

Indian Place Names in South America and the Antilles. III.

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A GREAT NUMBER OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES in South America and the Antilles, as well as in North America and, as a matter of fact, in all parts of the world, are original tribal names. The tribe, true enough, could be named from a river on which they were settled or else from any coast, plain or mountain tract where they lived permanently; in that case, the tribe name falls under any of the categories which we have dealt with above: the Tamanaco lived on the river of the same name in Venezuela (cf. above), the Pampa (or true Tehuelche) on the Argentinian plains (*pampas*) of Patagonia and the Tembe, a Brazilian tribe, on various rivers near the coast and the Amazon estuary (cf. Guarani *tembe* 'lip,' *tembe'y* 'coast, bank, shore').⁵³ On the other hand, tribes may have their proper designations as such and in that case rivers, valleys or any other place may be named for the tribe. It is typical of most "primitive" societies, at least in America, to call your tribe simply 'the people';⁵⁴ this happens when the Kechua Indians speak of themselves as the Runa, Runacuna (*Runasimi* = Kechua, 'language of the people'). The following toponyms are also tribe names: Goajira (Guajira), the name of a peninsula and Colombian territory (the name is probably identical with that of La Guaira, seaport of Caracas; from an Ara-

⁵³ In general in Amerindian semantics, 'mouth, teeth, lips,' etc., do not (as we would expect) express the 'mouth' of a river but the 'bank' or 'shore.'

⁵⁴ Although Europeans have no reason to feel superior in this respect: the important tribe of the Teutons, in ancient days, were known by this very designation (*Teutones* = 'peoples') and still today Germany is known as *Alemania*, *Allemagne*, etc., meaning in the Germanic dialects of the time 'all the men, all the folk' (Latinized *Alamanni*).

wak tribe name);⁵⁵ Aruba (in Spanish also Oruba), the Dutch island off Venezuela, if originally identical with Aruak or Allouague (i.e., Arawak);⁵⁶ Cumaná, a place on the coast in eastern Venezuela (from the Carib tribe of the same name, which is also called Cumanagoto, 'the language of the Kumana'); Río Caribe, another place on the Caribbean coast (Península de Paria, Venezuela); Guiana (cf. above; the Carib tribe living there is also called *wayana*);⁵⁷ Pasto, a city in southern Colombia (also the name of a Barbacoan tribe); Duitama, a place in Colombia (in reality identical with the Chibcha tribe name *Duit*); Puracé, a volcano in southern Colombia (cf. the tribe name *Purase*, a branch of the Paez); Mocoa, another place in Colombia (cf. the Mocoas); Achagua and Achaguas, two different cities in the interior of Venezuela (the Achagua are an Arawak tribe living on the Orinoco); Maipures, Venezuela (cf. the Arawak tribe Maipuré); Yauapery (or Jauapiri), a river in northern Amazonas, Brazil (cf. the Carib tribe name *yauaperi*); Río Xibaru, an affluent of the Río Negro, Amazonas, and Xibaru, a place in Alagoa, Brazil (the Jivaro Indians live in what was formerly the interior of Ecuador and were one time dreaded as head hunters; *jíbaro* in Spanish is, however, the name of any savage Indian or rustic person — cf. Note 55 — and the river in question is hardly within reach of the afore-said Indian tribe); Río Purus, the important tributary of the Amazon (cf. the Arawak tribe name *purupurú*); Río Jamarý

⁵⁵ The name is supposed to be the Goajiro *wa'iru*, meaning a 'friend'; the Goajiro Indians call themselves either *wayu*. (probably meaning something like 'ourselves') or else by the Spanish designation *wahir(u)* 'guajiro.' *Guajiro* in Spanish also means (by analogy with so many other Indian tribe names) 'a rustic person' in general; cf. the Spanish *jíbaro*, Portuguese *xibaro*, of a similar meaning, which are also used as designations of various tribes and also figure in the toponymy: Jíbaro (Cuba), Jeveros or Jeberos (Peru), Xibaru (Brazil).

⁵⁶ Possibly from Arawak *arua* 'tiger, jaguar'; cf. the designation *Kogi* (supposed to mean 'tiger'), used as a name of themselves by the Kaggaba tribe in Colombia (see Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Los Kogi* (Bogotá, 1950), p. 26). On Aruba, however, the natives were usually called Caquetio, a name which has been used also of Venezuelan tribes on or near the Caribbean coast.

