linguísticas (*Sprachproben*) de 72 línguas indígenas. Para muitas das línguas contidas nessa coleta, os dados manuscritos de Natterer representam os primeiros ou inclusive os únicos registros existentes. Esses materiais estão acompanhados de observações etnográficas, com indicação do local de procedência dos grupos em questão. Com o passar do tempo, em muitos casos, os falantes

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dos grupos linguísticos documentados por Natterer foram forçados a abandonar as suas terras e as suas línguas com frequência foram extintas. Depois de uma história turbulenta, os dados linguísticos originais de Natterer, que por muito tempo tinham ficado perdidos, são conservadas atualmente na Biblioteca da Universidade de Basel, na Suíça, onde foram digitalizados. A transcrição e publicação está sendo realizada pelos autores do presente artigo.

Palavras-chave: Línguas indígenas da América do Sul. Amostras de línguas sul-americanas. Etnografia da América do Sul. Índios da Amazônia. Johann Natterer.

Introduction²

Johann Natterer (1787-1843) was a member of the scientific expedition which was sent to South America in 1817 by the Austrian emperor Franz I on the occasion of the wedding of his daughter Leopoldine to Dom Pedro I, emperor of Brazil. As a zoologist and a professional hunter, Natterer practiced taxidermy *in situ* and provided the Austrian court with a large collection of prepared animals and ethnographic artifacts. Less known, however, are Natterer's dedication to the collection of language data and his efforts to document the languages of the indigenous tribes which he met during his sojourn and travels in Amazonia. That Natterer recognized the importance of documenting the languages and disclosing the linguistic diversity of newly explored Amazonian territories was not surprising. For an enterprising explorer such as Natterer it was natural to adhere to the current of scientific curiosity that pervaded academic circles in western society in the early 19th century and of which the documentation of newly discovered languages constituted a well-established part. In order to conduct his linguistic queries, Natterer could furthermore benefit from the example of the Hessian geologist and geographer Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege (1777-1855), who had established a questionnaire in order to collect word-lists of native languages in the eastern part of Brazil (Eschwege 1818 (I):165-171). In one of his letters (cf. Schmutzer 2011:92), Natterer explicitly states his intention to use Eschwege's questionnaire as a model for his own recollection of language data, referred to as *Sprachproben* ('language samples'). However, Natterer's exceptionality resides in the size of his documentation work, the systematic character of his recording efforts, and the difficult circumstances under which his word-lists would have been obtained. For many Amazonian languages documented by Natterer there had been no previous record. Consequently, for a substantial number of indigenous languages spoken in the Amazon today Natterer's language samples provide the earliest records. For some languages

² A slightly different version of this article has been published in a volume on Natterer's scientific contributions edited by Chr. Feest (Archiv 63-64, p. 162-183. Vienna: Archiv Weltmuseum Wien).

that became extinct, Natterer's data provide the sole existing material or one of a limited number in case other records exist. Natterer provided his word-lists with extensive ethnographic notes, most of which have been published in Kann (1989).

The trajectory of Natterer's language samples

For a long time, Natterer's language data were thought to be irretrievably lost. It was assumed that they had fallen prey to the Hofburg fire which took place during the revolutionary troubles that besieged the Austrian capital in 1848 (cf. Nowotny 1949). However, annotations by Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1867 (II):225 ff.) made it plausible to presume that this renowned explorer and geographer had had access to Natterer's language samples seven years after the 1848 fire, which leads to the conclusion that they were not yet considered missing at that time. Martius published five word-lists based on Natterer's work. They concern the languages Caripuná (*Jaïn Avo*), Macushi, Paravilhana, Uirina and Yucuna.³ Martius also mentions Natterer's material in connection with the 19th century Swiss scholar and diplomat Johann Jakob von Tschudi (1818-1889), who must have been in possession of the word-lists during the 1850s and 1860s.

