

# Indian Place Names in South America and the Antilles. I.

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## PHONETIC SYMBOLS

The Indian languages, as a rule, have no official, nor even generally accepted, orthography, although those in which a literature exists make use of a more or less normalized system of writing the words. This holds for the Peruvian language, Kechua, as well as for Guarani, the native language most widely spoken in Brazil and Paraguay, which also are the two largest and most important linguistic units in South America. The current mode of spelling in the former language is, however, highly inaccurate and inconsistent; for Guarani — owing to the efforts of those Paraguayans and Brazilians who cultivate the language — the orthography is already beginning to assume an even scientifically satisfactory aspect.

In the odd cases in which we give the native forms of the names dealt with in this study of the Indian toponymy in South America, we shall adopt the following norms:

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have the value of the corresponding signs in Spanish (or Italian). The inverted *e* (ə) is occasionally used to represent the unstressed vowel in the English word 'real'; in Guarani words we employ — according to the usage now generally adopted — the vowel sign *y* to express a sound which comes close to the preceding one (from which, in certain cases, it may actually have been derived), although it is sometimes said to equal the Russian vowel commonly transliterated by the vowel sign *y*. The *tilde* (~) over a vowel sign marks nasalization. By an accent mark (') after a vowel main stress is indicated when necessary and by an inverted period (·), vowel length. — Notice that *o* and *u* are indistinguishable in a great number of Indian languages, notably in Kechua.

The consonant symbols which require a special explanation are: *é* and *ś*, by which we denote the English 'ch' and 'sh' sounds, respectively, especially in transcribing Kechua words (for other languages the international *ʃ* has occasionally been used for *ś*), further *l'*, which corresponds to Spanish *ll*, and *ñ*, equaling Spanish

$\tilde{n}$ ;  $j$ , which in Guarani words denotes the common South American variant of consonantic 'y,' that is between the initial sound in English 'yes' and Portuguese *jantar* (in Paraguay it often approaches the English consonant sound in the word 'judge');  $\tilde{n}$  — also in Guarani words — equals the corresponding sound in Spanish *señor*, while  $x$  is the now rather generally accepted symbol expressing the English *sh*-sound;  $q$  (chiefly in Kechua words) represents a very back *k*-sound; by  $\eta$  is meant the final consonant in English 'sing,' etc. In Kechua words we use the apostrophe (') and the inverted apostrophe (´) to denote sounds typical of this language, the former representing the "glottal stop," the latter a strong aspiration. The letters  $w$  and  $y$  (except in the case mentioned above, in which  $y$  is a vowel) are used for the initial semivowels in the English words 'water' and 'year,' respectively. By an asterisk (\*) reconstructed forms are indicated.

#### INDIAN PLACE NAMES IN SOUTH AMERICA AND THE ANTILLES

A glance at the map of South America gives at hand that about half of the names marked — much depending on the type of map we have before us, whether a large or small-scale map, a physical, political, commercial or merely a road or communications map — are of European, Spanish or Portuguese, origin and that the other half represents a most varied sampling of exotic names, of which many give us the impression of being more or less corrupted forms of an aboriginal nomenclature. The motley character of the Indian place names in South America is not to be accounted for by corruption only (as we know, the majority of the place names are spelled in the Spanish way, though part of them — namely those in Brazil — are written according to the Portuguese orthography), but, moreover, by the fact that the languages from which they are derived are overwhelming in number and besides exceedingly heterogeneous: in the first (and best) edition of *Les langues du monde* by Meillet and Cohen the number of linguistic families in South America and the Antilles is given as seventy-seven, the number of languages being considerably larger.<sup>1</sup> We may say, on the whole, that the native

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1924; the section on South America and the Antilles (*op. cit.*, pp. 639 to 707) is by the late Professor Paul Rivet.

nomenclature is retained to a much larger extent in South America than in North America. Partly owing to the fact that the Indian tribes are still more numerous than in the northern continent, some of them have attained a semi-official status (as in Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay) and at least in one case (that of Chile) we can notice a successful fusion of native and European elements, in so far as the strong and intelligent Araucanian race has in some measure contributed in a favorable way toward the forming of the Chilean nation. Among historically important South American peoples we have to single out in the first place the Kechua — founders of the Inca Empire — whose one-time cultural domination in the Andean region and far beyond has left unmistakable vestiges in the toponymy. In the interior of the continent, into which the Europeans penetrated by degrees only, the Indian names, especially those of rivers and mountains, prevail, being easily recognized as of Chibchan, Caribbean, Arawak or Guarani provenience, although, as we shall see further along, in some cases strangely modified so as to suggest a Spanish or Portuguese origin (“Pocopoco,” a place in Bolivia, “Paragua,” “Rio Paratudo” — the latter recalling a Brazilian-Portuguese plant name). Some of these names (e.g., “Gatico” and “Cobija,” places just north of Antofagasta in Chile; there is another Cobija in Bolivia) may possibly be translations of Indian names; “Jericoacoara” — now officially spelled Jericoaquara or Jeriquaquara —, the name of a small place and point on the Atlantic coast of Brazil (Ceará), although suggesting a place in Palestine, is of Guarani origin; “Samborombón” (the name of a river and bay in the province of Buenos Aires), in which the first syllable might suggest the name of some forgotten saint, is no doubt of native origin, although the tribe of Indians which first named the river cannot now be identified.