⁵⁷ This tribe actually has many names, which partly depend on a confusion of two different tribe names, originally not connected: the Oayana (*wayana*) and the Urucuiana (*rukuyen* or, as pronounced by the Surinam Negros, *Alukuyana*); the latter name is most likely connected with another tribe name, *viz.* that of the Lucayans, Arawak inhabitants of the Bahamas, and is possibly also the basis of the place name Cayenne.

(Jamari), an affluent of the Madeira in the territory of Guaporé, Brazil (on this river lives, or lived, a rather isolated tribe called the *Yamará*); Llanos de Mojos and the province of Mojos, Bolivia (cf. the Arawak tribe name *mozo*); Río Baures, in eastern Bolivia (cf. the Arawak tribe Baure); Río Iténez, another name of the Río Guaporé, an affluent of the Madeira forming the boundary between Bolivia and Brazil (cf. the tribe name Iten, plural Itenes); Río Cautário — there are at least three rivers of that name in Brazil (cf. the tribe name *kautario* or *kumana*, in the territory of Guaporé); Ilha dos Tupinambaras (or Ilha Tupinambarana), formed by the Amazon and one of its branches, at the confluence with the Madeira (cf. the great Tupi-Guaranian tribe of the Tupinambá, who lived along the Atlantic coast and chiefly in Bahia, some distance away from the river island to which they have given their name); Rio Abacaxis, in Amazonas (cf. the tribe of the Abacaxis; in Tupi this word is the designation of a certain kind of pineapple); Parintins, a place on the Amazon — now an airport — in Amazonas (cf. the Tupi-Guarani tribe name Parentintin); Serra dos Parecis (or Paricis), the name of a cordillera in Mato Grosso and the territory of Guaporé, and Rio dos Parecis, also in the state of Mato Grosso (the Paressí is the name of an Arawak tribe); Curuá, a tributary of the Xingu, in the state of Pará (cf. the Guarani tribe *kuruaya*); Tapajoz, the important tributary of the Amazon (cf. the tribe name Tapajós and the closely related name form Tapañuma; these live on the upper tributaries of the river); Goiás (formerly also Goyaz), the name of a Brazilian state (evidently the same as the tribe name *goyá*, who are a division of the Ge stock of Indians); Chavantes (now officially Xavantes), river and sierra in Goiás, Brazil, and also the name of a place in São Paulo (the name is that of a Ge tribe in Goiás).

Following the Pacific coast southward from the vicinity of the Panamanian Isthmus, we find the following names which are originally designations of tribes: Chocó, the name of a territory in Colombia (we have alluded above to the tribe name Choco and to the place Noanamá, on the San Juan river, which latter name may possibly be a rather thorough corruption of a Choco tribe name, viz. that of the *waunana*); Guapí, river and place near the coast in southwestern Colombia (*guapí* is the name of a Barbacoan tribe); Piusbi, a river not far from the preceding one (cf. the Barbacoa tribe

pius); Río Cayapas, in northern Ecuador (from the *kayapa* group of the Barbacoa Indians); Tumaco, a place on the coast in Colombia, near the Ecuadorian border (cf. the Barbacoan tribe of the same name); Tumbes, a city and airport on the coast in northern Peru (also the name of a rather isolated tribe); Cajamarca and Cajamarca, cities in northern Peru (cf. the Kechua tribe of the *kasamarka*; the name in Kechua — *qasamarka* — seems to mean 'cold village'); Chachapoyas, a city in northern Peru (cf. the Kechua tribe name *chacha* or *chachapuya*); Huánuco, a province and provincial capital in northern central Peru (cf. *huanuku*, a Kechua tribe); Huamachuco, a historically known place in northern Peru (cf. *huamachuku*, another Kechuan tribe); Atacama, the name of a vast desert and of a province in northern Chile (also the name of an isolated Indian tribe; for this name cf. further along); Chiloe, the large island, archipelago and province in southern Chile (cf. the tribe name *chilote*); Chonos, the name of an archipelago further to the south (inhabited by the *chono* tribe); Caucahue, an island in the Chonos archipelago (cf. the tribe name *kaukahue*). The name Chile itself may be an original tribe name; the Araucanians called their language *chilidugu* (pronounced *çilidəŋə*) 'the language of the *chili*,' but apart from the above-mentioned island name Chiloe (and *chilote*) no trace seems to be found nowadays of any such tribe name.⁵⁸