Even during the time in which Natterer's records had disappeared from the public eye, their importance could still be inferred from the survival of a list of about 70 Amazonian languages that had been the object of his data collection. This list was published by K.A. Nowotny in the Viennese journal *Archiv für Völkerkunde* in 1949. To general surprise, the survival of Natterer's language samples was established in 1976, thanks to research conducted in the University Library of Basle by Ferdinand Anders, who was engaged in a biographical study of Tschudi (Anders 1984). He discovered that Natterer's language lists had been preserved among the documents of Tschudi's scientific bequest (*Nachlass*). Apparently, Tschudi had kept the language lists at his residence, where he had begun to decipher and transcribe Natterer's very personal handwriting. He must have abandoned the task after some time, as can be inferred from the fact that his transcription efforts did not extend beyond the first few languages in the collection.

Even today (2013), Natterer's language samples are not yet available in published form. They can be consulted in their original handwritten form or in a digitized version prepared by the University Library of Basle.⁴

³ The Uirina and Yucuna lists included in Natterer's data are in a handwriting different from his own and may have been collected by someone else.

⁴ The authors of this article are preparing a transcription of Natterer's Basle wordlists, which will be published after completion.

Languages documented by Natterer

Overviews of the languages included in Natterer's samples can be found in Nowotny (1949) and in Kann (1989). The latter provides transcriptions of the ethnographical notes that accompany most of the word-lists. In the present section, we will try and group the documented languages according to their genetic affiliation, so as to give an idea of the diversity and uniqueness of the data collected by Natterer. The focus of Natterer's samples lies on languages spoken and located in Brazil. However, his lists include languages spoken in the neighboring countries Bolivia, Colombia, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela as well.

Languages of the Arawak family are particularly well represented among the languages documented by Natterer. Many of them are now extinct, as they occupied strategic river locations easily affected by European colonization. For some of these languages (e.g. Meppuri) there seem to be no other sources than Natterer's word-lists. Other languages, such as Manao (*Manau*),⁵ Passé and Jumana (*Schumana*) have disappeared long ago. An important cluster of Arawak languages is found in the basin of the Rio Negro, extending from Manaus to the Colombian, Venezuelan and Guyanese border areas. They include the languages Arauaqui (*Aroaqui*), Baniwa do Içana (*Banniva*), Baré (in two varieties: Arihini Baré and Ihini Baré), Caixana, Cariaü, Jumana, Mainatari, Manao, Meppuri, Passé, Tariana, Uirina, Vuainamboü (a language very close to Baniwa), Warekena (*Uarequenna*, located on the river Xié and extending into neighboring Venezuelan territory, cf. Aikhenvald 1999), Yabaána (*Iabahani*) and Yucuna (spoken in Colombia).

Of particular interest are two apparently extinct (or unidentified) languages situated in the area south of the Amazon river in the present-day state of Amazonas: Marawá (*Marauiá*) and Katukina do Juruá (*Schuruá*), the latter not to be confused with the non-Arawak language of the same name. Three languages are found in the savanna area that forms the border region between Brazil and Guyana: Atorái (*Aturai*), Parahoana and Wapishana (*Vapeschana*). Southwestern Brazil and neighboring Bolivia are represented with the languages Guaná (Quiniquinao), Parecís and Saraveka.

The second group in number of languages represented in Natterer's data are the Tucanoan languages, in particular, the Eastern Tucanoan languages that are mostly located on both sides of the Brazilian-Colombian border. They include the languages Arapaçu, Coaihuana or Caiohana, Cubeo (*Köbéu*), Desana (*Dessana*), Macuna, Piratapuia and Tucano (*Tocanna*). For some of these languages a comparison with data from Tucanoan languages still spoken today will be necessary in order to determine their exact identity within that family.

⁵ Denominations of languages and tribes used by Natterer that differ in spelling or form from modern usage are represented in italics.

Arapaçu and Coaihuana may be close to present-day Tuyuca. Natterer's samples furthermore include a Western Tucanoan language, referred to as Paivita. Its location on the Napo river suggests proximity to Tucanoan languages in northeastern Peru and possibly Ecuador (Orejón, Siona, etc.).

Another language group that is particularly well represented in Natterer's data is the Macro-Jê stock. Only one Jê language is exemplified, namely, Kaingang (referred to as *Cameh*), but data for some of the other Macro-Jê branches are abundant. They include Bororo, recorded in several of its varieties, Chiquito (*Tschikitos* or *Guasaroka* spoken in Bolivia), Guató (*Vuató*) and Purí-Coroado, represented by two of its member languages, Coroado and Coropó. Nowotny (1949) mentions the existence of additional data on Purí (Purí-Coroado), but these could not be located among the Basle lists. They may have been lost, or a confusion with Coroado may have occurred.