Although the number of native languages still spoken in South America is surprisingly large and names may be found on the map which are derived from most of these languages, we notice, however, that many of the names fall into definite phonetic patterns: as a matter of fact, we soon become aware of the circumstance that the majority of native names in South America are either of Kechua type (names derived from Aymara, for instance, are generally difficult to distinguish from Kechua names), namely in the western part of the continent, or else of Guarani type, chiefly in the eastern parts.

Names pertaining to either of these two types show an immense expansion; roughly speaking, they cover the whole area to the south of the equator as far as the thirty-fifth latitudinal degree, the division between the areas dominated by either type running very approximately along the eastern slopes of the Andes.<sup>2</sup> In this connection we do not, of course, consider such names as an Ayacucho found in the province of Buenos Aires (Argentina), which strikingly resembles the Peruvian Ayacucho, with which it can have nothing to do (probably the name was imported or else corrupted from a designation in one of the Pampean languages). Even names of Basque origin are found in all parts of South America, presenting a most puzzling aspect to those who are not specialists (e.g., Necochea, an important seaport and sea resort in the province of Buenos Aires; incidentally, there is another place of that name in the Argentinian province of Cordoba); such names witness the penetration of Basque settlements in South America and of a cultural influence matched only by that of the Celts in North America, where so many Mackenzies, etc. — commemorating and immortalizing early Scottish settlers and travelers — are still found in the official place nomenclature.

North of the equator, as far as the Central American border and including the Antilles, we find a more heterogeneous toponymy, in which, however, Arawak and Caribbean elements prevail, with a slight admixture of Chibchan names in the northwest (especially Colombia). In the southern part of the continent the names are also of various origins; yet many along the Pacific coast pertain to the language of the great Araucanian nation and some few, no

<sup>2</sup> Of important Kechua names the northernmost one would perhaps be the mountain name Cotacachi (some fifty miles north of Quito) or even Lago Cocha in southern Colombia, the southernmost one possibly Uspallata, the name of a mountain and place on the same latitude as Valparaiso in Chile, whereas the easternmost name of indubitable Kechua origin would be Atamisqui, a place in the Argentinian province of Santiago del Estero (and not so far from Tucumán). In the eastern half of the continent, we find typical Guarani forms such as Urubuquara as the name of a river and marsh near the estuary of the Amazon river and somewhat to the north of the Equator, or river names such as Curuapanema, Cuminapanema, whereas the southernmost Guarani names are to be looked for in Uruguay (itself a name of Guarani origin) or Entre Ríos in Argentina (Ibicuy is a place at the very delta formed by the Paraná river). Just at the foot of the Andes, there are river names such as Jurumirim and in southeastern Colombia (Amazonas), such as Cara Paraná and Igara Paraná, which show the westward advance of the Guarani nations.

doubt, of those in the interior and along the eastern coast, to the language of another, although less important group of Indians, *viz.* the Tehuelche (or Patagonians; incidentally, no Tehuelche names are dealt with in this study).

It is unquestionable that the names given by the Indians to rivers, mountains, lakes, forests and plains, etc., are very monotonous in regard to their signification (especially if we are to translate them into English or Spanish).<sup>3</sup> Here the same tendencies prevail as we find in North America or, in fact, in every part of the world (Europe not being an exception), namely that those designations which correspond to our geographical names do not vary to the same extent as do the latter, owing to the fact that the Indians (like people in general in the early stages) have not as yet developed any sense of geographical names, neither have they any need for them.<sup>4</sup> Communications certainly did not, in any part, flourish to such an extent as to require an exact identification of places far away. In our days of regular traffic by land, water and air we could no longer imagine a state of things where any place we wanted to go to, any airport for instance, did not carry an official designation which would preclude any mistakes or vagueness as to our destination. To the Indians, however, accustomed to traveling along a certain river or its tributaries (for fishing) or ascending certain mountains (for hunting), it was in fact more important to state whether he was on the one business or the other, on his own river or on his own mountain slope; the particular river or mountain would be known to anyone. As far as other rivers went, he was simply not concerned with them, unless on the warpath; another river was most likely the property of another tribe with which he had no normal intercourse. So what he spoke of was "the river," "the mountain," "the village," "the wooded plain" (the *chaco*, which also means the 'hunting'), etc., with the important difference from the above simplified conditions, however, that by the various native designations the nature of the localities were described much more in detail, by special terms which abound in the languages of these peoples, who lived in far closer contact with nature. Translating all

