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Did the Kulinas become the Marubos? A Linguistic and Ethnohistorical Investigation

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INTRODUCTION

This essay explores the linguistic and historical connections among several indigenous groups of Western Amazonia that have been denominated “Kulina,” “Marubo,” or variants of these terms. Because the groups in question have not been in continuous contact with non-indigenous societies throughout the past centuries, much confusion has surrounded their ethnic and linguistic identity. Evaluation of all the linguistic information available for these groups, which includes nineteenth-century word lists and historical commentaries on mutual intelligibility, led to the clear conclusion that the term Kulina has been used to refer to at least three distinct languages, and the term Marubo to at least two distinct languages.

The term “Kulina” has been applied to (1) Panoan Kulina of the Curuçá River, spoken by the current-day Kulinas of the Mayoruna branch of the Panoan family, who number thirty and formerly lived along tributaries of the Curuçá River in Brazil, though currently most are captives of the Matses living in Peru and Brazil; (2) Panoan Kulina of Olivença, spoken by the historical Kulinas of the Nawa group of the Mainline branch of the Panoan family, who formerly lived in the vicinity of the Brazilian town of São Paulo de Olivença along the Amazon River; and (3) Arawan Kulina, sometimes called Madiha/Madija, spoken by the Kulinas of the Arawan family, who number about 3,500 (Dienst 2006:1) and live in the Juruá River basin and the vicinity in Peru and Brazil. The term “Marubo” has been applied to (1) Marubo of Maucallacta, spoken by the historical Marubos of the Mayoruna branch of the Panoan family, who formerly lived in the vicinity of the Peruvian town of Maucallacta, along the Amazon River,

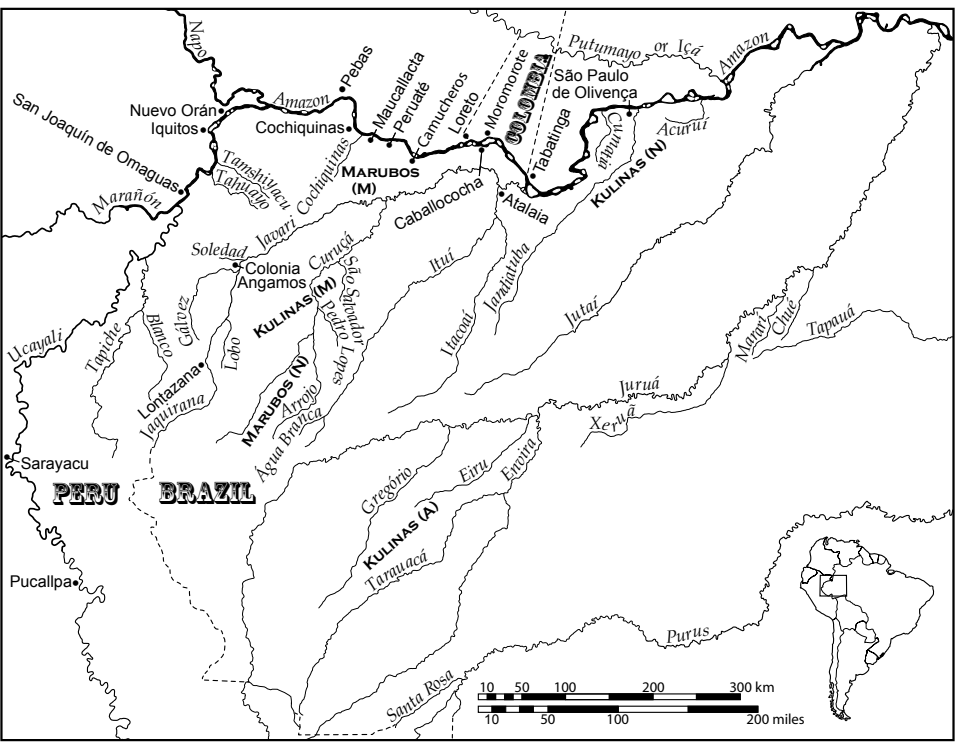


Figure 1: Map of western Amazonia showing the location of all the towns, rivers, and streams mentioned in the text, and of the different groups denominated Kulina or Marubo (A = Arawan family; M = Mayoruna branch of Panoan family; N = Nawa group of Panoan family)

and (2) Modern Marubo, spoken by the current-day Marubos of the Nawa group of the Mainline branch of the Panoan family, who number about 1,000 and most of whom live on the upper Ituí and Curuçá Rivers, in Brazil.

The goal of the present study is to resolve the confusion that this homophony has produced in the academic literature by differentiating these groups linguistically and tracing the history of the terms Kulina and Marubo from their earliest uses up to their modern-day usage. A major theme within this work stems from an unexpectedly high level of lexical similarity discovered upon comparison of Modern Marubo with a word list collected by Johann von Spix in 1820 from speakers of Panoan Kulina of Olivença. The large number of lexical matches evoked, particularly after comparing Spix's list with the other Panoan languages, the intriguing possibility that the historical Kulinas of Olivença may have been ancestors of the contemporary Marubos. However, because the lexical comparison involves a one hundred eighty-five-year time lapse and Spix's list, the only linguistic source available for Kulina of Olivença, contains an undeterminable number of misunderstandings, linguistic evidence alone cannot resolve the issue. Therefore, close evaluation of the ethnohistories of the groups in question is an important key for determining whether this scenario is possible, and if so, how and when the transfer of denominations could have taken place. The ethnohistorical investigations involved an assessment of all the available historical reports of groups designated Kulina, Marubo or variants of these terms, and of oral histories provided by Panoan Kulina of the Curuçá River and Modern Marubo speakers, documented by me and by anthropologists working among these groups.

In this essay I briefly introduce the Panoan language family and its Mayoruna and Mainline branches, essential background for evaluating lexical comparisons and reports of mutual intelligibility. This work is dedicated to tracking the ethnohistory of groups labeled Kulina and Marubo from the seventeenth century to the present, with special attention to geographic localities. I include a short section describing the results of lexical comparisons of Spix's list with Marubo, Kulina, and other Panoan languages. In the final section, I return to the mystery of the disappearance of the historical groups and consider whether they may have survived to the present under different denominations.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PANOAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

There is no comprehensive or authoritative genetic classification of the Panoan family yet available. Curiously, most past Panoan classifications

TABLE 1. Classification of Panoan Languages.

- I. Mayoruna branch¹
 - A. Mayo group²
 - Matses (spoken in Peru and Brazil)
 - Korubo; includes Chankuëshbo co-dialect (spoken/once spoken in Brazil)
 - Dēmushbo (obsolescent, once spoken in Brazil)
 - Kulina (of the Curuçá River) (obsolescent, once spoken in Brazil)
 - B. Matis (spoken in Brazil)
- II. Mainline branch
 - A. Kasharari (spoken in Brazil; most divergent Mainline unit)
 - B. Kashibo; includes Kakataibo co-dialect (spoken in Peru)
 - C. Nawa group³
 - 1. Chakobo; includes Pakawara co-dialect (spoken in Bolivia)
 - 2. Marubo subgroup
 - (Modern) Marubo (spoken in Brazil)
 - Katukina (spoken in Brazil)
 - 3. Poyanawa subgroup
 - Poyanawa (obsolescent, spoken in Brazil)
 - Iskonawa (obsolescent, spoken in Peru)
 - Nukini (obsolescent, spoken in Brazil).
 - 4. Shipibo; includes Konibo and Kapanawa co-dialects (spoken in Peru)
 - 5. Headwaters subgroup
 - Kashinawa (spoken in Peru and Brazil)
 - Amawaka (spoken in Peru and Brazil)
 - Yaminawa dialect complex, includes Sharanawa, Yawanawa, Shanenawa (= Katukina de Feijó), Shawanawa (=Arara), Mastanawa, Marinawa (extinct?), and other dialects (spoken in Peru, Brazil, and Bolivia)

contradict each other (e.g., Loukotka 1935, 1968; Mason 1950; Tovar 1961; Shell 1965, 1975; D'Ans 1973; Rhulen 1987; Campbell 1997; Loos 1999). I hypothesize that this is because, after some initial diversification, many groups had much contact with geographically proximate sister languages, thus blurring genetic distinctions. A good example is the Kashibo group, which appears genetically quite distinct from the Nawa group, but due to prolonged contact with the Shipibo, there is an elevated level of lexical similarity and consequent mutual intelligibility. Much reconstruction work still needs to be done before a precise genetic classification can be elaborated by distinguishing areal from genetic features. For now, I present a classification of relative similarity for the extant Panoan languages based on lexical comparisons using the Swadesh (1952) 200-word list, and preliminary phonological and grammatical comparisons.⁴ My preliminary phonological and grammatical reconstructions suggest that a genetic classification will not be very different from this classification of relative similarity, but at this point I make no claims about genetic relations. In any case, a classification of relative similarity is more useful.

The key information in this work with respect to Panoan classification is that there is a clear discontinuity between languages in the Mayoruna and Mainline branches, while within either branch boundaries between groupings of similar languages are blurred. These observations are consistent with Panoan speakers' reports of mutual intelligibility: there is at least partial intelligibility among all languages within the Mayoruna branch or the Nawa group, but there is no intelligibility at all between the Mayoruna and Mainline branches.⁵ The quantitative lexical comparisons in Table 1 give some idea of the relative lexical similarities among some of the Panoan languages,⁶ though it should be kept in mind that phonological and grammatical features were also considered for the classification presented below for the present study.

The implications of the aspects of this information on mutual intelligibility that will be relevant for the present paper are the following. First, any reports of two languages being mutually intelligible or "the same" must refer to languages belonging to the same branch, that is, the reference could not be to one Mayoruna and one Mainline language. Second, even cursory inspection of word lists, even very old ones, allows for ready identification of an extinct language as either a Mayoruna or a Mainline language. Meanwhile, assigning a historical word list to one of the five proposed Nawa subgroups, especially one of the last three, can sometimes be quite difficult.