The Tupian language stock is represented with several of its families, namely, Mawé, Mondé, Mundurucú (2 lists) and Tupi-Guaraní. Tupi-Guaraní is represented by the language Apiacá. The low representation of the Tupi-Guaraní languages in Natterer's samples is remarkable. It may reflect changes in the distribution of these languages that have occurred over the past two centuries. Nowotny (1949) mentions the existence of data on Tupinambá, which are no longer found among the Basle lists. If they existed at all (which seems likely considering Natterer's area of activity), they were probably lost.

Of special interest are two, almost identical Mondé languages. These are referred to by names that suggest other affiliations: *Kabanaé* (or *Arara*) and *Matanau*. The former two denominations have been associated with the Cariban languages (Loukotka 1968:221), the latter with an unclassified language (Matanawi). However, Natterer's samples do not leave much room for doubt as to the Mondé affiliation of the languages represented.

The Cariban family is represented by Caripuna, Macushi (*Macuschi*, 2 lists) and Paravilhana. All these language are located in the transitional area between Brazil and Guyana.

Only one Panoan language is found in Natterer's data, Caripuna (not to be confused with the Cariban language of the same name). According to Natterer, its speakers also used the self-denomination *Jaûn Àvo*. The low incidence of Panoan languages in Natterer's data may reflect a relatively recent expansion of these languages into Brazil from eastern Peru and northern Bolivia.

A number of smaller language families are furthermore represented in Natterer's samples. The Macu languages were recorded in two varieties, presumably corresponding to modern Hup and Nadëb. The languages Ticuna and Yuri, which are now considered related (Orphão de Carvalho 2009; Seifart, pers. comm. 2013), are both represented in the data. There are two lists exemplifying the Mura language of the Mura-Pirahã family. The Boran family

(mainly located in Colombia and Peru) is represented with a list of Miranha. The Arawá family is represented with a list of the Paumari language (referred to by Natterer as *Poropurús* or *Pamoari*). The Katukina family is represented by two lists referred to as *Katukina* (one of them is too short to permit a proper identification and may actually represent a Tupi-Guaraní language) and one list of the presumably extinct Katawixí language (see below). A language referred to by Natterer as *Urequena*, which he locates on the river Iça (or Putumayo), appears to be closely related (if not identical) to the Andoke language of southeastern Colombia.⁶ So far, the Andoke language has been considered a genealogical isolate (Landaburu 1979).

The Guaicuruan languages, located in the Gran Chaco, southern Mato Grosso and the border area with Paraguay are well represented by several lists sampling the extinct Guaicuru language, which gave its name to the family. Another language, Guatschié, may be Guaicuruan, but the sample list is too short to permit a positive identification by now.

In addition to Guatschié, a number of other languages still defy identification, requiring further research. The *Cabixí* language (from Mato Grosso), which may have been tonal judging from its structure and the diacritics added by Natterer, could not be assigned to any of the known existing language families. It has been suggested to belong to the Nambikwaran language family (Borella, pers. comm.; Jolkesky, pers. comm). Other languages for which no affiliation or identification could be found so far are Cararí, from the river Mucuim in the south of the state of Amazonas, and *Unainuman* (possibly *Vuainuman*), from a tributary of the river Iça (which is called the Putumayo in its middle and upper course). The Unainuman list is rather incomplete, but for Cararí an eventual identification may be feasible. It shows characteristics of an Arawak language, although it seems to lack the usual possessive prefixes.

Of the *Schamucoco* language (presumably Chamacoco of the Zamucoan family) only two words were recorded⁷, and for the language Jubiri (*Schubiri*), Natterer's materials only provide an empty list.

Linguistic relevance of Natterer's data

For several Amazonian languages, Natterer's word-lists constitute the earliest known record. However, their value and interpretability have increased considerably due to a substantial increase in the volume of field research conducted on these languages since the 1990s. It has now become easier to interpret data that have not been the object of morphological analysis previously. The differences between Natterer's data and those that have been collected in

⁶ This identification of Urequena as an Andoke(an) language is due to Marcelo Jolkesky.