<sup>3</sup> Many Spanish and Portuguese names in South America are no doubt translations from the Indian languages: a "Río Tigre," for instance, closely corresponds to a "Yaguary" or "Jaguari," etc. Cf. further along.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the author's *Indian Place Names in North America*, p. 11 (*et passim*).

kinds of "waters" or "rivers" — very different to the Indians — by just 'river' or all kinds of "mountains," "forests" or "boglands" by just 'mountain,' etc. we would get designations of the type 'the river' or — in case tributaries were frequented — 'the big river,' 'the (very) mountain,' etc. To the Indians these names were appellatives, or common nouns; we are inclined to understand them as place names and to make them, in the course of time, into official geographical names.<sup>5</sup>

The natural consequence of this state of things would be that an immense number of names, at least if translated into one language, would be the same: 'the Big River,' 'Tiger Mountain,' etc., etc., but the Indian languages and dialects are, as we have seen, very different; the situation is more or less the same as the one we find in Australasia, where we may come across such names as Anuda (Anouda or Cherry Island, to the northeast of the New Hebrides), Yanutha (in the Fiji group), Yanuta (a small island of San Cristóbal) or *Anute*, a native name of the island of Florida (both in the Solomon Islands group), all of which are essentially the same as the Javanese or Malay word *nusa* (*nuswa*, *nungsa*) 'island,' or the one we find in the case of the innumerable Newtowns (Newtons), Neuville, Villanovas (Villa Novas), etc. in Europe, which simply mean 'the new town.' True enough, the river names Paraná, Pará, Paragua, etc., are quite numerous in South America (cf. below); they are mostly derived from the Guarani dialects and originally designate the idea of 'river' or 'sea' (*para* means 'sea' in Guarani and *parana* — evidently from the same stem — has a similar meaning in Carib).<sup>6</sup>

If the outward monotony of the place nomenclature is somewhat scattered and disguised through the variety of language, it none the less reappears in the translation of the names into English. We must, however, once more draw the reader's attention to the fact that the exact translation of Indian names (or in many cases even

<sup>5</sup> Cf. as to this the author's *Indian Place Names in North America*, pp. 14, 15, and elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> The Amerindian word stem (originally *\*pala*) is used in many South American languages to design 'non-potable water'; in Kechua, where it has the form *para*, it means 'rain.' The explanation of *parana* as a Guarani derivative meaning 'kin of the sea' (cf. Tupi *se anama* 'my kin or relatives,' etc.) is certainly erroneous; in the Tupian dialects, e.g., Tembe, the word *parana* is current in the sense of 'sea' (that is, as in Carib).

of common words) is a difficult undertaking and, as far as those names go on which we shall comment below, at best approximate.

Among the 'big rivers' (or 'big waters'), apart from the Rio Grandes,<sup>7</sup> which in many cases no doubt represent a translation of a native name,<sup>8</sup> we may mention the following ones: Paraguaçu (in the state of Bahia, Brazil),<sup>9</sup> (probably) Paranayuba (a tributary of the Xingu, in the state of Mato Grosso), Iguassú (in Spanish Iguazú and in Portuguese now Iguaçu, a tributary of the Paraná and part boundary between Argentina and Brazil, forming the famous waterfall of the same name near its entry into the Paraná); here we might also mention the Rio Açu ('the big river' in Tupi), the name of the lower course of the Rio das Piranhas in the state of Rio Grande do Norte (which evidently derives its name from the same river), in this case representing a mixture of Portuguese and Tupi.

In the western part of South America, that is along the Pacific coast and especially within the area where once the Kechua civilization prevailed, this form of toponymy does not seem to be the rule; at any rate, we have no 'big rivers or waters' of importance here.<sup>10</sup> As a matter of fact, the names in these parts seem to be of a different type in many respects and one suggesting a greater variation. It appears that there existed in the Inca Empire a more evolved sense of the importance of place names. The place names are typically compounds, recalling those we find in Oceania, with the

<sup>7</sup> The *Times Gazetteer of the World* registers three only from South America, but the number is actually much larger.

<sup>8</sup> One Río Grande (a tributary of the Mamoré in Bolivia) is also called Guapay, in a language we cannot identify, and the names Altos de Paraná and Morro do Pará (of which the former is that of a mountain range above the San Francisco river in the state of Bahia, Brazil) let us suspect that the San Francisco river was at one time known by the Indians as the 'Pará' or 'Paraná' ('the river or sea'); also notice that Paramirim ('little Pará') is the name of one of the tributaries of the San Francisco in the state of Bahia. — Since this note was written, the author has found his guess confirmed: the San Francisco was actually earlier designated by the Portuguese name *O Pará* ('the Pará').

<sup>9</sup> According to tradition this was also the name of the daughter of a Tupinamba chief, married to a Portuguese, Diogo Álvares Correia, whom the Indians nicknamed *Caramuru*, which also is the name of a known poem by the Brazilian Santa Rita Durão.