TABLE 2. Results of lexical comparisons of sixteen extant Panoan languages or dialects.

			Mayoruna					Mainline													
			Mayo							Nawa											
			Matses	Chankuësbo	Kulina	Dëmushbo				Matis	Kasharari	Kashibo	Chakobo	Marubo	Katukina	Shipibo	Kapanwa	Amawaka	Kashinawa	Sharanawa	Shanenawa
Mayoruna	Mayo	Matses																			
		Chankuësbo	71																		
		Kulina ^a	69	72																	
		Dëmushbo	68	69	73																
	Matis	57	63	69	56																
Mainline	Nawa	Kasharari	24	29	29	24	36														
		Kashibo	27	31	32	28	38	44													
		Chakobo	27	30	32	27	36	42	47												
		Marubo	30	31	34	27	38	44	50	50											
		Katukina	25	29	32	25	35	46	51	51	76										
		Shipibo ^b	25	30	31	26	35	46	62	53	55	59									
		Kapanawa ^b	26	32	32	30	38	45	62	56	60	61	90								
		Amawaka	29	33	35	29	38	47	59	58	60	59	68	69							
		Kashinawa	24	26	27	26	33	44	52	52	60	64	63	66	70						
		Sharanawa ^c	26	32	32	30	35	42	49	55	61	62	63	66	70	74					
	Shanenawa ^c	26	31	32	27	33	41	51	53	61	65	62	64	70	74	81					

^a The Kapishtana dialect of the Kulina language is used in this table. Comparisons among the Kulina dialects: Kapishtana-Mawi = 95%; Kapishtana-Chema = 88%; Mawi-Chema = 84%.

^b Kapanawa and Shipibo are dialects of the same language.

^c Sharanawa and Shanenawa, along with Yaminawa and many other varieties, are dialects of the same language.

Note: Figures are percentages of clear root matches based on 137-192 comparisons of terms from the Swadesh (1952) 200-word list.

USES OF THE TERM KULINA AND ITS VARIANTS

While it is well recognized today that the modern-day Kulinas of the Arawan family are distinct from the Panoan Kulinas, in the historical record it is not evident to which family any particular use of the term “Kulina” or variants referred (other than Spix’s, which had an accompanying word list). However, when these historical accounts of tribes called Kulina are sorted out with respect to geographical location, their referents become clear. In the subsections of the present section, I will chronicle the uses of the term Kulina, paying special attention to linguistic and geographic information that helps clarify to which of the three Kulina groups these reports referred. Table 3 is a summary of these reports, and can be used as a guide while reading this section.⁷

The Kulinas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: missionary priests’ reports

The earliest reference to any Amazonian group called Kulina or a variant of this term, to my knowledge, is in a document written by the Jesuit Missionary Father Cristóbal de Acuña, describing the missions of the upper Amazon in 1639.⁸

These Aguas [= Omaguas] are engaged in constant wars on both sides of the river [i.e., the Amazon River, in the general area of the current Peru-Brazil border], with strange tribes. On the south, among others, with the *Curinas*, who are so numerous, that not only are they able to defend themselves on the side of the river, against the infinite numbers of the Aguas, but at the same time they keep up a war against the other nations, who are continually attacking them from inland. On the north side, these Aguas have for adversaries a tribe called Ticunas, who, according to good authority, are not less numerous or less brave than the *Curinas*, for they also wage wars against their neighbors inland (Acuña 1963:96 [1641:25]).

Only in the nineteenth century does any linguistic information become available for groups called Kulina or variants of this term (see next section), so the identity and linguistic affiliation of the group mentioned by Acuña will probably never be known with certainty. The principal reason for believing they were Panoans is that their geographical location matches the location where Spix collected his (Panoan) Kulina (“Culino”) word list in 1820, at São Paulo de Olivença (Figure 1). One minor clue as to the early Curinas’ linguistic affiliation is from a secondary source, in the Jesuit priest Giandomenico Coleti’s historical-geographical dictionary of South

America:

Curinas (Curinae, Curini). — Little-known nation of savages on the south of the Marañón [read Amazon] River. It is also known that these Indians are in continuous war with the Aguas, and in this way they destroy each other (Coleti 1975 [1771]:I:125).⁹

Quirabas (Quirabae). — Nation of savages on the north side of the Marañón River. They descend from the *Curinas*, and are always at war with the Aguas savage nation (Coleti 1975 [1771]:II:321).¹⁰

The information in the first of these two passages could have been taken from Acuña's report, but the source of the second is a mystery to me, and I have found no other mention of the Quirabas anywhere. The clue is that the *-ba* ending could be the common *-bo/-vo* 'plural/collective' enclitic found on many Panoan languages (Marubo, Shipibo, Konibo, Kashibo, Chakobo, etc.), which, perhaps due to grammatical feminine agreement in Spanish, sometimes appears as *-ba/-va* in historical sources (for example Father José Chantre y Herrera wrote at the end of the eighteenth-century "cunivas" (p. 282) and "cunivos" (p. 580) to refer to the Panoan Konibo;¹¹ see also the alternation between Marubo and Maruba below).

The next mention of Kulinas in the historical record is by another Jesuit priest, Father Samuel Fritz, in a letter giving an account of occurrences in the Omagua missions from 1693 to 1696:

In the same manner I transferred the Omaguas of Joaivate to the land of Mayorunas; those of Ameibate, to the land of *Curinas*, founding two new villages below the sanctuaries, the one of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and the other of San Pablo (Fritz 1922:91).

In his 1707 map (original version drawn in 1691), Father Fritz placed the "Curinas" south of the Amazon, just east of the Javari River (in current-day Brazil), and likewise placed the San Pablo mission on the southern bank of the Amazon downriver from the mouth of the Javari (on this same map, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and the Mayorunas are placed south of the Amazon, but west of the Javari).

Before moving on, it is worthwhile to consider the exact location of the San Pablo mission. Fritz founded it 1694 as a mission for the Omaguas/Cambebas (Fritz 1922:26, Sweet 1974:365). According to Branco (1947:205), "S. Pablo" was originally located on the Amazon River three leagues downriver from the mouth of the Javari River, consistent with Fritz's placement of the San Pablo mission on his map. The town moved several times short distances downriver starting in 1778, and was

TABLE 3. Summary of reports of groups denominated Kulina or variants of this term.

Author	Date ^a	Olivença ^b	Juruá/Purus ^b	Curuçá ^b
Acuña	1639	Curinas		
Fritz	1693–6	Curinas		
Noronha	1768	Colinos		
Sampaio	1774	Colínos		
Spix	1820	Culinos (N)		
Smyth, Lowe	1835	Culinos		
Castelnau	1847		Culinos	
Marcoy	1847	Culinos		
Osculati	1847	Culinas		
Herndon	1851		Culinos	
Bates	1857	Collínas	Collínas	
Chandless	1867		Colinos	
Courboin	1900(?)		Curinas (A)	
Steinen, Stegelmann	before 1903		Kulino	
Azevedo (Branco)	1904		Curinas	
Sombra (Branco)	1905–6		Curinas-espínhos	
Linhares (Branco)	1911		Curinas	
Tastevin	1908–23		Kulina/Kolina (A)	
Carvalho	1920–7		Curinas (A)	
Oppenheim	1935		Curinas/Colinas	
Figueirêdo	before 1936		Curinas (A)	
Schultz, Chiara	1950–1		Kurina	
Adams, Agnew	1950s–90s		Culina/Madija (A)	
Silva	1978–?		Kulina (A)	
Melatti	before 1981		Kulina	Kulina
Cavuscens, Neves	before 1985		Kulina-Arawá	Kulina do Curuçá
Coutinho	1995–6		Kulina-Arawá	Kulina-Pano (M)
Tiss	1994–present		Madiha/Kulina (A)	
Dienst	2002–present		Kulina (A)	
Fleck	2002–present			Kulina (M)

^a Dates refer to year the author was at the locality, not to the publication date.

^b Linguistic affiliation is included (in parentheses) only when this can be confirmed with at least a word list: A = Arawan family; M = Mayoruna branch of the Panoan family; N = Nawa group of the Panoan family (Mainline branch). Others on the list lack linguistic data.

later alternatively called “Olivença” until about the 1840s, when it began to be called “São Paulo de Olivença” (Branco 1947:205). It is currently located at the mouth of the Jandiatuba River (Figure 1). São Paulo de Olivença was one of the largest towns in the vicinity, and therefore a place where travelers were likely to stay a while or at least stop as they traveled up or down the Amazon River. Only a few sources reported Kulinas living within the town of São Paulo de Olivença. Most reports were about Kulinas living in the fields surrounding this town, or, more commonly, in the forests along the lower Jandiatuba River.

In 1768, Father José Monteiro de Noronha traveled up the Amazon as far as the mouth of the Javari River, and reported the presence of Kulinas living along some of the rivers and streams in the immediate vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença. Six years later (1774), Father Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio likewise traveled up the Amazon as far as Tabatinga at the Peru-Brazil border, and similarly reported the presence of a group referred to as “Colinos.” Sampaio’s report is so similar to Noronha’s that it is hard not to suspect some level of copying:

At a distance of thirteen more leagues, and on the same southern bank of the Amazon, is found the town of Olivença, having passed the small rivers Acurui and Jandiatuba, where Indians of the Uraicu, Marauá, *Colino*, and Mayoruna nations live (Noronha 1856[1768]:60).¹²

It [the Acuruí River] is inhabited by several nations of Indians, who are known as the Uraicús, Marauás, *Colínos*, and Maiurúnas. [...] Next we came to the mouth of the small river Jandiatuba, populated by the same nations that inhabit the Acurui. [...] It [the Cumatiá River] is inhabited by the *Colino* people, nation famous for their ability to run swiftly, and whom it has never been possible to reduce to permanent settlement (Sampaio 1825:65).¹³

These traveling priests likely never met any Kulinas, as all this information sounds as if it is second-hand, though it was probably collected locally. Father Manoel Ayres de Cazal provided the following information in his 1817 historical treatise:

... and the *Culinos*, who are well known among the other Indians for having very round faces and extremely large eyes (Cazal 1817:332).¹⁴

This is clearly not a first-hand report or even a locally collected second-hand report, but I include it here because it contains information absent from any of the earlier publications that I have found, suggesting that it is based on an original eighteenth-century source not accounted for above. Cazal did not specify the exact location of these Kulinas, other than that

they were in the “Hyabary” (Javary) district, which included the area south of the upper Brazilian Amazon, including, among other rivers and streams, the Javari, Jandiatuba, Acuruí and Cumatiá (and not the Juruá), and among other towns, São Paulo de Olivença.