Traces of human activities, of social development, commerce and administration, etc., are relatively few within native America. This especially holds for the eastern parts of South America; in the west, where the Kechua civilization flourished, we find more traces of this. However, among the Chibcha Indians, a Sub-Andean group of

⁵⁸ It might be questioned whether the name is not originally from Kechua: *chiri* means 'cold' and such a designation would have been appropriate of the southernmost provinces of the Inca Empire, where the climate was cold and wet, but this explanation of the name Chile is nothing beyond a more or less likely guess (it has even been suggested that the name is from Aymara *chilli*, meaning 'the lower part, the end of the world'). Somewhat more realistic would be a comparison with the several river names Chile (or Chili) — which might well correspond to the above-mentioned Kechua word meaning 'cold' — in Peru, Bolivia and Chile; there is even a Chile Chile, the name of an Andean peak near Cuzco.

tribes who attained to a certain degree of civilization, there are names such as Bogotá (the Colombian capital), of which the last element (*ta*) means a 'cultivated field' in the Chibcha language. We find the same suffix in Cúcuta (a provincial capital in northern Colombia), in Chipata, Chocontá and possibly Facatativá, all cities or provinces in Colombia. Names such as Cuñapiru (if from Guarani *kuñampiru* 'the dry or thin woman') and Paysandú (Guarani *pa'i sandu* 'holy father'), which are used as designations of cities, districts and departments in Uruguay and Argentina, appear freakish or due to European influence and the same holds for the Argentinian Curuzú-Cuatiá ('paper or book of the Cross'), the name of a place and department in the province of Corrientes. The name Carioca, which has become most famous as a designation of the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro, is originally not restricted to this sense; it is the name of various sierras and rivers, generally near Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Legend has it that the Carioca river in Rio de Janeiro had the property of bestowing beauty to the women as well as a voice to the singers among the Indians of the Tamoyo tribe (a division of the Tupinamba group of the Tupi-Guarani), living in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In Tupi *karioka* means a 'mestizo' (which may, however, be a secondary sense) and the Carijó, another division of the above group who also inhabited the coast of Brazil, may actually derive their name from an original form *karioka*. No acceptable etymology of the name seems to have been suggested, but it is probable that the last element may be the Tupi word *oka* (in Guarani *oga, o*) 'house,' a suffix which seems to recur in Jipioca, an island off the Brazilian coast (territory of Amapá).

In the west of South America, in the Andean region and along the coast, real settlement names are, as we have said, much more common. Among these we find first of all those ending in *-marca*, which is the Aymara word for 'village' or 'pueblo': Cajamarca and Cajamarquilla ('little Cajamarca'), which we have mentioned and commented on before (for the initial part, cf. Cajabamba, a little to the south, which corresponds to Kechua *qasapampa* 'cold plain'); further Catamarca, the capital of the province of the same name in Argentina (the name means 'the village of the mountain slope' — in Kechua *q'ata* — and the city stands at the foot of Sierra de Am-

bato).⁵⁹ As first element we find the same word in Marcapata (a river and district in Peru). The same sense as that of *marka* is conveyed by the Kechua word *q'atu* 'market (place),' found as final element in Tupungato, now the name of an extinct volcano in the province of Mendoza, Argentina (the meaning of the name is doubtful, since the first element — if a Kechua word — could only mean a certain unit of measurement). More evident is the meaning of the word *tambo* and of the great number of names into which it enters: this is the Kechua *tampu*, originally the name of an 'encampment of the Incas' and now usually that of an 'inn' or a *venta*. The name is either used alone, as in Tambo, found both as a river name (in central and southern Peru) and as a place name (cf. Tambo Grande, in northern Peru, near the Ecuadorian border), or as first or last component of a number of names: Paucartambo, a river, town and province in Peru (Cuzco and Junín; with this name cf. Paucarbamba, Paucarcocha, Paucarcolla, Paucarmarca, all places in Peru, the word *paukar* being a designation of 'vivid colors'); Tambobamba, in the mountains near Cuzco (Kechua *tampupampa* the 'plain of the *tambo*'); Tambopata, the name of various places in Peru; Ollantaytambo, a place where important ruins from the time of the Incas are found (the name denotes the 'camp of Ollantay,' a military chief much spoken of in tradition and literature); Cajatambo, a place below Cerro de Pasco and north of Lima (the meaning is 'the cold camp'; cf. Cajamarca and Cajabamba, above). — In northern Chile, a place is called Chaca, meaning 'bridge' in Kechua.