<sup>10</sup> Unless Lebu, a river and coastal place south of La Concepción in Chile, represents — which is quite likely — the Araucanian *leufu* 'river.' We might also mention Lago Cocha, the name of a small lake near Pasto in southern Colombia, which is simply the Kechua *kocha* 'lake.'

reservation that the Kechua name often has the determinative element (if a noun) *before* the determined part (as in English 'Ash-down,' etc., as against the Celtic 'Ben-more,' etc., which latter represents the type prevailing in Oceania). The same order of the elements as in Kechua is found in the names of Araucanian origin.

In the whole of eastern South America — chiefly Brazil —, where names of Guarani type prevail, we have (as mentioned by way of introduction) an immense number of river names containing the element *para-* or *parana-*, of which the meaning — from our point of view — is more or less the same in each case.<sup>11</sup> The following enumeration will give an idea as to their distribution: Pará (the name of the estuary of the Tocantins and also formerly the name of Belém, the capital of the Brazilian state of Pará); Pará (a place on a small river in the Brazilian state of Santa Catarina); Paraná (a river in Venezuela and an affluent of the Caroni); Paraná (a tributary of the Tocantins in the Brazilian state of Goiás); Paraná (one of the largest and most majestic rivers in South America, further the name of a city on the same river, the capital of the Argentinian province of Entre Ríos, and finally the name of a state in Brazil); Paragua (the name of a river in Venezuela and of a tributary of the Guaporé in Bolivia); Parnaguá (the name of a lake or lagoon and of a city in the Brazilian state of Piauí); Paranaguá (one of the largest and most beautiful bays in Brazil, in the state of Paraná); Parahyba (Paraíba; the name of various rivers in Brazil, for instance one in Pernambuco and Alagoas and of another one, the Paraíba do Norte, in the state of the same name); Paraíba do Sul (a river in the state of Rio de Janeiro); Parnahyba (Parnaíba; the river which separates the Brazilian states of Maranhão and Piauí); Paranahyba (Paranaíba; a tributary of the Paraná and boundary between the Brazilian states of Goiás, Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso); Paraguana (a river in Venezuela); Paramaribo (a city on the coast and on the Surinam, in Dutch Guiana); Paraná-Pixuna ('Black River,' an affluent of the Purus and the name of a place on that river, in Amazonas, Brazil; the Tapajoz is also so called by the Indians); Paratari (the name of a river, lake and island in Amazonas, Brazil); Paravari (a small river in the Amazon basin, state of Amazonas, Brazil); Parantina ('White River,' an upper tributary of the Tapajoz, in Mato

<sup>11</sup> Hence the Peruvian river name Paranapura, an affluent of the Huallaga, undoubtedly has a different origin.



Grosso, Brazil; cf. Paratinga 'White Pará,' a city in the state of Bahia, Brazil); Paraim (perhaps = 'little sea'; one of the upper tributaries of the Parnahyba, in the state of Piauí, Brazil); Paracatu ('the good river'; an affluent of the San Francisco river, in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil); Paraopeba (the name of two rivers in Minas Gerais, Brazil); Paraúna (a small river in Minas Gerais and of another one in Sergipe as well as the name of a city in Goiás, Brazil); Parati (a sugarcane-growing city in the state of Rio de Janeiro, on the coast and on the Perequeguaçu river); Parapanema (a tributary of the Paraná in the state of São Paulo and boundary between this state and that of Paraná, Brazil; for the meaning of the final element *-panema*, cf. further on); Paracanjuba (a small river in southern Goiás, Brazil); Parapití or Parapetí (a river without an outlet in Bolivia).<sup>12</sup> It is quite probable that the name Pernambuco should be considered as containing a variant of the element *parna-* (as in Parnahyba, etc.); this name is one of the oldest ones in Brazil and has evidently undergone certain corruptions (even the meaning of the final element remains obscure; *paranambuku* 'long river'?).

Among these also, of course, figures the Paraguay, the important tributary of the Paraná, from which also the republic of Paraguay derives its name.<sup>13</sup> In some of these names the element *parana* occurs as final component of the name: Piraparaná ('fish river'), Igaraparaná ('boat river'), Miritiparaná, Avatiparaná ('corn river'), Urucuparaná (from *uruku*, a plant yielding a red dye), Jaciparaná ('moon river' ? or rather of a certain palm tree called *jaci* in Brazilian Portuguese, that is, Guarani *jasy* 'moon'), Mutumparaná (from *mutum* — the Portuguese form — meaning a gallinaceous bird, of which some have a peculiar ventriloquial call), — all rivers in Amazonas and Mato Grosso, Brazil, and finally Jiparaná (Giparaná or Ginaparaná), which is a river in the territory of Guaporé. If smaller, or tributaries of a larger river, they often end in *-mirim*

<sup>12</sup> It is, however, somewhat doubtful whether this name is analogous to those above; the tribes living in these parts are the Zamuko and the Chane, which latter are supposed to be Arawak, although the Guarani influence is said to be noticeable even here.