*Travelers’ accounts of Panoan and
 Arawan Kulinas of the nineteenth century*

The first published nineteenth-century first-hand report of Kulinas that I have been able to discover was by the Bavarian naturalists Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl Philipp von Martius (1831:I:1187, 1189, 1196). Spix found “Culinos” in São Paulo de Olivença in 1820, and collected the first linguistic data for any group designated by this term, namely a 243-word lexicon published later by Martius (1867:II:242–4). The list leaves no room for doubt that Spix’s Kulina was a Panoan language, as was first formally demonstrated by Raoul de la Grasserie in 1888 (Grasserie 1890). The geographic locations and the denominations are close enough to make a direct lineal relation among the people mentioned by Acuña, Fritz, Noronha, Sampaio, and Spix the most likely hypothesis. However, because of the length of the intervening time spans (e.g., seventy-two years between Fritz’s and Noronha’s accounts; see Table 3), I cannot put forth with certainty that the earliest references were to this same Panoan group.

No further linguistic information has ever been published for this Panoan group and word lists did not become available for other groups denominated Kulina until the twentieth century. However, subsequent to Spix’s voyage, several nineteenth-century travelers provided first-hand or locally collected second-hand information on groups called Kulina (or some variant of this term). Two of these were British naval officers Lieutenants William Smyth and Frederick Lowe, who descended the Amazon in 1835. While they did not mention Kulinas in their travel diary (Smyth and Lowe 1978[1836]), “Culinos” do occur on their map of the Amazon (Smyth 1836), located at the headwaters of the Acuruí River (Figure 1). As the map states “...from the observations of Lieut. Wm. Smyth & Mr. Fredr. Lowe R.N,” we may assume that this is not second-hand information.

Twenty-seven years after Spix’s sojourn at São Paulo de Olivença, and twelve after Smyth and Lowe’s, three European travelers independently passed by São Paulo de Olivença. One was the Italian traveler Gaetano Osculati, who descended the Amazon River, reaching this town in December of 1847:

The population [of São Paulo de Olivença] probably does not reach 1500 persons, including those who inhabit the neighboring fields, and almost all are Ticunas, Campivas and *Culinas*, baptized previously by missionaries (Osculati 1990 [1850]:223).¹⁵

Many savage tribes live near São Paulo de Olivença; among others, the Campiva, Arayas, *Culinas* and Ticunas; they all go around naked, with little differences from other tribes, and who are indiscriminately given the name of Tapuyos (barbarians) (Osculati 1990 [1850]:223–224).¹⁶

In light of Sampaio's statement that (by 1774) it had not been possible to collect the *Culinas* in missions, Osculati's information would suggest that the population of *Culinas* was reduced at or near São Paulo de Olivença during the intervening seventy-three years, according to Carmilite priests from Brazil.

Earlier that year (1847), French traveler and artist Laurent Saint Cricq (alias Paul Marcoy) also briefly mentioned *Kulinas* in the vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença (on the Jandiatuba River) and along the Javari River.

The Jandiatuba, of which the mouth measures more than four hundred yards in width from bank to bank, is inhabited higher up by some families of *Culino* and Huaraycu Indians (Marcoy 1875 [1862–7]:II:346).

The Javari-Huasú or Great Javari, whose west-south-west direction is indicated at its embouchure, has not a single island throughout its whole course. Its left bank is inhabited by the Mayoruna and Marahua Indians; its right bank by the Huaraycus and the *Culinos* (Marcoy 1875 [1862–7]:II:337).

By corruption *Colinos*. A small tribe separated into many widely scattered families. The river-tribes, who never see them, have nearly forgotten their existence, and only speak of them from memory. At the time of the Portuguese conquest, the *Colinos* inhabited both banks of the I-garapé [stream] Comatia in the neighborhood of São Pablo d'Olivença. Renowned for their swiftness in the chase, these natives hunted like bloodhounds, and it is said would take pacas, agutis [agoutis], and other large rodentia alive (Marcoy 1875 [1862–7]:II:337).

In a list of rivers of the Brazilian Amazon and the Indian tribes that inhabit them, Marcoy (1867:98–99), using historical documents, placed “*Culinos*” on the Jandiatuba, Jutáí, and Juruá Rivers in 1640–1680, and, presumably based on his own information, placed them on the lower reaches of the Jandiatuba River and on the Jutáí River in 1860, but not on the Javari. This inconsistency between his travel narrative and this list casts doubt on

the veracity of Marcoy's information, as will be discussed further below.

French naturalist Francis de Castelnau descended the Amazon ahead of Marcoy and almost one year before Osculati, though, curiously, he did not mention having seen any Kulina at São Paulo de Olivença or in the vicinity. He did provide second-hand information on a group called "Culinos" living in an uncontacted state in the upper Juruá River:

According to this man, the nations of the Juruá River are, going from the mouth toward the headwaters, in the following order: Marawas, Cataochis, Arawas, which are hostile; *Culinos*, which are partly hospitable and partly hostile; Canamaris, which would be the same as the Puru-Purus; Catuquinas and Nawaes, which are cannibals. On the large Chiruan [= Xeruã, affluent of the Juruá; Figure 1] River are Cataochis, *Culinos* and Purus (Castelnau 1851: V:87).¹⁷

Castelnau's is the first reliable report of the Kulina of the Juruá.¹⁸ While we cannot be completely certain of the identity of this group from looking only at Castelnau's information, by the end of the next section it will become clear that they were distinct from the Panoan-speaking Kulina of São Paulo de Olivença.

Four years later, in 1851, American Navy explorer, Lieutenant William Herndon traveled down the Amazon and provided a locally-collected second-hand reference to the Kulinas located on the Juruá, but did not mention any Kulina among the residents of São Paulo de Olivença or in the vicinity of that town.

The Indians of the Juruá, I was afterwards told by Senhor Batalha, are Arawas and Catauxis, who are met with at eight days' journey up. [...] Two months further up [the Juruá] are the *Culinos* and Nawas Infidels (Herndon 1853:249).

In the same decade, English naturalist Henry Walter Bates spent five months at São Paulo de Olivença, in 1857. He is the only author I have found to have reported on the presence of Kulinas both at São Paulo de Olivença and on the Juruá:

Hordes of the same tribe living on the same branch rivers, speak mutually unintelligible languages; this happens with the Miránhas on the Japurá, and with the *Collinas* on the Jurúa [sic]; whilst Tupí is spoken with little corruption along the banks of the main Amazons for a distance of 2,500 miles. (Bates 1895 [1863]:260).

St. Paulo is built on a high hill, on the southern bank of the river. [...] The

place contains about 500 inhabitants, chiefly half-castes and Indians of the Tucúna and *Collína* tribes, who are very little improved from their primitive state (Bates 1895 [1863]:375).

Bates' statement in the first quoted passage seems to indicate that there were more than two languages on the Juruá spoken by Indians called "Collína." I doubt that the São Paulo/Panoan Kulina came from the Juruá. Rather, Bates probably heard from locals that the two similarly named groups spoke mutually unintelligible languages and assumed that their identical denominations meant that they were from the same "tribe" and, therefore, were originally inhabitants of the same area. Bates' report is the last documentation (that I have found) of the Kulina living at or near São Paulo de Olivença.

British explorer William Chandless, traveling in 1867, reported the existence of Kulinas on the Juruá:

Above the River Chiruan [Xeruã] on the right side of the Juruá is the country of the *Culinos*—a numerous tribe of the interior, who are said not to have canoes, but come by land to the sand-banks at the time the turtles lay. They are considered treacherous and hostile if in sufficient numbers; consequently it is a rule of travel always to keep on the sand-banks on the left side of the river, in this part—a necessity which sometimes induced us to stop earlier, sometimes to travel later than I would have wished. We saw nothing of them; and from other Indians above, heard that they had not been seen on the sand-banks for the last 2 or 3 years. They are met with also on the River Tarauacá, and probably extend a considerable distance s.w. (Chandless 1869:300).

The *Culinos* and Jamamadys [an Arawan group] may possibly be the same tribe under different names: the latter at any rate, like the former, are said not to use canoes at all (Chandless 1869:304).

This last passage of Chandless, along with Bates' comment that there were two Kulina languages, is the first hint that the Kulinas of the Juruá were not the same as the Kulinas of São Paulo de Olivença. The following observations support this conclusion. First, as can be seen in Figure 1, the Juruá River (particularly its upper reaches) is geographically quite distant from São Paulo de Olivença and the Jandiatuba River. Next, the Kulinas at São Paulo de Olivença were in permanent contact with the non-tribal society, while the Kulinas of the Juruá were reported to be uncontacted and dangerous.¹⁹ Finally, as will be shown in the next section, word lists from the twentieth century are all from the Arawan Kulina, and all of these were collected in the Juruá River area, none near São Paulo de Olivença (see Table 3).