An interesting name which seems to be of the above type is Pachacámac, a place on the coast some miles to the south of Lima, famous as an archaeological site; the name is formally identical with that of a god, Pachacámac ('Earth-Maker'), who along with Viracocha was considered as creator and principal god by the ancient Peruvians, but may in reality contain the same suffix as we find in Atacama (notice that there is a place Pachacama in Valparaiso, Chile, as well). The name Atacama itself is a tribe name, given by

⁵⁹ The name Cundinamarca, a department in Colombia (of which the capital is Bogotá), is more doubtful. One might expect it, *a priori*, to be a Chibchan name, but whatever the origin, it seems quite possible that the name form has been influenced either by Kechua names of the above type or else by the Spanish name for 'Denmark,' which is *Dinamarca*.

the Peruvians to a nation who called themselves Licantai (from Atacama *lican* 'village'?) and spoke an unrelated language (*Cunza* or *Changó*); the native tribe name probably recurs in Licancaur, a volcano in the desert of Atacama, western Bolivia (also cf. Licantén, a place rather to the south in Chile?). Both Pachacama and Atacama may be original designations of peoples; for *Ata-*, cf. *Atamisqui*, a place near Tucumán, Argentina, and *Atahualpa* ('the chicken of *Ata*'), the name of the last of the Incas (who was put to death by order of Pizarro in 1533). If so, *-cama* would be a collective suffix used in Kechua.

In Colombia, we find a city Zipaquirá (important for its mines), which derives its name from one class of Chibcha high officials, the *zipa*, chief of Bogotá. Names which indicate human activities are perhaps also Orinoco, Urabá and Chocó, which we have mentioned in another context (cf. above, in dealing with the river names). On the other hand, names denoting an inhabited area or a country are probably exceptional. Such a one is, however, as it seems, Cuba, which would be an Arawak word meaning 'land' (cf. *akoba* 'field' or 'ground' in the dialect of Guiana); this designation would rather correspond to that of 'the mainland,' in relation to the number of smaller islands among the Antilles.

In dealing with names connected with the human element, we might finally mention the somewhat mysterious Ayacucho, the name of a province and provincial capital in central Peru,⁶⁰ and Ayabaca, a city and province in northern Peru, not far from the Ecuadorian border. The meaning of either of these names seems similar: Kechua *ayaq'uçu* 'corner of the dead bodies' and *ayapaka* 'hiding place of the dead bodies,' respectively; they seem to indicate burial grounds — Kechua *ayawasi* 'house of the dead' is equivalent to a 'tomb' —, but we cannot be certain about the real import of these place names. As regards the latter name, for instance, we have to consider also the tribe name Ayabacas or Ayahuacas, who at one time made valiant resistance to the Inca Tupac Yupanqui. More

⁶⁰ This place is known in Peruvian history through the victory won there (in 1824) by Antonio José de Sucre over the Spanish army, an event which put an end to the Spanish domination in America. It is rather unlikely that the etymology of the name is in any way connected with the battle field from colonial times. — The name Puerto Ayacucho in Venezuela is, of course, named for the battlefield and the same may hold for various other Ayacuchos, even as near as in Bolivia.

evident are the names with the element *huaca*, which is the Kechua word for any 'sacred place or object' (a 'temple' or 'tomb,' etc.), as in: Humahuaca, a place in the Argentinian province of Jujuy, and Punta Huacas, the point of the Paracas peninsula south of Lima (the former is also a tribal name, of which the meaning is doubtful; if Kechua, it would mean '*huaca* of the head,' if Aymara, the '*huaca* of the waters').

Before leaving the above type of names we shall mention some which have the appearance of fancy names. By this not quite satisfactory designation we mean names that do not fit into the current patterns, but represent the individualistic element in the toponymy (as a group, however, such names have no scientifically acceptable distinctive traits and, besides, the limits to be drawn between these names and those of current type are of course in every respect fluctuant). We have already mentioned a few "fancy" names (cf. Cuñapiru, Paysandú, above); another one is Tacurú Pucú, a place in Paraguay, of which the interpretation is 'tall ant hill' in Guarani (since it is hardly the case of an actual 'ant hill' — although these *tacurús*, transformed by humidity into real clay mounds, are often seen in Paraguay as well as in Argentina —, the "fancy" element consists in the metaphorical use of this word).⁶¹ Metaphorical names are possibly found in larger number in the European (or non-Indian) toponymy — we are accustomed to regard the Indians as essentially matter-of-fact people —, but the assumption that metaphors are absent in the place names of the native population in America is evidently a mistake.