<sup>13</sup> For an explanation of the name, see further below. Originally, no doubt, it was the name of the river; the meaning simply seems to be 'the water or river of Paragua.' Cf. Note 26.

(a diminutive suffix, 'little'), as in: Paramirim (a tributary of the San Francisco river and having the same meaning as Parasinho, the name of a small bay on the coast in the state of Ceará); other such names are: Juruamirim ('little Juruá,' in Amazonas, Brazil); Mamoriàmirim ('little Mamoriá,' in the same state, where we also find a Rio Mamoriá Grande; both are tributaries of the Purus); Canumamirim ('little Canumã,' in Amazonas, Brazil); Juinamirim ('little Juina,' in Mato Grosso, Brazil); Itapucurumirim ('little Itapucuru,' the name of a city in Maranhão, Brazil); Itapemirim ('little Itapé,' a river in Espírito Santo, Brazil); Mogi-Mirim (a coffee-growing city in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, where we also find another smaller place called Mogi-Guaçu 'Big Mogi'; both are originally river names); the form is *-miri* in Igarapé-Miri (also *-Mirim*; now a city in Pará, Brazil) and in Araguaymiri (an affluent of the Paraguay, in the Argentinian territory of Formosa; within the republic of Paraguay we find the Río Araguay Guazú or 'big Araguay or swordfish river'). In the same way as we find Rio Açu (see above), we come across other mongrel names of the type Lagoa Mirim ('little lagoon,' in the state of Rio Grande do Sul), Cayapòzinho (Cayapòsinho, 'little Cayapó river,' in the Brazilian state of Goiás, where there is also a Cayapó Grande), Yavari Chico ('little Yavari,' a Peruvian tributary of the Yavari river, which marks the boundary between Peru and Brazil as far as its entrance into the Amazon); in these latter names the terminations are taken from Portuguese and Spanish, respectively.

Among words for 'water,' 'river' or 'lake,'<sup>14</sup> we notice the Arawak *wini* or *uni* (originally *\*wani*; this word may also mean 'rain' in some dialects), the Carib *tuna* or *-ku* (*-co*, in compounds) 'water, river' and *parana* 'sea,'<sup>15</sup> the Guarani *y* (in Tupi dialects *hi*, *iga*, etc. and possibly originally *\*hika*) 'water' and *para* 'sea,' the Kechua *yacu*, *mayu* 'water, river' and *kocha* 'sea, lake,'<sup>16</sup> the Aymara *uma* 'water' and *kota* 'sea, lake' (*mamakota* 'the sea'), the Araucanian *co*

<sup>14</sup> As indicated above the differentiation between these in the Indian languages is rather one of 'potable' and 'non-potable' water; most river names fall in the former category, but some big rivers are designated as 'seas.'

<sup>15</sup> Other designations are: *yari* 'the upper course' (cf. Guarani *ari* 'above'), *keni* 'the lower course' (of a river), (*i*)*poli* 'creek or inlet' (cf. Ahlbrinck, *Encyclopaedie der Karaïben*, p. 31).

<sup>16</sup> The common appellative *unu* 'water' (used at Cuzco) does not seem to be represented in the toponymy.

and *llacu* (cf. Kechua *yacu*?) 'water,' *leuvu* (*leufu*) 'river,' *huapi* (for the meaning, cf. below) and *lauquen* (*lavquen*) 'sea, lake' (*juta lauquen* 'big lake' is the name of the 'sea, ocean').<sup>17</sup>

All these are found to have a more or less defined geographical distribution. As we enter South America from the northwest, that is from Central America, we find that the Chibchan *-di* (*-ti*) 'water, river' is gradually superseded by the Choco *-do* (*-to*) in the names of the rivers.<sup>18</sup> Within Colombia is still Acandí, on the Gulf of Urabá, evidently meaning — by analogy with Río Hacha farther east — 'ax river' (referring to stone axes, which were made there).<sup>19</sup> But just opposite, on the Pacific coast, we find the name Juradó and then names of the type Baudó, Quibdó, Docampadó and possibly Atrato,<sup>20</sup> the name of the largest river in that area. The Arawak names are first met with in the Goajira peninsula, which is however almost entirely desert and lacking in rivers and waters of importance. The word for 'sea' in the Goajiro language is *pala* (pronounced almost *pará*) and similar forms are found in the other Arawak languages of the coastal area as far as Guiana. It is therefore quite possible that some few of the innumerable names in *Para-* found in northeastern South America may be of Arawak origin. With greater certitude we may consider the following river names as having an Arawak origin: the Maroni (written Marawini in 1599 and now in Dutch, Marowijne),<sup>21</sup> which forms the boundary between Dutch and French Guiana; the Commewijne (Kommewijne; in Carib

<sup>17</sup> Other designations, in other languages, are relatively unimportant; the Chibcha *šie* 'water, river' (cf. *šiu* 'lake, rain') does not seem represented among Colombian river names, although there is a small Río Xié on the Brazilian side of the border (an affluent of the upper Río Negro).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Cuna (Panama) *tii* 'water' and Emperá (Choco) *to* (same meaning).