Brazilian Navy officer Augusto da Cunha Gomes, head of the Brazil-Peru boundary commission to the Javari River in 1897, provided the only other possible reference to the Panoan Kulina of Olivença, but not at São Paulo de Olivença or its vicinity. Rather, he reported them on the Javari basin (consistent with, and perhaps based on, Marcoy's publication, cited above):

Last century [eighteenth] according to what travelers of that time wrote, the area of the Javari valley was inhabited by the Indian tribes of the Maranas, Panos, Tapaxanas and Tucunas. At the beginning of this century [nineteenth], these tribes had already been substituted by other tribes, who were called *Colinos*, Uraicus, Jannes and Mayurunas. Of these tribes, the 1864 commission [the joint Peru-Brazil border commission to the Javari in 1866] found only the Mayurunas, now with the name of Mangeronas, who inhabited the entire region along the Javari, always fierce and wild. It was this tribe who attacked and persecuted the 1864 expedition, and who killed with arrows the distinguished hydrologist and astronomer Captain-lieutenant Soares Pinto and seriously injured the Peruvian geographer [Manuel Rouandy] Paz Soldán. Today, the Indians that live in the Javari valley are few in number on account of the continuous raids made by the Peruvian rubber tappers, with the purpose of expelling them from the territory where they collect rubber, and of capturing the [Indian] girls, whose sale constitutes part of a lucrative business (Gomes 1898:251–252).²⁰

Gomes was on the Javari at the very *end* of the nineteenth century and he made no first-hand reports of Kulinas during his travels on the Javari. Therefore, it is uncertain whether he consulted historical documents or obtained this information from locals. If the former is true, this would not be new information specific to the Kulinas, but nevertheless it provides important general information with respect to the conditions of the Indians living in the Javari valley at the end of the nineteenth century, which will be important to understanding the fate of the historical Kulinas and Marubos.

The twentieth century: the Arawan Kulinas become well known

When Daniel Brinton (1891) published the first formal description of affinities among some Arawan languages (Brinton's "Araua linguistic stock"), there were no linguistic data available yet for the Kulinas of the Juruá. The earliest twentieth-century report on Kulinas living in the Juruá area provided the first linguistic data on the group. This was Albert Courboin's 1901 ethnographic description of several tribes of the Juruá, where he included five words from the language of the "Curinas" (Courboin 1901:117–20):

<i>duri</i>	"charm made of resin passed over the body in sorcery"
<i>zupinèrè(s)</i>	"type of shaman"
<i>kurime(s)</i>	"underground god"
<i>kurana</i>	"good spirit"
<i>ami-ami</i>	"religious ceremony" ²¹

The first three of these can be found in Silva and Monserrat's (1984:18, 23, 65) Arawan Kulina-Portuguese dictionary (under somewhat different spellings), with essentially the same meanings as those give by Courboin:

<i>dori</i>	"charm (object that is thrown upon the body to bewitch)"
<i>dsoppineje</i>	"witch doctor, shaman"
<i>tocorime</i>	"supernatural entity, shamanic spirit; by extension: soul" ²²

This confirms that these Kulinas, living on the Juruá at the turn of the century, were not Panoan, and leaves little doubt that the people Courboin encountered are the ancestors of the present-day Arawan Kulina. However, since these five words are not ones typically included in vocabulary lists collected by earlier travelers to that area, Courboin's publication would not have revealed the linguistic affiliation of Kulina of the Juruá River to linguists of that era.

Other early twentieth-century reports of Kulinas on the Juruá provided no further hints about linguistic affiliation. For example, in an introduction to an article by Alfred Reich and Felix Stegelmann, Karl von den Steinen provides only geographical information:

He [Stegelmann] communicates to me the following about the geography of the Indians. While between the Embira and Tarauaca live the *Kulino*, at the highest headwaters of the Envira live the Pakanaua or dagger Indians and the Kapanaua or squirrel Indians (Reich and Stegelmann 1903:133).²³

Likewise with three Brazilian military or government officials who reported the presence of Kulinas when they visited the upper Juruá and its tributaries in 1904, 1905–1906, and 1911 (see Table 3), as cited by Brazilian historian José Moreira Brandão Castello Branco (1950:15, 23).

The first substantive linguistic information to be made available for the Kulina of the Juruá was collected by Father Constant Tastevin, who worked with the Kulinas starting in 1908, published some ethnographic notes on the Kulinas in 1919 (Tastevin 1919; see also Verneau 1921), and soon after, in collaboration with French ethnologist Paul Rivet, sorted out the differences between the two tribes/languages that had hitherto

been called Kulina or some variant. He recognized that that the Kulina language from São Paulo de Olivença was Panoan and that the language of the Kulinas of the Juruá was closely related to Arawá, Yamamadi, and Paumari (all in the Arawan family):

These *Kurina* or *Kulino* [refers to Spix's list collected at São Paulo de Olivença] do not have anything in common linguistically with the *Kulina* or *Kulino* of the Juruá. They speak a Panoan dialect and are probably the most easterly of the Mayoruna. (Rivet and Tastevin 1921:465).²⁴

With good reason, Chandless supposes that *Kulino* must form part of the Jamamadi tribe. The Kanamari designate both with same name: Kólö; their languages resemble each other much and form, with Paumari and Arawá, a very homogeneous linguistic subgroup of the Arawakan family (Rivet and Tastevin 1921:463).²⁵

From the hut of the Wani-nawa, I passed by land to the communal house of the *Kurina*, on the headwaters of the Erú River. I collected an extensive vocabulary of their dialect, which belongs to the Arawakan group. Their proper name is "Madija" (men) and not Kurina, a denomination which perhaps comes from Katukina, who call them Kore. (Tastevin 1924:422).²⁶

It should be noted that at the time there was confusion about whether Arawan was part of the Arawakan family, or as is generally accepted now, a separate, unrelated linguistic family (Dixon 1999, 2006). K. G. Grubb also distinguished the two Kulina groups from each other:

The *Kulino* (Pano), formerly between the lower Javary and Jutahy [Jutaí], are to-day almost entirely incorporated into the civilized population (Grubb 1927:99).

The *Kulino*, who may be assumed to have assimilated the now vanished Arawa, form with the Yamamadi a linguistically homogenous group stretching from the Gregorio eastwards to the Purus (Grubb 1927:101).

Of particular interest is the ethnographic comment in the first of Grubbs' cited passage, which is the only information I have found that pertains to the disappearance of the Panoan Kulina of São Paulo de Olivença. Unfortunately, Grubb did not specify his source of information, but if taken as accurate, it would suggest that the Kulina did not survive to the present, at least not as a large or whole tribe (a point I will return to in the final section).

The first Arawan Kulina word list to actually enter the public domain was published by Dr. João Braulino de Carvalho (1929, 1931), who was

medical doctor for the Brazil-Peru border commission from 1920 to 1927. The language was clearly Arawan, though at the time Arawan still was not considered by most linguists to be a separate family from Arawakan:

The *Curinas* inhabit the upper Gregorio stream, an affluent of the Juruá, where they live from small-scale agriculture, consisting principally of maize, manioc, sweet potato, plantain/banana, and peanuts. Currently there is a large group at the mouth of the Gregorio, working on the rubber estate “Ituxi”, belonging to Mr. José Pedro de Souza, who took them in and is with them carrying out agriculture and rubber extraction. [...] We managed to collect a short word list, which, upon study with Mr. Curt Nimuendajú, we found that it was an Arawakan dialect (Carvalho 1931: 245–6).²⁷

Victor Oppenheim, who traveled to the Juruá river area to conduct archeological work in 1935, confirmed Carvalho’s information.

Curinas (Colinas): Occupy the region of the mouth of the Gregorio River and almost the entire basin of this river. [...] The language of the *Curinas* is very different from that of the other tribes on the upper Juruá, and as we were informed later by Mr. Nimuendajú, authority on matters of Amazonian ethnography, belongs to the Arawakan group (Oppenheim 1936:146).²⁸

Tastevin’s early (1911–1923) Kolina/Kulina word lists were finally, in collaboration with Paul Rivet, published in a partite article in 1938–1940 entitled: “Les langues arawak du Purus et du Juruá (groupe Arawá)”:

The first group—the less numerous one—*Kolina*, is called Kólö by Kanamari, and is on the right bank of Juruá at the height of Marary [Mararí] and on the upper Tapauá [affluent of the Purus]. It is these Kolina that are without any doubt linked to the Arawá of igarapé Chiué, or rather Chuè. The second group, *Kulina* or *Kurina*, composes the larger part of the tribe. These Indians, who call themselves Madiha and whom the Kašinawa name Pišinawa (stinky Indians) or Čapunawa, (rotten Indians), currently live between the Erú [Eiru] and Gregorio, and lived formerly between the Enbirá and Tarauacá [all four are tributaries of the Juruá; Figure 1] (Rivet and Tastevin 1938:73).²⁹

Tastevin and Rivet’s suggestion that the term Kulina comes from Katukina “Kore” or Kanamari “Kólö” (both Katukinan languages) may have some validity, but it is unlikely that this is the source of the original term “Curina” of earlier centuries. One plausible scenario is that in the nineteenth century the Katukinan terms motivated homophony through phonological analogy to the pre-existing similar denomination of the better-known Panoan group. This homophony would have led some to assume that the

Kulina in the Olivença area and those on the Upper Juruá were the same ethnic group, whereas others (e.g., Henry Walter Bates) were aware that they spoke mutually unintelligible languages.

Another short word list was collected in the early twentieth century (exact collection date uncertain) by José de Lima Figueirêdo (1939) on the Santa Rosa River, a tributary of the upper Purus River that forms part of the Brazil-Peru border, and is just east of the Embira River, a tributary of the upper Juruá (Figure 1). Figueirêdo's "Curina" list is likewise clearly Arawan. Figueirêdo's comment in an earlier publication suggests that the Kulina's habitation of this area just beyond the Juruá was not the result of a recent move:

In the past this river [Santa Rosa] was called "Curinahá", which means "home of the *Curinas*." These Indians still inhabit that area, and hate the Peruvians, whom they recognize by their accent (Figueirêdo 1936:77).³⁰

By the time the *Handbook of South American Indians* was written, it was well established that there were two linguistically disparate groups under a single denomination:

There are *Curina* (Culina, Culino) who belong to the Arawakan family and *Curina* (Culino) who are Panoan (Métraux 1948:658).