We have dealt with the native South American toponymy in the preceding sections according to tribes and languages which can be more or less safely identified as belonging to the one or the other of the important linguistic stocks. In many parts, however, we find names which apparently contain widely spread word elements

⁶¹ The name is interesting from several points of view. First of all, the use of the word *puku* 'long' in the sense of 'tall' or 'high' (persons as well as mountains and trees), which is typical of the American Indian languages (and probably a number of others, notably the Basque language in Europe). Regarding the metaphor, it is of a not infrequent type; we only need to think of the Portuguese Pão de Açúcar 'the sugar loaf,' which occurs as a name of mountains in Brazil, among which the characteristically shaped rock at the entrance of the Bay of Guanabara is famous (analogous names are common in English toponymy as well).

that so far elude an interpretation, either owing to our comparatively limited knowledge of the vocabularies of the respective languages or to the fact that the toponymy is in certain cases much older than the spoken languages and that many names may represent a linguistic stratum which has become obsolete or, at best, survives in languages not yet sufficiently studied (or not studied at all). In these cases we can, of course, never be *certain*. However, we shall now quote a few elements which seems to recur and to be characteristic of particular areas of the South American continent, without venturing to say anything as regards their interpretation or provenience. In some few cases, however, traces are found of elements which may be current in any of the known languages, although in a different function from what we find in the toponymy.

Among toponymical elements recurring with some frequency in the Caribbean and Amazonian areas we find, for instance, *mara*, as in: Maracá, a large island off the Atlantic coast in the Brazilian territory of Amapá (cf. Maracaibo, in Venezuela — dealt with above —, Maracay, river and place in northern Venezuela, and Maraca, a river in Colombia, department of Magdalena); Marajó, another large island, in the Amazonian estuary (for the final element, cf. below); Marapanim, a river and place in Pará, Brazil; Maracassumé, a river and island in Maranhão, Brazil; Marañón (Spanish) or Maranhão (Portuguese), the name of several rivers and places, especially that of the upper course of the Amazon and that of a Brazilian state; Maranguape, a coffee-exporting place in the state of Ceará, Brazil (evidently a Guarani name; for the suffix, cf. Mamanguape, river and place in Paraíba, Brazil); Marahuaca (or Maraguaca), a mountain in southern Venezuela; Marari and Maraiúá, rivers in Amazonas, Brazil. An analogous element is *guana* or *huana* (probably originally pronounced *wana* by the Indians), which is very common in northern South America and especially the Antilles: Chiriguaná, a place in northern Colombia, not far from the Venezuelan border (Chiriguano is also a tribe name); Guanaguana, a place in Venezuela (Monagas); Guanare, a river and state capital in western Venezuela; Guanape, a place in Venezuela (Anzoátegui); Bayaguana, a place in the eastern part of the Dominican Republic; Guanahani, the native name of San Salvador in the Bahamas, the first land seen by Columbus in the New World; Mariguana, another island in the Bahamas; Guana Key, in the Exuma Islands, Baha-

mas; Guanahacabibes, a peninsula in western Cuba; Guanajay, a place a little to the west of Havana; Guanabacoa, a suburb of Havana; Guanabo, a river and place on the coast east of Havana (the termination is most certainly the same locative suffix as found in, e.g., Maracaibo); Guanaja, a place on the northeastern coast of Cuba. Of still more importance is the suffix *-gua* (*-hua*), which is extremely common in the languages of the Arawak, Chibcha and Guarani linguistic stocks (and probably occurring in some others too). The meaning of this suffix is rather vague and, besides, slightly different in the different languages; in Guarani it often denotes the 'inhabitants' of a place. Such names are: Casigua, a city in western Venezuela (cf. the river Brazo Casiquiare, in Venezuela, forming a connection between the Orinoco and Amazon river basins, and Kassikassima, the name of a mountain in Dutch Guiana); Caucaguá, a small affluent of the Orinoco and a lake in western Venezuela as well as a place in Colombia (cf. Cauca, the name of a river in Colombia); Achagua and Achaguas, places in Venezuela (cf. above); Inagua, one of the larger islands in the Bahamas (cf. *inaja*, the name of a certain palm tree; the Ineri were an Indian tribe once living there); Cumanayagua, a place in central Cuba (cf. Cumaná in Venezuela, originally the name of a Caribbean tribe); Mayajigua, a place in central Cuba (cf. Mayagüez, in Puerto Rico?); Puerto de Juraguá, a small river and place in eastern Cuba; Caguaguas, a place in Cuba (Santa Clara; cf. Cagua, a place in Venezuela); Jagua, Sagua la Grande and Sagua la Chica, all rivers, places or cities in Cuba (*jagua* — probably of Arawak origin — is also the name of various trees and shrubs, especially of the genus *Genipa*, whether or not this word explains the origin of the above place name).