⁷ The Chamacoco identity of these two forms has been confirmed by Luca Ciucci (pers. comm.).

recent decades are significant, because they give an indication of the amount of change that the languages recorded have undergone during the past two centuries. Natterer's approach to the Amazonian languages can be assessed by comparing his language materials with more recently recorded data, and such an assessment is in turn helpful for the interpretation of Natterer's data on extinct languages for which no modern records are available.

As was usual in the 19th and early 20th century, most of the language samples recorded by Natterer consist of nouns, supplemented with a few short phrases or expressions. The selection of words and phrases was made on the basis of Eschwege's model, although Natterer did not hesitate to include more items when relevant. Verb forms were also recorded, but not frequently. In most Amazonian languages, both nouns and verbs are subject to relatively complex morphological processes, involving the use of prefixes and suffixes alike. Nouns are regularly preceded by prefixes indicating the possessor or figurative owner of the entity to which the noun refers. Some categories of nouns, in particular, the names for body parts and kinship relations, rarely occur without such prefixes or not at all. The logical result is that Natterer's language data contain many cases of nominal roots preceded by possessive affixes, but fortunately Natterer showed himself consistent in always recording the first person singular form of such possessed nouns. Consequently, as a reader one has to be familiar with some of the basic structures and forms of the exemplified languages, but at the same time the omnipresent first person singular marker is helpful for establishing the linguistic affiliation of the languages recorded. For instance, in the lists concerning the Bororo language (belonging to the Macro-J   linguistic stock), many entries begin with the element *i-*, which is characteristic of the first person singular marker in that language (e.g. *i ug  * /i-oga/ '[my] father', *ikel  * /ik-era/ '[my] hand'; cf. Crowell 1979: 207, Szerwinsk Camargos 2010: 79), whereas languages of Arawak affiliation are easily recognized by the presence of the *nu-* or *no-* prefix, which has a similar function in most languages of that family, for instance, Tariana *noh  da* /nu-hwida/ '[my] head', *no  doa* /nu-w  do/ '[my] younger sister' (Aikhenvald ms. 2007); Baniwa do I  ana *numher  * /nu-hm  ree-ri/ '[my] younger brother', *noc  pi* /nu-kaapi/ '[my] hand' (cf. Taylor 1991:23, 33).

On the level of the orthographic notation, Natterer did not benefit from a rich tradition in phonetic sciences, as present-day linguists do. In order to find a way to render the exotic speech sounds with which he was doubtlessly confronted he had to improvise. In the Bororo language samples, which were among the first to be elaborated by Natterer, he made ample use of diacritic signs, most of which are difficult to interpret today. A detailed study of the Bororo samples, in combination with an in-depth phonetic investigation of the language as it is spoken today, may eventually lead to a better understanding of the value of the diacritic signs. In some cases, the meaning of a diacritic is obvious, also

because Natterer adds a comment to such effect. For instance, in the Bororo word *itonarageté* ‘[my] daughter’, recorded in Natterer’s lists, the acute accent of the symbol *é* serves to indicate that the vowel represented is not a front vowel [e], but rather a central vowel [ɨ] (*stummese*). It obviously contains the modern Bororo root /onaragedi/ ‘child’ (cf. Crowell 1979:169). In other cases, however, the same diacritic is used to represent a sound which is probably a mid front vowel [e], as in *ikuishé* ‘star’, modern Bororo /kuieje/ [kujedZe] ‘star’ (cf. Bezerra Nonato 2008:233). Note that in the Baniwa examples given above, the symbol *é* does not refer to a central vowel either (Baniwa has no central vowel). The motivation behind these different uses of *é* is not clear.