The nineteenth-century reports of the Juruá Kulina all seem to refer to uncontacted Indians, but by the early twentieth-century reports begin to appear of Kulinas working for non-Indians on the Juruá, its affluents, and in the immediate vicinity. Contact with non-Indians, in addition to making it possible for outsiders to finally record their language, seems to also have initiated their dispersal. For example, Schultz and Chiara (1955) reported "Kurina" Indians on various affluents of the Purus in both Brazil and Peru in 1950 and 1951, in regular contact with the national societies. However, this expansion did not extend into the Javari basin or to the vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença, a fact that will become relevant in the next section.

Beginning in the late 1950s, Summer Institute of Linguistics missionaries Patsy Adams and Arlene Agnew began to work with the Peruvian Kulina, and during the 1960s the first linguistic publications on the Arawan Kulina appeared (e.g., Adams 1962). In the 1980s and 1990s these missionaries followed the practice, then popular, of muddling the academic literature by attempting to relabel Amazonian groups/languages with pseudo-autodenominations, using "Madija" instead of Kulina in their publications (e.g., Adams and Marlett 1990), thereby adding denomination

synonymy to the already confusing homonymy. In the 1970s, Able Silva began to work with the Brazilian Kulina, and in the 1980s linguistic publications on the Brazilian Arawan Kulina began to appear (e.g., Silva and Monserrat 1984; Monserrat and Silva 1986). More recently, two grammars of Kulina have been written (Tiss 2004; Dienst 2006). Thus, during the twentieth century, the Arawan Kulina become a linguistically well-known group, in both Peru and Brazil, and we can conclude from the close sequence of historical records (see Table 3) that all reports of Kulinas on the Juruá were to this Arawan group.

With respect to the Kulinas at São Paulo de Olivença, we can be certain from Spix's list that at least the "Culino" who were there in 1820 were Panoan. It is most likely that the rest of the nineteenth-century references to Kulinas at or near São Paulo de Olivença were to this same group. Conversely, it is also possible, but improbable, that by 1835 or 1847 the Panoan Kulinas had disappeared and some Arawan Kulinas had migrated from the Juruá area to São Paulo de Olivença and the Jandiatuba River, and took on the Kulina denomination at this point. Bates' statement about the two Kulina groups speaking different languages would discourage, but not disprove, this second possibility. Whether or not we consider the 1835–1857 references to Kulinas at São Paulo de Olivença to all have been to the same group as that recorded by Spix, we are still left with the mystery of what happened to the nineteenth-century Panoan-speaking Kulinas encountered by Spix. They would appear to have passed out of existence, as most modern writers have assumed. Below, I will introduce the Marubos and consider whether the Modern Marubos may be the descendents of the Panoan Kulinas of São Paulo de Olivença. First, however, I will introduce the third group that has been denominated Kulina, who most certainly are *not* descendents of the Kulinas of São Paulo de Olivença, as can be readily observed upon comparing lexica (see the appendix).

The modern Panoan Kulinas of the Mayoruna branch

The denominations "Kulina," "Kulina-Pano," or "Kulina do Curuçá" are used currently to refer to a third indigenous group in western Amazonia (e.g., Melatti 1981; Cavuscens and Neves 1985, 1986; Erikson 1990:64, 1992, 1994, 1996:61; Coutinho 1998). Specifically, this third group comes from the Curuçá River basin, an affluent of the Javari located southwest of São Paulo de Olivença and northwest of the upper Purus (Figure 1). The FUNAI (the Brazilian bureau of Indian affairs) started to apply the term Kulina to the Panoan Kulinas of the Curuçá River in the 1970s, and Melatti (1981) and Cavuscens and Neves (1986) reported that at least some locals

were calling people from this group “Kulina” at the time of their travels in the area. It is through these authors’ publications that the denomination Kulina was first applied to this group in the ethnographic literature.³¹ Melatti (1981:111) was told by a Panoan Kulina of the Curuçá that his people had migrated there from the Juruá River and Melatti was unsure whether their language was Panoan or “Aruak.” Consequently, Melatti assumed that they were a group that had broken away from the Arawan Kulinas on the Juruá, and combined the two groups in his published works. By contrast, Cavuscens and Neves (1986:39) were well aware that this group was linguistically Panoan, and described them separately from the Arawan Kulinas, but following Melatti, used the denomination “Kulina (do Curuçá),” though with some reserve. In the absence of any other proposed denominations for this group, subsequent authors (e.g., Philippe Erikson, Walter Coutinho) took up this term, usually modifying it as “Kulina-Pano” or “Kulina do Curuçá,” to distinguish them from the better-known Arawan Kulinas living to the east and south. Though the term was not used by or known to them prior to working with local Brazilians, the Brazilian Kulinas now use “Kulina” as an autodenomination. Meanwhile, most Peruvian Kulinas (and Matses) are unfamiliar with the term. Because it is the denomination that has gained the greatest currency in the academic literature (and elsewhere), I will retain it, despite its confusing multiple referents, modifying it as “(Panoan) Kulina of the Curuçá (River)” where necessary to avoid ambiguity.

All the Kulinas of the Curuçá lived on the Brazilian side of the Javari River basin, in the Curuçá River basin, prior to being raided by the Matses around 1940.³² Summer institute of Linguistics missionary Harriet Fields (1970) collected word lists from several captive Kulina speakers shortly after the Matses were contacted. From Fields’ and my own data, I have identified three dialects of the Kulina language, which I call Kapishtana, Mawi, and Chema (see Table 1 for lexical similarities among these three dialects). The Matses killed or captured almost all the Kulinas during repeated raids on each faction. Only about ten Mawi Kulinas are known to have escaped capture, of whom only three men, now living in Tabatinga, remain alive today. The rest of the living Kulina speakers, mostly women, live now among the Matses in Peru and Brazil.³³

The Mawis separated from the Kapishtanas following a dispute around 1920 to 1930. The oldest Kapishtana captive is currently around eighty to ninety years old (as inferred from her appearance and the apparent age of younger women captured together with her). She was captured when she was a young woman with two children, and still remembers when the two factions were united when she was a small child. After this fission, and

prior to being raided by the Matses in the 1940s, according to the Matses raiders, the Kapishtanas and Mawis lived along right-bank tributaries of the middle Curuçá River in Amazonas, Brazil, and the Chemas lived along a left-bank tributary of the lower-middle Curuçá (Figure 1). According to the Kulina men living in Tabatinga, who are familiar with the Portuguese names for these streams, the Mawis lived on São Salvador stream and the Kapishtanas on Pedro Lopes stream; the identity of the stream along which the Chemas lived was not recoverable.

The term “Mawi” was suggested by the older of the three Kulina men living in Tabatinga. “Mawi” was also the name of his father, the head elder of their faction, and also the term he uses to refer to his faction. Likewise, “Kapishtana” was the name of the head elder of this faction. Melatti mentioned this Kapishtana leader:

There is news of [Kulina] leaders, but nothing about the nature of this leadership. On the Pedro Lopes [stream], the so-called Captain *Capistrano*, currently deceased, may not have been more than the head of a nuclear family with a large number of children ... (Melatti 1981:113).³⁴

Fields (1970) recorded “Kapishtana” as the true denomination of this faction, and it is the term that the Kapishtana Kulinas told me that they use to refer to themselves. The Matses denomination for the Mawi and Kapishtana Kulinas is “Kapishto,” meaning “cricket(s)” in Matses, a deliberate corruption of the term Kapishtana. Other authors have noted the term “Kapishto” as a Matses denomination:

Other fierce tribes still exist in this border area [i.e., the Peru-Brazil border at the Javari River]: the Crickets or *Capishtos*, the Marubos and the Remos (Mercier 1974:179).³⁵

The Mayorunas [read Matses] tell us of the tribe of the Crickets or *Kapishto*, who they say are very numerous and fierce, “having witch doctors, they know when someone is going to arrive, they kill”; those Crickets inhabit, according to them, the headwaters of Soledad stream [false], downriver from Angamos [a Peruvian army garrison on the Javari River; Figure 1]. The Mayorunas also tell us of other tribes whom they have exterminated, such as the *Cumala* [= *Kulina*], Shapajas [type of palm tree; this is a reference to the Paud Usunkid Indians, who spoke a dialect of Matses, and who ate the nuts of these palms] and Toucans [= Chankuëshbo Indians] (Villarejo 1979:186).³⁶

A secondary Matses denomination for the Kapishtana/Mawi is *tonnadbo* “*tonnad* tree/fruit people,” a name given to this group because they used to eat the fruits of *tonnad* trees, which the Matses do not eat.³⁷ The local

Spanish term for most *tonnad* trees, especially the timber species, is *cumala*, certainly the source of the term in the passage from Villarejo (1979) cited above. Fields (1970) also claimed that “Maruba” was another denomination for these people. Though this was probably due to confusion with the nearby Marubo, it suggests the interesting possibility that the Marubo/Maruba of Maucallacta are the ancestors of the Kulina of the Curuçá River, a connection that is linguistically plausible (see below) and consistent with Kulina oral history reports of having lived along a large river prior to the invasion of the Javari basin by rubber tappers. However, such a connection can never be fully evaluated, since no word lists of Marubo of Maucallacta were ever collected, as will be discussed in the following section.

The third slightly more removed Kulina faction/dialect, Chema (the name of the head male elder of this faction) is more frequently denominated by the Matses as Dēmushbo (or “nose ornament people”), the same term used for the Dēmushbo, a tribe that spoke another Mayoruna language, from whom the Matses took several captives (see appended narrative in Fleck 2003). The only living Chema Kulina speaker is also the only living Dēmushbo speaker. She was first captured as a girl when the Chema raided the Dēmushbo, and then when she was a young woman, the Matses raided the Chema and captured her along with other Chema and Dēmushbo women. Chema and Kapishtana/Mawi captives never saw each other prior to being brought to live among the Matses, nor did they know that the other group(s) existed; but they recognized each other’s language as being the same with only a handful of differences. Lexical comparisons confirm this (see Table 1).