In the Amazonian area we find a few names containing the element *juru* (of which the meaning and origin is uncertain; in Arawak *yurua* means a 'thorn'): Juruá, an important river in Amazonas, Brazil; Juruamirim ('little Juruá'), one of the upper affluents of the Juruá; Yuruari, a river in Venezuela (this name would mean the 'upper Juru(a)' in Guarani); Jruená (or Jruena), the name of a main branch of the Tapajoz, in the state of Mato Grosso (cf. Yuruan, a river and place name); Juruá, the name of a cataract in the lower Xingu (Brazil); Juruti, a city in Pará, Brazil. There might be some connection between the above names and that of a Tupi-Guarani

tribe, *yuruna* (in Portuguese *Jurunas*), who live, or lived, in the state of Pará (on the Xingu and Iriri rivers; in that case all these names would be of Tupian origin). The element *mari*, as in Mari-Mari, rivers, islands and places in Amazonas, Brazil, may indicate an Arawak origin, as it occurs as a termination of some Arawak tribe names. There are at least two river names Paru in northern Pará, Brazil, and one lake of that name in the same state. The element *-pi* occurs in river names in southern Colombia, such as Guapí (also the name of a tribe and a place), Piusbí (cf. the tribe name *pius*), Guelmambí, Nulpí (cf. the tribe name *nulpe*), Telembí (cf. the identical tribe name), as well as in eastern Brazil (cf. Marouipi, Yaroupi, Couroupi, all in French Guiana); in the former case we have to do with a word meaning 'river' in the language of the Barbacoa Indians, who live (or lived) on these rivers, whereas in the latter case we probably have something quite different.

Names ending in *-ima* or *-ma* abound in Colombia, Venezuela and northern Brazil: Parima, the name of a sierra in southern Venezuela; Pacaraima, another one on the border of Venezuela and the Brazilian territory of Rio Branco; Roraima, a mountain top on the very boundary between Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana; Barima, a river in British Guiana; Makasseema, a place in British Guiana (cf. Note 22) and Kassikassima, a mountain in Dutch Guiana. The late Professor Paul Rivet has dealt with these names very extensively in an article which appeared in 1943;⁶² he considers them to be of Caribbean origin.

If we now turn to the culturally important western areas of the South American continent, especially the Andean region, we have a great number of unidentified name elements, of which however the majority no doubt are of Kechua or Aymara origin or else belong to a Pre-Kechua stratum. This we may say of some river names in eastern Peru and northwestern Bolivia — mainly tributaries of the Madre de Dios and the Beni —: Manú (this is also the name of a place in Ecuador), Caramanu, Chipamanu, Muimanu, Manuripi (probably 'little river'), Tahuamanu (another name of the Ortón), Pariamanu, Tacuatimanu, etc.; the element *manu* undoubtedly

⁶² *La influencia Karib en Colombia*, pp. 55–93 (and especially pp. 80–81, 83–84). According to Rivet, this suffix has an "augmentative" force (hence = 'great' or 'big'); the name of Tolima, a high peak in Colombia, would for instance mean 'much snow.'

means 'river' or 'water,' but is neither a Kechua nor an Aymara word (incidentally, the Indian tribes who inhabit, or inhabited, the corresponding area are the Takana, of whom the Cavinás are a branch; they have been supposed — but evidently on insufficient grounds — to have Panoan or else Arawak affinities).