The preciseness of Natterer’s phonetic observations can further be derived from the meaningfulness of the hiatus in his notations. Mostly, the symbols in his handwriting are connected, as can be expected in handwritten material meant for personal use, or contain elements suggesting that such a connection was intended. If there is no question of connected writing and the symbols are separated by a space, however modest, an interruption of speech or glottal stop is apparently intended. This can be observed in the language samples of the Katawixi language, recorded on the Tapauvá river, a tributary of the Purús, where the word for ‘sand’ is recorded as *tiki i* ‘sand’ and that for ‘axe’ as *to ì* (Adelaar 2007:162). These words are represented as *tikihi* and *toñhi*, respectively, in the only other substantial documentation of the (presumably extinct) Katawixi language, recorded by the missionary Constant Tastevin around 1920.⁸ It seems likely that Natterer used the hiatus for the same purpose as Tastevin, who had a French background, the symbol *h*.⁹ Predictably, a hiatus is also found in Natterer’s transcription of the Bororo term for ‘father’ (*i ugà*, see above). Another example of this practice is found in Paumarí *só oló* ‘basket’, which corresponds to modern Paumari /soʔoro/ (Chapman and Derbyshire 1991:204).

Sample of Natterer’s wordlists: Baré Arihini

As an example of Natterer’s language samples, or *Baseler Wortlisten*, we include a transcription of his records on Baré Arihini, one of two varieties of the Baré language formerly spoken in the Upper Rio Negro region in the present-day state of Amazonas in Brazil and in adjacent Venezuelan territory. The Baré language belongs to the Arawak language family. Several sources mention the existence of two subgroups: *Arihini* (“the ones from here”) in the Upper Rio Negro region and *Ihini* (“the ones from there”) on the Middle Rio Negro (cf. Aikhenvald 1995). Natterer provides separate wordlists for Baré Arihini and

⁸ Tastevin’s records are kept in the archives of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit in Chevilly-la-Rue near Paris.

⁹ Of course, it is also possible that the correspondence between *h* and hiatus represents dialectal variation.

Baré Ihini. On July 23th, 1831, he recorded data of Baré Arihini in the locality of Marabitana from a *mamaluca* (mixed-blooded) girl, who lived with her aunt in the village of Boa Vista.

In the following chart, German and occasionally Portuguese or local indigenous terms are given in Natterer's orthography. These are matched by their translation in Baré Arihini, as recorded in Natterer's word-list. Explanations are provided by the authors in footnotes. Scientific denominations given for plants and animals are mostly tentative.

Rio Vaupé 23 July 831

Sprachproben der Indier Baré. Bewohner von Marabitanas vom Stamm Arihini/Ali hini

| | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|
| Quaksalber | Malihidau Kathi kaleni |
| Gott | bassaboni uàli |
| Teufel | ijèh̃j |
| Vater | bába |
| mein Vater | imbába |
| Mutter | méme |
| meine Mutter | im meme |
| Sohn | nodit halé |
| Tochter | nhissó |
| Weib | inhadschaté |
| Mann | hèinalí heinal̃j |
| Junger Mann | hantitschàl̃e |
| Alter | miàli |
| Grosvater | untéte ntéte |
| Bruder | noañhañ |
| Schwester | noàla |
| Kind | kiapètei etwas größer hantí nohopé |
| Kopf | nodòssia |
| Hand | nokhábi |
| Finger | nokhábi hantibé |
| Nägl | nhàba |
| Fleisch | noditi |

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Bein | nàbi |
| Blut | hi i |
| Milch | teniahañ |
| Weiberbrust | nodini |
| sterben | adani káni |
| ich sterb. | nodani káni |
| mein Bruder ist gestorben | noãhañ hadanikani |

| | |
|------------|--|
| Sonne | kamòhuñ |
| Mond | khii zwey i |
| Sterne | kambé bukóli - Siebengestirn anderes Gestirn Kassóhiàle ist d. Orion |
| Tag | hia hàni |
| Nacht | tà ìna |
| Donner | ennó |
| Regen | hìia zw i. ¹⁰ |
| Blitz | oadà oadalí |
| Wind | hau ìssi |
| Berg | szeàba - sseàba |
| Sand | kadièhò kadiéheó |
| Wasser | ùni |
| Feuer | kamèni |
| Fluß | itháli |
| Rionegro | ùni da-ini |
| See | kaliehábucù |
| Bach | uàbo |
| Cachoeira | Ticoàhali |
| Branntwein | Jialáki |

| | |
|-------|---------------|
| Stein | Tìba |
| Holz | hitèki hitìki |
| Wald | tau mà calucú |