USES OF THE TERM MARUBO AND ITS VARIANTS

The earliest word list available for any group called Marubo was collected in the 1960s in the Brazilian Javari River basin, and it is obviously a Panoan language of the Nawa group of the Mainline branch. The earliest usages of the term “Marubo” and its variants (1840s to 1870s), however, would seem to all be references to a tribe speaking a language belonging to the Mayoruna branch, living in Peru just south of the Amazon River. In the absence of actual linguistic data on the nineteenth-century Marubo, the latter conclusion is based on the following information, beginning with the most convincing: (1) firsthand reports of mutual intelligibility between the Marubos and a neighboring group called Mayorunas (a word list collected in 1847 is available for the latter); (2) multiple independent reports that the Marubos were a Mayoruna faction; (3) interchangeability

of the terms Mayoruna and Marubo to refer to the same group of people; and (4) evaluation of cultural features assigned to the nineteenth-century Marubos. Perhaps the most explicit identification of the Marubos of Maucallacta as a Mayoruna tribe/language is in an entry in a topographic dictionary of the Peruvian department of Loreto by João Wilkens de Mattos, a Brazilian military officer who traveled extensively in the Brazilian and Peruvian Amazon from 1825 to 1857:

Marubos. —Tribe, about which none of the early writers provided information. Mr. Raimondi says that the Marubos compose a faction of the Mayoruna tribe. The *Marubos* speak the same language as the Mayorunas, and have the same customs. Those that were lured to civilization inhabit the dilapidated town of Maucallacta, on the right bank of the Marañón [read Amazon River, upriver from the Peru-Brazil border]. Those who remain in the forests are cannibals, like the Mayorunas of the Javari (Mattos 1984 [1874]:100).³⁸

Most travelers of that period provided information corroborating the conclusion that the Marubo were a Mayoruna tribe, and none contradict it, as will be laid out in the following subsections.

By the 1870s, all reports of Marubos living along the Amazon River cease. Instead, starting in 1867, reports on the Marubo come only from the Javari basin. In the third subsection of the present section, I will trace the use of the word Marubo and its variants in the Javari basin from 1867 until the present, and show how the term Marubo was transferred from a historical Mayoruna tribe to the modern Marubo of the Nawa group. The fourth subsection presents the relevant Marubo oral history. Less frequently and less reliably than in earlier reports, some twentieth-century authors claimed that groups called Marubo (especially those on the Peruvian side of the Javari) were a Mayoruna faction. Therefore, tracing the ethnohistory of the various groups designated Marubo is impossible without also considering their contemporary Mayoruna neighbors. Table 4 provides a summary of the ethnohistory of the groups called Marubo.

The Marubos and Mayorunas of Maucallacta and Cochiquinas

What follows is a chronicle of all known mentions of Marubos and Mayorunas on the lower Peruvian Amazon River during the 1800s. Most of these reports were made by the same foreign travelers introduced above. This is the time period in which the term Marubo first comes into the historical record, and all reports of Marubos prior to 1867 are restricted to the Peruvian towns of Maucallacta and Cochiquinas and the adjacent forest south of the Amazon (see Figure 1). Meanwhile, groups called

Mayoruna already had a long history, and during the 1800s their presence was being reported over a very large area.³⁹

First, a word concerning the towns of Maucallacta and Cochiquinas. Maucallacta was a town located on the right (south) bank of the lower Peruvian Amazon, downstream from the town of (new) Cochiquinas and upstream from the town of Peruaté. Maucallacta was located just upstream from the mouth of the Cochiquinas River/Stream, and was formerly called Cochiquinas. Jesuit missionary Manuel Uriarte (1952: I:141, 226; II:81), who worked in the area from 1750 to 1768, reported that on several occasions Mayorunas were found along the Cochiquinas River and taken to Jesuit missions. Eventually, in 1761, the Jesuit mission of Nuestra Señora del Carmen de Mayorunas was founded on the Cochiquinas River, and was moved to the shore of the Amazon in 1767, at the mouth of Cochiquinas River (Chantre 1901:521, 523; Uriarte 1952:I:254–255; II:72, 81). In 1768, when the Jesuits were leaving the Peruvian Amazon, this mission still had 100 people living there (Chantre 1901:578, 582), but after the Jesuits left it became a secular town and its name was changed, taking on the name of the river at the mouth of which it was located. Francisco de Escobar y Mendoza (1908 [1769]), who visited the missions established by the Jesuits just after they left the area, did not mention Nuestra Señora del Carmen de Mayorunas among the missions in the province of Maynas, despite having described the missions just upriver and downriver from it (at Pevas and Loreto), suggesting it stopped functioning as a mission right after the Jesuits' exodus.⁴⁰ The first reference to this town by the name of Cochiquinas that I have encountered was by Francisco Requena (1991:13), governor of the Province of Maynas, who reported the presence of Mayorunas at "Cochiquinas," circa 1784. If Marcoy's (1875 [1862–7]:310) information is accurate, the town of Cochiquinas was moved upriver around 1824, though the term Maucallacta apparently was not consistently applied to the old town until later. Considering that the old site was temporarily abandoned when the village was relocated, we may suppose that the majority of the original inhabitants, including the Mayorunas, moved upriver at this time. As will be argued in the remainder of the present section, the old site would have subsequently been repopulated in part by a second Mayoruna faction called the Marubos. Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán provided the following second-hand information on these towns and their inhabitants, based on the information that was then available and which we will consider more closely below.

Maucallacta, ('old town' in Quechua) port on the right bank of the Amazon River, Department of Loreto, Province of Bajo Amazonas, District of Pevas:

TABLE 4. Summary of reports of groups denominated Marubo or variants of this term.

Author	Date	Maucallacta/ Cochiquinas/ Lower Javari	Upper Javari/ Gálvez River	Curuçá/ Ituí River
Ijurra	1845	Morubas		
Castelnau	1846	Marovas (M)		
Herndon	1851	Marubos		
Mattos	1854	Marubos (M)		
Raimondi	1859-61	Marubos/as (M)		
Orton	1867	Marúbos		
Raimondi	1869	Marubos		
Orton	1873	Marúbos		
Gomes	1897	Marugos		
Carvalho	1920-7		Marubius	
Grubb	before 1927		Marubo (M)	
Tessmann	before 1929		Maruba (M)	
Alviano	before 1943			Marubas
Boutle	1964			Marubos (N)
Fields	1970			Marubo (N)
Kennel	before 1978			Marúbo (N)
Costa	1988, 1990			Marubo (N)
Fleck	2002-present			Marubo (N)

^a Dates refer to the year the author was at the locality, not to the publication date.

^b Linguistic affiliation is included (in parentheses) only when there has been an explicit claim of mutual intelligibility or linguistic affiliation, or at least a word list: M = Mayoruna branch of the Panoan family; N = Nawa group of the Panoan family (Mainline branch).

110 miles upriver from the town of Loreto: 242 inhabitants, the majority of the tribe of *Maruvos*: at a distance of 2 leagues (11 kilometers) from Cochiquinas (Paz Soldán 1877:578).⁴¹

Cochiquinas, town in the Department of Loreto, Province of Bajo Amazonas, District of Pevas; on the right bank of the Amazon, 6 leagues (33½ kilometers) downriver from the town of Pevas: 208 inhabitants, of the tribe of *Moyorunas* [sic]. In 1814 it had 100 inhabitants (Paz Soldan 1877:216).⁴²

Currently, the town of (new) Cochiquinas still exists under that name at the same location, while the town of Maucallacta is now called “Mayoruna.”

The first possible reference to the Marubos was by British naval lieutenant Henry Lister Maw, who passed by this stretch of the Amazon in 1828:

At noon on the 29th [of January] we came to a collection of ranchos also on the right bank, and brought-to. Whether this is what the vicar of Moyobamba calls Camucheros, I cannot say. The canoemen called it an Indian pueblo; and the account given us by a man who spoke the Spanish language, and whom we found here, was, that about two years before, he had collected the Indians who were wandering in the Montaña [forests], supplied them with tools, and got them to build their present pueblo (Maw 1829:207).

The town mentioned in the preceding passage could only have been Old Cochiquinas/ Maucallacta, since Maw had left (new) Cochiquinas only four hours earlier, and Camucheros was a town on the Amazon further downstream, below Peruaté (see Figure 1).⁴³ Unfortunately Maw provided no denomination for the Indians he encountered in this town or for those he found in Cochiquinas, but considering that this “Indian pueblo” must have been the town that would later be known as Maucallacta, it is quite probable that these Indians were the same Marubo Indians that were found there twenty years later. This conclusion is supported by Mateo Paz Soldán’s corroborating and evidently independently acquired information about the non-Indian man who claimed to have brought the Indians to the town:

Maucallacta. Located on the left bank of the Marañón [read Amazon] River as one navigates upstream [i.e., on the south bank], three leagues from Peruaté: its population is one hundred and eighty people, composed of one family of whites and the rest Indians of the *Marubos* nation, who have been catechized by Mr. Antonio Villacres, founder of that population: they live united in a society, and in addition to these there exist in the jungles about four hundred who come out to the town for short periods ... (Paz Soldán 1862:542).⁴⁴

The British naval officers, Smyth and Lowe, who descended the Amazon and passed by this area in 1835, wrote the following:

In a quarter of an hour the tempest was entirely past, the sun shone forth brilliantly, and we had a beautiful passage to Cochiquinas. This village stands on the south bank of the river, and contains about one hundred and twenty inhabitants, who are composed of emigrants from Moyobamba and some civilized *Mayorunas* (Smyth and Lowe 1978 [1836]:265).

From the location of “Cochiquinas” on their map (Smyth 1936), this reference must have been to *Old* Cochiquinas, as it is placed downriver from the mouth of the Cochiquinas River. If, in fact, the town at which they stopped was Old Cochiquinas, this would suggest that, at the time, the Marubos were (also) known as Mayorunas.