Further south we find the elements *villca* (or *velica*), *roma*, *rica*, *gasta*, *lasta* — all in names which otherwise seem to be of Kechua type: Vilca (a river in Bolivia and a place in Peru), Vilcas (a river and town in Peru), Vilcabamba (places in Bolivia and Peru), Chumbivilcas (the name of a Peruvian province), Vilcias Huaman (or Vilcashuamán; an ancient province in Peru); Huancavelica, a department and department capital to the northwest of Cuzco (Kechua *wanka* means a 'separate stone block,' as in Huancabamba, a common river, mountain and place name in Peru; the name Huancavelica has, however, been derived by some from Aymara *huanca villca*, supposedly meaning a 'sun-worshiping place,' which, of course, is very little convincing); further Vilcapampa and Vilcapata (the names of places in Peru), Pativilca (a mountain, river and town north of Lima, Peru) and Nudo de Vilcanota (a cordillera in Peru; cf. the name Capinota, a city in Bolivia, south of Cochabamba); the word *huilca* does occur in Kechua as a name of a species of the 'carob tree,' whereas in Aymara it would mean an 'idol' (cf. above). Of names with *roma*, we may quote Socaroma (a place in northern Chile). Of names with *rica* we have Tinguiririca (the name of a river and volcano on the Chilean-Argentinian border and also that of a peak near Ollantaytambo, in Cuzco, Peru; the Kechua *tink'i* means 'twin') and Villarica (a place in the southern Chilean Andes; the name may have become associated with the Spanish Villarrica). The termination *-lasta* is found in Tomalasta (a mountain peak in the province of San Luis, Argentina), while *-gasta* occurs in Antofagasta (an important seaport in northern Chile; the first part of the name we have discussed earlier), Tinogasta (a district and town in the Argentinian province of Catamarca) and Vichigasta (in La Rioja, Argentina; cf. Vichiculen, a place in Valparaíso, Chile, which latter probably is an Araucanian name). Of Araucanian origin is undoubtedly also *pillá* (Lázaro Flury thinks it represents a word meaning 'volcano,' but this is uncertain), as in Melipilla (a place to the southwest of Santiago, Chile; cf. the moun-

tain name Melimoyu in southern Chile — *meli* is 'four' in Araucanian) and Tocopilla (also near Santiago, Chile).

Quite a few names in the Andean region and along the Pacific coast end in *-co* (or *-go*): Tumaco (a place on the coast in southern Colombia; also a tribe name, cf. above); Aguarico (a river in Ecuador); Huánuco (a city below Cerro de Pasco, in northern central Peru; also a tribe name); Otuzco (a mining city near the coast in northern Peru, etc. (we have only quoted forms in which it is likelier to be the question of a special termination than of the final part of the stem word). Of such terminations in the Amerindian languages we know of a locative (or local) suffix (which, incidentally, is the one so frequently found in Mexican place names: Xochicalco, Xochimilco, Tlaltenango, etc.; it is also found in Arawak and other languages)⁶³ and further of a noun meaning 'water' or 'river' (found in Caribbean and Araucanian); it is unquestionable that most of the names in *-co* in central and southern Chile are Araucanian (Pinco, Huasco, Rengo, Chanco, etc.; cf. under the river names), but those quoted above fall entirely outside of the Araucanian area (they may, however, very well be of Pre-Kechua origin).

One of the most important and interesting general terminations in the South American as well as in the North American place names is the Amerindian suffix **-yo*, which the author of this study has dealt with — although rather summarily — in another context.⁶⁴ It is, however, a highly elusive element when occurring in the South American toponymy, since it is actually found as a suffix in very few of the languages through which we are able to interpret the names in question. Among these languages we find, however, representatives within the two important groups of languages, which, as we have said in another place, furnish material for the vast majority of the place names in South America, *viz.* Kechua and the languages of the Tupi-Guarani stock. In the former language we have a suffix *-yu-* (usually *-yuq*) which approximately renders the idea of "having" or "provided with" (Kechua *wasi-yuq* equals 'having a house' or 'owner of a house,' etc.); in Guarani the corresponding element is either an infix (*-jo-*, *-ju-* or, nasalized, *-ño-*, *-ñu-*)

⁶³ Cf. the author's *Indian Place Names in North America*, pp. 23 sqq.