¹⁰ zw i. (zwey i): two 'i'.

| | |
|------------------------|----------|
| Baum | àda |
| Gras | hibéni |
| Fisch | ubáti |
| Piraüba ¹¹ | mhucòle |
| Sorobim ¹² | kolí |
| Pirarara ¹³ | maphà |
| Varane | daàli |
| Mandu ¹⁴ | kidihili |
| Acara ¹⁵ | hajù |
| Delfin | hàmàna |

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| Cabeçudo ¹⁶ | Tibúli |
| Tracaja ¹⁷ | thi pìru |
| Jacaré ¹⁸ | hàdoli |
| Jabuti ¹⁹ | kolìman |
| Jacaré rana ²⁰ | o <u>au</u> iàli |
| Tatu ²¹ grande | (haianna) – ha iàna |
| peq. | ha iuedàli |

| | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| Anta ²² | Teèma |
| Taitetu ²³ | à lua |

¹¹ piraüba: a freshwater fish (*Bagrus reticulatus*).

¹² surubim: a catfish (*Pseudoplatystoma* sp.).

¹³ pirarara: red-tail catfish (*Phractocephalus hemiliopterus*).

¹⁴ mandu: an Amazonian fish sp.

¹⁵ acarà: name of several cichlid fish.

¹⁶ cabeçudo: a freshwater fish (*Pimelodus ornatus*).

¹⁷ tracajá: a species of river turtle (*Podocnemis unifilis*).

¹⁸ jacaré: caiman.

¹⁹ jabutí: land turtle.

²⁰ jacaré rana: fake caiman.

²¹ tatu: armadillo.

²² anta: tapir.

²³ taitetú: collared peccary.

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|
| Hirsch | malàhai |
| Hund | tshìino |
| Unze ²⁴ geflekt | koàti |
| roth | kiabìssi |
| Hahn | calácca |
| Taube | hotókóli |
| Urubu ²⁵ | ekhòì |
| urub. branco | baàli |
| Gaviaõ real | kòkòì ko-koò i |
| Arara roth ²⁶ | kaù éhi |
| - gelbblau | anàùli |
| Papagaio | cuijan |
| Mutum ²⁷ vermelho | Tibaióli |
| Nambu ²⁸ | màmi |
| Urù mutum ²⁹ | itschiri |
| Pato | uruma |
| Mareca ³⁰ | vanàna |
| Jacaimim ³¹ | Ijàbi |
| Juruti ³² | Vanàleo |
| Mut. do Cu branco ³³ | Du mùcu |

| | |
|--------|-----------------------------------|
| Bohnen | comàna – stamt von d lingua geral |
| Mays | meannassé |

²⁴ unze: jaguar (Port. onça).

²⁵ urubu: vulture.

²⁶ arara: macaw.

²⁷ mutum: curassow.

²⁸ nambu: tinamou (partridge).

²⁹ uru-mutum: nocturnal curassow (Nothocrax urumutum).

³⁰ mareca: widgeon (a type of duck).

³¹ jacaimim: trumpeter (Psophia sp.).

³² juruti: dove (Leptotila sp.).

³³ mutum do cu branco: a curassow (Crax alector).

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| Reis | au vâti lingua geral |
| Mandioka ³⁴ | kanití |
| maniva ³⁵ | kaniketí |
| Pataten | Càhau |
| Carà ³⁶ | hèdiu |
| Banane | banañ la |

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Wassermelone | vuarassié – lingua geral |
| Guaranà ³⁷ | kubáno |
| Farinha | Matschùca |
| Beju ³⁸ | ko òssi in Fladen gedörte Farinha |
| Tipioca ³⁹ | meneàhabé |
| Ralo para ralar mandioca | daijãmą - |
| Tipiti ⁴⁰ | Szàlama - |
| Sieb | jubişşi |
| Salsa parilha | Saràssa |
| Ofen | Budàli |
| Ananas | mau hàu ĩ |
| Jamarù ⁴¹ - Kabasse | thalútj |
| Cuia ⁴² andr Kabasse | Gaiàle |
| Komm her | tau wàtj |
| Geh weg | pihi uàna |

³⁴ mandioca: cassava (*Manihot esculenta*).