The first use of the term Marubo or one of its variants in a publication, to my knowledge, was by Manuel Ijurra, governor of the province of Mainas, who spent time in a Tikuna Indian village in 1845 and first published his travel report in two parts in 1849 and 1850. Ijurra never met the “Morubas,” but recorded some secondhand information obtained from Tikunas and non-Indians in the area. Most of this information was about warfare between the Tikunas and “Morubas.” He gives the following information on their geographical location:

The *Morubas* compose about 800,000 [sic] inhabitants, according to reliable information from a Brazilian businessman who has had established commerce with them. They live west-north-west of the Tikuna groups, at a distance of 18 leagues from the first of which I have spoken [the of town Moromorote, on the Amazon; Figure 1], and 22 leagues from the second [a Tikuna village northeast of Moromorote] ... (Ijurra 1905 [1849–1850]:352).⁴⁵

To the north of it [the town of Pebas] live the numerous race of the Yaguas, 28 leagues distant, and the Cacajuras infidels 30 [leagues] distant, who live hidden; to the north-east of Pebas and north of Cochiquinas are the Ambiyacus infidels and to the south of the first [Pebas?] and of the great river [Amazon] live the *Morubas*, of whom I have already spoken. To the east of Pebas and 16 leagues from it is the port of Cochiquinas which has 100 inhabitants. From there to the town of Maucallacta there are 24 leagues and its population does not surpass 60 inhabitants. This village is on the south bank of the Amazon River and to the north live the other group of *Mayorunas* [“other” probably refers back to Mayorunas he encountered at San Joaquin de Omaguas; cf. p. 359] and the tribe of indeterminate number of the Mariatés (Ijurra 1905 [1849–1850]:365).⁴⁶

Thus, Ijurra reported the Marubos as living south of the Amazon, approximately south of Cochiquinas and Maucallacta, but did not mention any Marubos living in the towns of Cochiquinas or Maucallacta. Of particular interest is Ijurra's information that the Tikunas were enemies of and warred with the Marubos. In light of this, it is noteworthy that other authors have reported that the Tikunas and *Mayorunas* were at war with each other (Castelnau 1851:V:42; Osculati 1990 [1850]:220; Fejos 1943:24), making this a second indication that the term *Mayoruna* was initially used to refer to the Marubos.

The next use of the term Marubo or one of its variants in a publication, to my knowledge, was by Francis de Castelnau, who descended the lower Peruvian Amazon and passed by Cochiquinas in December of 1846:

The population of the village [Cochiquinas] is composed of thirty-five families, forming a total of approximately one hundred and eighty people, all from the *Mayoruna* nation. Wild Indians, called *Marovas*, often come in the town: they go naked, and inhabit the edges of the Cochiquinas River, which can be ascended only for three or four days by the smallest boats. They are a tribe of *Mayorunas*, but they are at war against the cannibals of the Ucayali River, who extend their excursions to the headwaters of the river, into which flow only two or three minor streams. The current village is located above the mouth of the [Cochiquinas] river, opposite an island named Mayro. On the site of the old village, there is a farm of the name of Manconiata [presumably Maucallacta], which is composed of five to six houses, and where we found with astonishment two cows and some pigs; we saw there for the first time the pretty agami [heron] with white wings (Castelnau 1851:V:40).⁴⁷

Castelnau provided the first and only linguistic data on any of the languages spoken in these towns: a fifty-four-word French-Mayoruna lexicon collected at Cochiquinas (1851:V:299–300). Inspection of this lexicon confirms that the language belongs to the Mayoruna branch of the Panoan family. Unfortunately, Castelnau's information on the "Marovas" is evidently secondhand, but if factual, the obvious conclusion would be that these Marubos speak a Mayoruna language.

Italian traveler Gaetano Osculati passed through this area in December 1847, and he reported Mayorunas at both Cochiquinas and Maucallacta, with no mention of Marubos anywhere in his text.

One day of navigation took me from Pebas to Cochi-china [Cochiquinas], a small town subordinate to the mission of Pebas, located on the right bank of the [Amazon] river, inhabited by *Mayorunas* (Osculati 1990 [1850]:212).⁴⁸

On the fourth [of December 1847] we arrived early in Makaquete [Maucallacta], that is, the old town of Cochiquinas, where one finds only 15 or 20 huts inhabited by *Mayorunas*; it is not far from the mouth the river of the same name (Osculati 1990 [1850]:213).⁴⁹

The discrepancy between Osculati's and Castelnau's descriptions of Maucallacta suggests that Castelnau probably did not stop at the actual village of Maucallacta, but at an estate associated with town, where he would not have seen the Indians who Osculati saw. Or, it is possible that the Indians of Maucallacta were away collecting sarsaparilla or other forest products at the time of Castelnau's visit.

The next author to use the term Marubo was Lieutenant William Herndon, who traveled down the Amazon in 1851:

Cochiquinas, or New Cochiquinas, is a miserable fishing village of two hundred and forty inhabitants; though at this time there did not seem to be forty in the village, most of them being absent fishing and seeking a livelihood. Old Cochiquinas [i.e., Maucallacta] is four miles further down the river, and seems a far better situation; but the people there were afraid of the attacks of the savages of the Yavari, and removed up to this place. The old town, to which place we dropped down to breakfast, has one hundred and twenty inhabitants, of which twenty-five are white, and the rest Indians of the Yavari, called *Marubos*. These are dressed with even more simplicity than the Yaguas, dispensing with the mop behind. They have small, curly moustaches and beards; are darker than the other Indians; and do nothing but hunt for a living. [...] The Yavari may be reached from this point by land in four days (Herndon 1853:233).

Herndon's report, then, is the first firsthand report of a group designated Marubo, and also the first to report Marubos as living within the town, rather than only in the surrounding jungle. However, these are surely the same Maucallacta inhabitants who Smyth and Lowe and Osculati called Mayorunas, who Marcoy called Marahuas (next section), and who Maw saw there in 1828. Nevertheless, at least in the readily accessible literature, it was around the time of Herndon's travels and publication (i.e., the early 1850s) that there began to be a strong association of the denomination Marubo with the town of Maucallacta.

Conversely, João Wilkens de Mattos entered the following in his travel diary on March 25, 1854 as he traveled up the Amazon:

Morning. — 8:45. We passed on the port side the town of Maucallacta,

on the south bank, 12 miles upriver from Peruaté. The character of this town, of 130 Tecunas and *Mangeronas* Indians, who live in 17 houses, is very agreeable.

Morning. — 10:40. We landed in the port of Cochiquinas. [...] The town contains 20 houses and one church roofed with thatch, and its inhabitants do not surpass 300 Tecunas and *Marubos* Indians. In the past this town was located 4 miles downriver, from where the inhabitants were forced to transfer it to its present location, on account of the persecution of the *Mangeronas*, who attacked the town to steal from the plantations that the inhabitants made (Mattos 1984 [1854]:58–9).⁵⁰

Curiously, in contrast to the entries in Mattos' travel diary, in his 1874 dictionary (cited above), he has Marubos at Maucallacta and Mayorunas at Cochiquinas (1984 [1874]:20, 100, 102). Mattos must have modified his dictionary either in response to later personal experience or in accordance with the works of Antonio Raimondi (see below), which he cited profusely in his dictionary. It seems, then, that either the term Mayoruna/Mangerona was used interchangeably with Marubo in the vicinity of these two villages, or else there was some confusion with respect to these two groups, presumably due to their similarities. In contradiction to Mattos' diary, but consistent with Mattos' later dictionary, English botanist Richard Spruce (1970 [1908]:II, 5) reported the presence of "Mayironas" at Cochiquinas the following year (1855), but he apparently did not stop at Maucallacta.

Italian-born Peruvian scholar Antonio Raimondi, in a widely circulated and frequently cited work originally published in 1862, reported the presence of Mayorunas at Cochiquinas and Marubos at Maucallacta, respectively, though it is not certain if this information is based on personal observations when he visited the department of Loreto in 1859–1861 (his travel diaries suggest he did not make it downriver from the confluence of the Ucayali and Marañón Rivers on this first trip):

Cochiquinas is populated by some 250 *Mayorunas*, who are employed in collecting sarsaparilla, copal and other products. [...] Maucallacta is inhabited by *Marubos* or *Marobas* Indians, who are a division of the *Mayorunas*. This place has few more than 100 inhabitants (Raimondi 1862:100).⁵¹

In a later trip, in 1869, Raimondi descended the Amazon as far as the present Peru-Brazil border. He reported again on the presence of Marubos at Maucallacta, this time with some ethnographic notes:

11:04 Arrival at the town of Maucallacta, which means "Old town." [...]

The Indians of Maucallacta belong to the tribe of *Marubos*; they are very docile and intelligent. The ones that live in the town go about dressed, the men wearing pants and a small blackish or brown shirt. The ones that live beyond the town are naked and decorate their arms with feathers (Raimondi 1929:94).⁵²

Raimondi also stopped in Cochiquinas during this same trip, but he did not mention the Mayorunas (or note their absence). I have found no further mentions of Mayorunas or Marubos at Cochiquinas or Maucallacta based on first-hand observations made later than Raimondi's. When Peruvian José Samanez y Ocampo passed by Cochiquinas and Maucallacta in 1886, he found these two villages essentially deserted:

Continuing upriver comes Maucallacta, in complete ruin. Cochiquinas also does not exist, except for a few houses spread out downriver (Samanez 1980:132).⁵³

When Marubos are next mentioned in the historical record it is in the Javari basin (see below), and it is not certain whether these later references are to the same Mayoruna tribe formerly living in and near Maucallacta, or to the modern Marubo of the Nawa group who currently live on the Ituí and Curuçá Rivers. It is also not certain if the Marubos of Maucallacta disappeared, assimilated to the nontribal society, joined their uncontacted relatives, or migrated, perhaps to the Javari, to work rubber (note that the Amazon rubber boom lasted from 1850 to 1920, though large scale rubber extraction in the Upper Amazon area began later, and intense invasion of the Javari by rubber tappers began in 1888 according to Weinstein [1983]). Before tracing these later reports of Marubos in the Javari basin, I will evaluate separately an additional early, but somewhat enigmatic, Marubo source.