⁶⁴ See *Indian Place Names in North America*, pp. 17, 18.

meaning 'one another' (*o-jo-hayhu* or *o-ju-ayhu* 'they love each other,' *o-ño-pytyvõ* 'they help one another') or else a suffix (*-ño*, which represents a nasalized form of the original **-yo*) meaning 'alone' (e.g., *ha'eño* 'he alone'). In the place names the forms are (in Brazil) either *-jo* or *-ju* (which alternate according to certain rules and also according to the dialects) or *-ño*, but the former occur more frequently. Semantically, it would seem difficult to combine so different functions as those of the above-mentioned elements in Kechua and Tupi-Guarani, so as to conform to our traditional way of thinking (a fundamental sense 'one,' 'very,' 'the essence of' might be suggested),⁶⁵ but it is doubtless that the meaning of these elements, when occurring in the toponymy, is one and the same: something like 'the very' or in some cases — as suggested in the work quoted in Note 64 — even 'the big' or 'the great.'

Although known as a formative element in Kechua and Guarani only (to limit ourselves to the more important languages), the suffix undoubtedly occurs in place names within a much wider area. Let us begin with the north and northeast of the continent (as we have generally done before) in order to give a brief enumeration of some typical names of this kind: *Marañón* (or in Portuguese *Maranhão*), apparently an older name of the Amazon river, now limited to its upper course or to an area along its lower course, surviving in the name of the Brazilian state of Maranhão (in Portuguese the upper course of the Amazon is alternatively called *Solimões*, in Tupi *surimã*, from an original tribe name); *Tocuyo*, the name of a river and city in western Venezuela; *Marajó*, an island in the Amazon estuary — the largest one in Brazil — in the state of Pará (for the element *mara-*, cf. above; the island was one time inhabited by Arawak Indians and the name *Marajó* is probably essentially the same form as that of *Marañón*); *Paranayuba*, an upper affluent of the Xingu, in Mato Grosso, Brazil (*-ba* is a locative suffix; cf. above); *Mocajuba*, a place on the lower Tocantins, in Pará, Brazil (notice that *-juba* is a common termination of Tupian names and words, in which it has a rather special meaning); *Moju*, a small river in Pará (on this river lived a Guarani tribe, the *Amanajó* or *Manajó*; in the tribe name the same suffix appears); *Maceió* (or *Ponta Massaió*), a point on the Atlantic coast, in Ceará, Brazil

⁶⁵ Cf. the author's *Some semantic parallels in Cuna and Kaggaba*, p. 196.

(Maceió is also the name of the capital of the Brazilian state of Alagoa); Garanhuns, a place and mountain in Pernambuco (also the name of an Indian tribe; another tribe, the Carnijó, have been living in the vicinity); Aracaju, a seaport in the state of Sergipe, Brazil; Piraju and Pirajuí, cities in São Paulo, Brazil (the latter with an additional suffix, either the form *-y* 'water, river' or the diminutive *-i*); (perhaps) Tapajoz, the big southern tributary of the Amazon (cf. above; other Tupi-Guarani tribe names from the same stem are: Tapé, Tapuí, Tapieté, Tapihiya, Tapuya); Jequitinhonha, the important river in Minas Gerais and Bahia (the name is of Tupi-Guarani origin; **jekyty-ño* would mean 'soapberry trees only' in Guarani, but the termination may be that of a Tupian language); Maracaju, the name of a mountain chain on the Paraguay-Brazil border (the Guarani form of the name is *Mbarakaju*, meaning 'only or all calabash trees,' cf. above in dealing with the vegetation names; sometimes, however, the suffix *-ju* in Guarani words and names is the word *ju* 'yellow'). — Along the Pacific coast and in the Andes, we find the following names: Hualgayoc, a place inland in northern Peru (in Kechua *wal'qayuc* would mean 'having a necklace or collar'; cf. some of the mountain names in the same region with which we have dealt above); Vilcayoc, a place in Peru (Ancachs; perhaps = 'having *huillca* or carob trees'); Chiclayo, a seaport, also in northern Peru; Huancayo, a place and province east of the Lima, Peru (in Kechua *wanka* denotes an 'isolated big rock or stone'; hence the name would mean 'all big rocks,' 'the place having rocks' or something similar).

By and large, we notice in the South American toponymy name forms which recur in areas rather far apart: Samana Key, in the Bahamas, recalls Samaná in eastern Haiti; Cumanayagua, in central Cuba (cf. above) contains the same word stem as we find in Cumaná, in Venezuela; Puerto del Manatí, on the north coast of Cuba, is no doubt the same as Manatí, in Puerto Rico, and Bayamo, in Cuba, the same as Bayamón, in Puerto Rico. In other words, we have the same state of things as when we find the same — or originally the same — name of islands in Oceania so far apart as Hawaii and Savaii, the latter the largest island of Samoa.

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