<sup>19</sup> The name, like most of those along the coast as far as Punta de San Blas, in Panama, is originally a river name; cf. S. Henry Wassén, *Contributions to Cuna Ethnography*, pp. 67–76.

<sup>20</sup> The meaning of this name is by no means clear, but the consonant group *-tr-* is typical of the Choco languages. A corruption of an original *\*Atarrado* (further assimilated to some such Spanish word as *contrato*, *retrato*, etc.), with the meaning 'river of chickens' (some native bird), would be a possible, although not too well supported, guess.

<sup>21</sup> The Caribs who inhabit this territory nowadays call the river *mará'uni*, in which the final element would represent an alternative form of the above-mentioned Arawak *wini* 'water.' Ahlbrinck, however, in his *Encyclopaedie*, thinks the name is Caribbean and provides an etymology (cf., however, *op.cit.*, p. 170, regarding the possible Arawak origin of certain river names in this area).

*kama'oni*), in Dutch Guiana; the Pacimoni (?), in the Orinoco basin in southern Venezuela, where an Arawak tribe is found; the Caroni (an important tributary of the Orinoco in Venezuela, where however Caribs live now); the Mazuruni and the Siparuni, both in British Guiana (cf. the probably identical Sipaliwini in Surinam); the Tapahoni, in Surinam; the Cuyuni, an affluent of the Essequibo in Venezuela and British Guiana, where also Caribs live now (the banks of this river, rich in gold, once caused a conflict between England and Venezuela, but the meaning of the first element of the river name is quite obscure); the Cuyuwini, another affluent of the Essequibo, in British Guiana, where Arawak Indians still live (the name is evidently identical with the preceding one and perhaps with another Cuiuni in Amazonas, Brazil; *kuyo-* means 'ebbing' in Arawak); Matiwiwini (a place in the territory of Rio Branco, Brazil, where an Arawak population is found); the Rupununi (another affluent of the Essequibo, where a Carib tribe is now living); the Inabini or Inauini, a small affluent of the Rio Purus, in Amazonas, Brazil (*ina* means 'end' in Arawak). It is most uncertain whether the river name Beni (in northern Bolivia) can represent the equivalent of *wini* in some Arawak language (cf. Inabini, above, and a small river Veni in western Amazonas). Unfortunately, we are not able to give a safe translation of the first element in any of the river names now enumerated, as our materials from the corresponding languages are still too scanty and, besides, there is reason to suspect a thorough corruption of the native forms in the case of many of the names quoted.

Of Carib river names we shall quote in the first place those of the Orinoco and the Tamanaco (the latter an affluent of the Unare in Venezuela), which both seem to have the final element *-co* meaning 'water' (in Guiana Carib *-ku*): Orinoco would mean 'clay river' and more probably with reference to the making of pottery (in Carib *orino*);<sup>22</sup> of the latter name we can suggest no translation so far, but

<sup>22</sup> The name Orinoco would, then, perhaps be analogous to that of Urabá in Colombia (cf. S. Henry Wassén, *Some Archaeological Observations from Boquete*, pp. 176, 177). Strange enough, not far from the latter place we find the Choco territory (in Colombia), the present-day home of the Emperá and Waunana tribes, usually called Choco, a word which in Emperá means either a 'pitcher' or a 'barrel.' The Spanish form of the name is accented *chocó* (as generally in words of Indian origin); the name thereby seems different from the current word *choco* 'a small cuttlefish,' 'a dark-skinned person,' etc. — Also Macasseema in British Guiana

the name is undoubtedly Carib as Caribs have been living on its banks long since and the name, besides, is also that of a Caribbean tribe (the initial part of the river name seems to recur in Mt. Tamana, in Trinidad, as well as in the Colombian river name Tamaná). The Guárico and Sinaruco rivers in western Venezuela are, to judge from the termination, also of Carib origin. Of names in *-tuna* ('water, river'), we may especially mention Urichuna (the *-ch-* is due to a palatalization after *-i-*, typical of the Carib languages), the name of a tributary of the Orinoco in Venezuela; the first element (*uri-*) is not unknown in river names in this part of South America (others are found in the Uribante and the Uriman, both in Venezuela), but its meaning in these cases remains unsolved. It seems that the typical river names in *-nam* (*-nami*; as in the Wakenaam, the Coppenaam, the Surinam, the Abounami, — all in British, Dutch and French Guiana), although almost entirely confined to present-day Carib territory, are not of Carib origin.<sup>23</sup>