³⁵ maniva: cassava (*Manihot utilissima*).

³⁶ cará: yam.

³⁷ guaraná: the guaraná plant, *Paullinia cupana* (sorbilis).

³⁸ beiju: tapioca cake.

³⁹ tapioca = tapioca.

⁴⁰ tipiti: cassava press.

⁴¹ jamarú: a gourd (*Cucurbita* sp.).

⁴² cuia: bottle gourd (*Lagenaria* sp.).

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| geschwind | kamañ hãñj (auch kàte) |
| Langsam | madãñiça |
| Baumwurzl | (bithúda) adãdòlì |
| Frucht | adà pucù |
| Ey | tenìcu |
| Feder | thà abãte danãbãte |
| Tabak | aali |
| Cigarro | dasselbe |
| Tabakspfeife | cathimau - lingua geral |
| Ich will rauchen | nop huijucaia aali |
| Bogen | Szé oèpi |
| Pfeil | dabí dãhañ |
| Blasrohr | ui dába |
| kl. Pfeil | ui nañ hañ |
| Pfeilgift | mau haçòlì |
| Patrone | thau vana |
| mit Pfeil schießen | assé bidáni |

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Spieß | Mulùcu |
| Keule | kuidalù |
| beißen | nokhalukáni |
| der Hund hat mich gebissen | àli tschino akhalukanòni |
| dies taugt nicht | (a ssà mapau dies ist sehr häßlich-) |
| Ich bin satt | kadulèna nòni bakãna kìte |
| dies taugt nicht | ali heni idoalìke |
| wo gehst du hin | auvatãte bihi oacà |
| wo kommst du her | auèhéte hadìo tauàhãca bini |
| Es ist gut | mañhañ pàa |
| Nein | hèna |
| Ja | eñ heñ |
| Bist du verheurathet | kaniodáli bini |
| wenn man ein Weib fragt | kami dàlì bini |

| | |
|--------------|--------------------------------|
| heute | voà khethèi |
| gestern | jau akoheñ |
| morgen | p.hatèba |
| übermorgen | jabu còlạ |
| Axt | e ep hí – das p und h hört man |
| Messer | di teñheñ |
| Schlafnetz | mhiñ |
| Topf | iolòtj |
| Wassertopf | dia va kehí |
| Blashorn | pulé hé i |
| Feuer machen | nihioà kamenī |
| Haus | iùssa - |
| Kanot | p hani – das p und h hört man |

| | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| weiß | balinì |
| schwarz | da inì |
| roth | ki enì |
| blau | bohòleni |
| grün | koliní |
| gelb | uitonì |
| Essen | nonikani noiaha kú |
| Ich will essen | nonikaia noiahakú |
| trinken | noòdia |
| eins | Pacunà kalí |
| zwey | pikunamá |
| drey | kòli bolenamá |
| vier | kassàli amboléna |
| fünf | vakà bineká |
| viel | Halassì kalẹ |
| wenig | behentí |
| kalt | hamenaù oakalí |
| warm | dakhani |

| | |
|---------|-----------|
| Auge | noití |
| Nase | notèi |
| Ohr | nodàtenj |
| Mund | nonoma |
| Stirne | nodau ití |
| Haare | nithà |
| Zähne | nahài |
| Zunge | nò neni |
| Bauch | nodola |
| Schenkl | nossò i |
| Wade | nòcadi |

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Fuß | nìssi |
| Mänlich. Glied | jàla hàì |
| testikl | nocaù vauti |
| Wbl Schaam | denjá hàì |
| Clitoris | noaiolé héssi |
| foder ⁴³ | hanna bani |
| Portugiese | Ialanoi |
| Baniva | Baniva |
| ich bin Baré | nòni Bâle |
| Uerequenna | Ueléquennà |
| Vaupé | Boaupé |
| Rio Vaupé | Boaupé thále dieser Fluß heißt auch - Ucaiarj |
| I.hini | verschied. dialekt |
| Schwein | Habjã |
| Cutia ⁴⁴ | uaiòlo |
| Cutivaia ⁴⁵ | athili |

⁴³ Port. 'to copulate'.