The Guarani word for 'water' is *y* (variously spelled and pronounced approximately *ə* — more or less the English vowel sound in 'err,' 'her'); in geographical names it is conventionally spelled *hy*, *y* or *i* (the latter now officially in Brazil). As the final element in river names it is extremely common. Among the rivers so named we find: the Jutái (Jutahy; a tributary of the Amazon in the state of Amazonas, Brazil);<sup>24</sup> the Itahy, another tributary of the Amazon, in the same state (*ita* means 'rock' in Guarani); the Pirái, the name of various rivers in Brazil, e.g., one in the state of Rio de Janeiro and one in the state of Paraná, where also we find a Piráisinho or 'little Pirái' (the name evidently means 'fish river'); the Ivaí (Ivahy; in Paraná); the Curauahy (in Amazonas; *kurawa* is the Tupi name of a Brazilian hemp); Apahy (a place on the upper Gurupi, in the state of Pará); the Urussuhy and the Urussuhyassu or 'big Urussuhy,' both tributaries of the Parnahyba in the Brazilian state of Piauí (the initial element apparently means 'bee' in Tupi; there is a similar plant name, *urusukaty*, the Guarani name of a medicinal plant); Piauhy (Piauí), the name of rivers in the state of Piauí in might be remembered in this context; cf. Carib *maka* 'a big earthenware pot' (see Ahlbrinck, *Encyclopaedie*, pp. 263, 345).

<sup>23</sup> The Caribs call the Surinam *surinama*, the Arawaks of Guiana, *sulinama*.

<sup>24</sup> The name seems quite common; near the Amazon estuary there is a mountain chain called Serra de Jutái and Jutahy (Jutái) is the name of a place on the Rio Abacaxis in Amazonas and of an island in the estuary of the Tocantins (Pará).

Brazil — there is also a Serra do Piauí — and in the state of Sergipe (the name recalls Guarani *pyahu* ‘new,’ hence ‘new river’?); the Bambuhy (Bambu), an affluent of the San Francisco in Minas Gerais (the first part of the name is most certainly from Portuguese and identical with the Brazilian *bambu*, which denotes a native bamboo, the *taquara* or *cana-brava*); Pitanguy, a city in the state of Minas Gerais (the meaning of the name is ‘red water,’ from Guarani *pytã*, Tupi *pytanga* ‘red’); Guaicuhy (a place on the San Francisco river in Minas Gerais); the Curumatahy, a small river in Minas Gerais (cf. the Curumatá, in Piauí, and the Curumbatahy, in Paraná); the Jequetahy (Jequetai), a river in Minas Gerais (from Guarani *jekyty*, the name of a plant of the soapberry family, from which soap is made); the Pacuhy (there are two different rivers of this name in the state of Minas Gerais; *paku* is the name of various kinds of fresh-water fish found in these rivers, much appreciated for food, but also the name of a euphorbiaceous plant); Andarahy (Andaraí), a place on the Paraguay in the Brazilian state of Bahia; the Arassuahy (Araçuaí), a tributary of the Jequitinhonha, in Minas Gerais; Nictheroy (Nyteroy, now Niterói), the important city opposite Rio de Janeiro, on the Gulf of Guanabara, may possibly be of this type, though the initial part remains unidentified; further, Sahy, Itapacorohy and Itajahy (Itajai), all coastal places in the state of Santa Catarina, Brazil (Sahy is also the name of a river in Rio de Janeiro); the Cahy (Cai), meaning ‘grass or maté river,’ in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil; Taquari, the name of various rivers, etc., in Brazil, e.g., that of two rivers in the state of Mato Grosso, affluents of the Paraguay (the initial part is the Guarani name of the Brazilian bamboo — cf. above — in Guarani *takuara*); the Jacuhy (Jacuí; ‘pheasant river’) in Mato Grosso; the Vacacai, an affluent of the Jacuhy, in Mato Grosso; the Pirangi, a river in Pernambuco and another one in Ceará, Brazil (the name evidently means ‘red clay river,’ cf. Piranga, ‘red clay,’ a place in Minas Gerais); the Quegay, an affluent of the Uruguay, in Uruguay (the first element of the name is strange: cf. Guarani *kygua* ‘comb’ and Tupi *kewa*, Guarani *ky* ‘louse’); Ibicuy (Ibicuí), the name of an affluent of the Uruguay in Rio Grande do Sul and further that of a place in the Argentinian province of Entre Ríos (the name no doubt represents Guarani *yvyku’i* ‘sand’; as a river name it may mean ‘sandy river’); the Gualeguay, a river in Entre Ríos; Acaray,

the name of several rivers, one in Paraguay, one in Argentina — an affluent of the Paraná — and one in Minas Gerais, Brazil (Tupi *akara* is the name of a river flatfish); Jatahy (Jataí), the name of a place in Paraná and of another one in Goiás, Brazil (cf. Guarani *jata* or *jatai*, a certain palmtree, or Tupi *jatai*, the name of a bird); Guapehy, a place on a small affluent of the Paranapanema in São Paulo, Brazil;<sup>25</sup> Piumhy (Piúi), a place in Minas Gerais, in the mountains not far from the Rio Grande; the Aguaray Guazú, an affluent of the Paraná in Paraguay (from Guarani *aguara* 'fox,' *zorro*); Capivary, the name of various rivers in Brazil and of an affluent of the Paraguay, in Paraguay (it is evidently derived from the name of the capybara, in Tupi *kapiwara*, in Guarani *kapiyva*); the Jejuí (Guazú) or Jejuí Guaçu, two rivers, one in Paraguay and another one in Paraná, Brazil, the latter an affluent of the Paraná (cf. Tupi *jeju*, the name of a small river fish); the Tecuahy, a tributary of the Marañón, in the state of Amazonas, Brazil. Finally, we have to mention the Paraguay, the important tributary of the Paraná, and the Uruguay, which together with the latter forms the estuary of the Río de la Plata. The former name undoubtedly contains the same element *para* 'sea, river' with which we have dealt above or possibly the derivation *paragua* (which we have found as the name of several rivers in eastern South America); if derived from present-day Guarani — and the age of the name is, of course, not ascertainable — it would mean 'the river of *paragua* (a malpighiaceus plant),' but we have to reckon with several other possible meanings as well (in Tupi, for instance, *parawa* or *paragua* is the name of a parrot and also of a feather headgear made of its plumage);<sup>26</sup> as for the name Uruguay, it seems to contain the Tupian element *uru* 'bird,'<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> With this name cf. that of the Aguapehy, a small tributary of the Paraguay in Mato Grosso, in which the first part seems to be the Guarani (and Brazilian Portuguese) *aguapé*, the name of a South American river plant with broad leaves like those of the victoria; cf. also the city of Guapé in Minas Gerais (it is imaginable that the initial vowel of the Guarani form has been taken as the Portuguese preposition or article *a* and hence occasionally been left out).

<sup>26</sup> Incidentally, the form Paraguay (pronounced *paraguas'* in Guarani), which is originally the name of the river, is now used by the Indians of Paraguay when speaking of the city of Asunción; the name of the republic — as well as of its inhabitants — is *paraguái*, from Spanish *Paraguay* and *paraguayo*, respectively. Even the river is now called *y paraguái* (= Río Paraguay) in Guarani.

<sup>27</sup> The same form (originally *\*ulu*) is common in this sense in various other South American languages.

but the Guarani *urugua* is now the designation of a kind of fresh-water periwinkle or mollusk (the same holds, however, for this name as what we have said above of that of the Paraguay, that is that the exact limits of the ideas expressed by the forms *para(gua)* and *uru(gua)* are nowise ascertainable).

In a few names the final element *-y* (*-i*) appears in what seems a more ancient form: cf. Xirixica, the name of a river in São Paulo, Brazil (it is said to have been once called the Tiririca (?); either name would mean something like 'bubbling or boiling water' — in Guarani *xiryry* is 'boil') and also Itapecerica, the name of a place in Minas Gerais. In a few other cases, the element *y* ('water, river') is placed first in the name, being determined by an adjective or other attributive word, as in the above-mentioned Iguassú (Iguazú, Iguaçu) 'the big water or river.' Other names of this kind are: Iporanga ('beautiful water'), the name of various rivers and of a city in São Paulo, Brazil; Icatu ('the good water'), a city on the river Monim in the state of Maranhão, Brazil; further possibly Hyacu ('warm water'), the name of an affluent of the Purus in Amazonas, now officially written Iaco, and Hyapua ('the round water'?), the name of a lake in Amazonas (this name is, however, now generally given as Aiapuá).

In the western part of South America, a great many river names end in *-yacu* (*-yaco*) or *-mayu* (*-mayo*), with about equal distribution — although as an appellative ('water, river') *yacu* is now rather a northern word —; both come from Kechua and mean 'river.' The following are examples of *-yacu* (*-yaco*): Pumayacu ('puma river'), a place on the Río Piedras or Tigreyacu in eastern Peru, which latter may originally have been designed by this Kechua name; Burruyacú, a place on a small river in Tucumán, Argentina (the first part is evidently the Spanish *burro*, hence 'donkey river'); the Ambiyacu, a small affluent of the Marañón in Peru (*ampi* means 'night' in the Ancachs dialect); Sarayacu ('maize river'), a town on the Ucayali, in Peru. Of those ending in *-mayu* (*-mayo*) we may quote: the Yaguarmayo (literally 'bloody river'),<sup>28</sup> a tributary of the Inambari, in Peru; the Pilcomayo, the important tributary of the Paraguay (*pi'qu* in Kechua is the name of a bright-colored bird); the Putumayo, a tributary of the Amazon, forming the present boundary between Colombia, Peru and Ecuador (the first part, *putu*, means a gourd, used for drinking *chicha*); the Calcamayo, near



Ayacucho in Peru; the Vilgamayo, the river below Cuzco, Peru, an affluent of the Urubamba (the initial component — in Kechua *wil'qa* — is the name of a tree); Pacasmayo, a place near the coast, not far from Chiclayo, Peru; the Chanchamayo, in the department of Tarma, Peru; the Angasmayo ('the blue river'), on the border of Colombia and Ecuador (cf. Angas, the name of another river in Ecuador).

*To be Continued*

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