⁴⁴ cutia: agouti.

⁴⁵ cutivaia: a rodent similar to the agouti or the capybara.

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------|
| Sauiã ⁴⁶ | Mothòlio |
| Pacca ⁴⁷ | Iiàba |
| Morcego ⁴⁸ | bià hau |
| Ouriço ⁴⁹ | Hy uà |
| Macaco prego ⁵⁰ | Aù uami |
| – caia rara ⁵¹ | aù uadàli |
| – Vacary ⁵² | cacà hau |
| – Guariba ⁵³ | alàvàta |
| – iià - Nachtaffe ⁵⁴ | dohulocòli |
| – vaiapossá ⁵⁵ | maca vacau |
| – Coata ⁵⁶ | Aàlu |
| Preguiça real ⁵⁷ | Oalúti |
| – peq- | o mesmo |

n⁴⁶⁴⁷⁴⁸⁴⁹⁵⁰⁵¹⁵²⁵³⁵⁴⁵⁵⁵⁶⁵⁷⁵⁸⁵⁹

| | |
|------------------------|---------|
| Tamandua ⁵⁸ | haà u |
| – pequ. | obiù |
| Capibara | khö.iu |
| Schupará ⁵⁹ | manö-ui |

⁴⁶ saujá: ‘rato-do-mato’ (a spring rat).

⁴⁷ paca: Cuniculus paca (a rodent).

⁴⁸ morcego: bat.

⁴⁹ ouriço: hedgehog.

⁵⁰ macaco prego: capuchin monkey (Sapajus sp., Cebus sp.).

⁵¹ macaco caiarara: a species of capuchin monkey.

⁵² uacari: uacari monkey (Cacajao sp.). Note that the scientific denomination is based on the Baré word.

⁵³ guariba: howler monkey (Alouatta sp.). Note that the scientific denomination is based on the Baré word.

⁵⁴ night monkey (Aotus sp.).

⁵⁵ macaco vaia possa: marmoset (Callithrix sp.).

⁵⁶ cuatá: spider monkey (Ateles sp.).

⁵⁷ preguiça: sloth.

⁵⁸ tamandua: ant-eater.

⁵⁹ jupará: kinkajou (Potos flavus).

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Lontra ⁶⁰ | Iné ui |
| - pequena | vacùiali |
| Irará ⁶¹ | Guànaca |
| Micura ⁶² | Vualissi |
| - pequen. | p.huacáli |
| Cutipurù ⁶³ | Dsha bùi áli Dshà buiále |
| Coati | Coanaoè |
| Meriti ⁶⁴ | Issé ui |
| Tucum ⁶⁵ | Vuai titi |
| Vacaba ⁶⁶ | Bubè i |
| Innaschà ⁶⁷ | |
| Art Palme, dessen Stamm anfangs kriecht dann aufwärts geht – bey Faria im Madeirafluß | Cai jau hé |
| Panacù ⁶⁸ | Imàssy |
| Vatorá ⁶⁹ | Thòbu – Korb zu Mandiok tragen |
| Balaio | <u>A</u> pàma |
| Sieb | Jubissi |

diese Worte sind von einer Mamaluca / das ist Tochter eines Weißen mit einer Indierin – ihre Mutter war Baré, doch starb sie frühzeitig, und wurde daher von ihrer Grossmutter erzogen, eine wahre Baré – das Mädchen hieß Ignez, und wohnt in Boa vista 1 Tagreise unterhalb Marabitanas, bey ihrer Tante Innocencia.

⁶⁰ lontra: otter.

⁶¹ irará: tayra (Eira barbara), a member of the weasel family (Mustelidae).

⁶² micurê: possum.

⁶³ cutipuru: squirrel.

⁶⁴ meriti: buriti palm (Mauritia flavosa).

⁶⁵ tucum: tucum palm (Bactris setosa).

⁶⁶ vacaba: bacaba palm (Oenocarpus bacaba).

⁶⁷ inajá: American oil palm (Elaeis oleifera).

⁶⁸ panacú: large wicker basket.

⁶⁹ vatorá: carrying basket.

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