Marcoy's "Marahuas"

French traveler and artist Laurent Saint Cricq, under the pen name of Paul Marcoy, used the term "Marahua" to refer to a group of Indians that he encountered at Maucallacta. It is clear upon comparing Marcoy's account to those cited in the preceding section that the group he called "Marahuas" is the same as the one that others called "Marubos" (or some variant of Marubo):

This village [Cochiquinas] is inhabited by *Mayorunas*, who have been made by baptism children of God and the church, but who have not yet been improved in externals by civilization (Marcoy 1875 [1862-7]:II:309.

The population of Mahucayaté [Maucallacta] is composed of *Marahuas*, a group of Indians separated from the nation of *Mayorunas*, with whom, notwithstanding this defection, they keep up a good understanding (Marcoy 1875 [1862–7]:II:310).

Marahuas Indians. Some families of this tribe inhabit the villages of Cochiquinas, Mahucayaté and Peruhuaté [Peruaté]. The remainder of the tribe live in the neighbouring Quebradas [streams], mixed with the *Mayoruna* nation whose dialect they speak and of whom they appear to be a separated branch (Marcoy 1875 [1862–7]:II: map page).

Three issues made difficult the incorporation of Marcoy's account into the preceding section. The first is that "Marahua" is best not considered a variant of the denomination "Marubo," but rather a misidentification, that is, an erroneous application of the denomination of another tribe, namely the one called Marahua/Marawa/Maragua. This latter group was reported by most of the travelers cited above, including Marcoy himself, as living east of the Javari basin, in Brazil, in the Jutai River area, and elsewhere. A Marawa word list collected by Spix at the Jutai River (Martius 1867: II:223–225) leaves no doubt that Marawa belongs to the Arawakan language family. Evidently Marcoy conflated the two denominations due to their phonological similarity and geographic proximity, and presented them as a single tribe. Most authors equate Marcoy's Marahua with Marubo, though sometimes they also confusingly equate these with the Arawakan Marawa as well (e.g., Martius 1867:I:427). Günter Tessmann (1930) correctly equated Marahua (of Marcoy) to Marubo, and also to Maruba, Mayoruna, and Panoan, as have others since (e.g., McQuown 1955:530). But, because no other authors have used Marahua to refer to Indians living in Maucallacta or the vicinity, it is best not to consider Marahua a variant or synonym of Marubo, but an isolated instance of misidentification. Consistent with Herndon's information that the Marubos came from the Javari River, Marcoy placed the Marahuas on the Javari. However, inconsistently with all other reports, Marcoy placed the same tribe as extending all the way east to the Jutai and even the Juruá:

Its [the Javari River's] left bank is inhabited by the *Mayoruna* and *Marahua* Indians ... (1875 [1862–7]:II:337).

Some Umaüa [Omagua] families formerly inhabited the lower part of the Jutahy, near Sapo igarapé [stream], its first affluent. Since the dispersion of these natives the *Marahuas* and the *Huaraycus* have remained masters throughout its whole length. Bound in friendship with the *Culinos* of the Jandiatuba and the *Mayorunas* of the Javari, these natives, in order to pass

from the territory of the one into that of the others, make use of the means of communication which nature has provided (1875 [1862–7]:II:359).

The *Marabua* tribe, of which the inhabitants of Mahucayaté are only a small fraction, is distributed along the small tributary streams of the interior, on the banks of the Javari, and even on those of the Juruá (1875 [1862–7]:II:312).

In Figure 1, it is evident that the lower course of the Javari is so close to Maucallacta that habitation of the left bank of the Javari is quite consistent with most other travelers' reports of Marubos living south of Maucallacta. However, Marcoy's reports of Marahuas on the Jutái and the Juruá are surely a reference to the Arawakan group.

The second reason why it was problematic to incorporate Marcoy's account into the preceding section is that despite his publication being presented in the style of a travel diary, he gives no dates. We can deduce that Marcoy passed Maucallacta around the middle of 1947 from the following observations. Marcoy traveled with Castelnau as far as Sarayacu. Castelnau left Sarayacu on October 30, 1946 and passed by Maucallacta in December of 1846. Marcoy spent Christmas and New Year at Sarayacu and remained there about two months longer. Marcoy tarried perhaps two months in Tierra Blanca and about a month in Pevas, but otherwise travelled quickly down the Ucayali and Amazon. Further complicating the dating of Marcoy's information is that he supposedly made several trips to Peru between 1947 and 1960 (Chaumeil 1994:273), and could have combined his new experiences and findings with those of his 1946–7 voyage to produce his 1862–7 publication.

An additional problematic issue is that Marcoy contradicts himself in many parts of his accounts (e.g., his map versus his text with respect to the location of the "Marahuas," as cited above), and many authors (e.g., Antonio Raimondi) have accused him of not being objective and of having falsified information. While these three issues make it difficult to incorporate Marcoy's account into our ethnohistory of groups called "Marubo," these doubts do not warrant completely ignoring Marcoy's account. Furthermore, his information with respect to the location and genetic affiliation of the group in question is essentially consistent with the rest of the historical accounts, so if his account were dishonestly reported, it would be a case of plagiarism rather than disinformation, and therefore would not invalidate or discourage our conclusions.

If we do accept Marcoy's information as legitimate, his account would not only be among the earliest references to the group otherwise known as the Marubos (of Maucallacta), but it would be the source that provides the most detailed first-hand ethnographic information on these people,

including two portraits. Most useful of Marcoy's ethnographic notes are those with respect to their facial ornamentation:

Cut on the same pattern as the *Mayorunas*, to whose nation they belonged, the *Marahuas*, nevertheless, differed from them in style of their toilette. It is an old custom among the red-skins when they separate from the mother nation to adopt a costume and style of ornamentation of their own. Thus the *Marahuas*, instead of shaving the head and marking the face with black hieroglyphics, pieces of silver, and feathers of the ara [macaw], were content to let their hair float loose, and garnish the sides of their mouth—bored full of holes for the purpose like a cook's slice—with needles of the palm six inches long. Admiring the strength, audacity, and artfulness of the tiger [read jaguar], their fixed idea is to resemble him in physique as well as in moral. Hence they fix the palm-needles round their mouths in imitation of the movable moustaches with which nature has endowed the felines (Marcoy 1875 [1862–7]:II 311–312).

The insertion of palm spines into the lips (and nostrils) in the form of feline whiskers was a well-known cultural trait of some, but not all, Mayoruna groups (Chantre 1901:64; Noronha 1856 [1768]:62; Sampaio 1825:69; Smyth and Lowe 1978 [1836]:224; Uriarte 1952:II:xxxiv; Velasco 1981 [1788]:491, et cetera), including the modern-day Matses and Matis, whereas the modern-day Marubo have never been known to do so. Marcoy notes that unlike the other Mayorunas, the Marahuas (i.e., the Marubos) did not shave their heads.⁵⁴ It should be noted that only some Mayoruna groups were reported to have shaved heads (hence the Spanish synonym *Pelados* (“baldies”) for some Mayorunas).

Marubos of the Javari basin in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century

After Raimondi's 1869 report of Marubos at Maucallacta, all subsequent references to Marubos are restricted to the Javari basin. James Orton made two trips to the Amazon, in 1867 and 1873, and wrote very brief notes on the “Marúbos,” but it is not certain whether any of this information was first-hand:

The *Marúbos*, on the Javará, have a dark complexion and a slight beard; and on the west side of the same river roam the Majerónas—fierce, hostile, light colored, bearded cannibals (Orton 1870:320).

JAVARÍ—*Marúbos* (east side), Majeronas (west side)” (Orton 1876:471).

One firsthand account referring to Marubos on the Javari was by Augusto da Cunha Gomes, who explored the Javari in 1897 and in 1898 presented his report to the Brazilian ministry of external relations:

On the lower Javari, that is, from its mouth to the mouth of the Gálvez River, there exist few communal houses of savages, almost all of them being already pacified. They belong to the great tribes of the *Marugos* and Tucunas or Ticunas, who came from the banks of the Maranhão [read Peruvian Amazon] River, principally from the lake where the city of Caballococha was founded (Gomes 1898:252).⁵⁵

The first report of Marubos in the twentieth century is by José Antonio Sotomayor (1901:178), who reported “marubos” on the Putumayo River, which forms the border between Peru and Colombia (see Figure 1) where no Panoan tribe has ever been reported. Sotomayor does not disclose how he came about this information, and as it is inconsistent with all other reports using the denomination Marubo and much other information in his article is obviously false, it is best to ignore it here. Nevertheless, even if we took Sotomayor’s information seriously, it would suggest only that some Marubos went north, while the rest ended up in the Javari basin.

Dr. João Braulino de Carvalho was medical doctor for the joint Brazil-Peru border commission between 1920 and 1927. He reported the presence of the following groups on the Javari:

Four are the tribes that inhabit the Javari basin: the Mayus, the Capanauas, the *Marubius* and the Remus. On the Curuçá and lower Javari live the Mayus, whose territory extends to the Gálvez, Tapiche and Blanco Rivers, the latter two being tributaries of the Ucayali. The Capanauas reside on Lobo stream and on the right bank of the Javari, from the mouth of the Gálvez until Lontazana. The Jaquirana, name by which the Upper Javari is known, from the mouth of the Gálvez until its headwaters, is the habitat of the *Marubius* (Carvalho 1931:252).⁵⁶

This is the first explicit report of Marubos on the *upper* Javari (also called Jaquirana or Yaquerana). Unfortunately, from this 1931 publication, it is not evident whether Carvalho personally observed all of these groups, so it is not possible to say whether at this point the term Marubo was being applied to a Mayoruna group or to the present-day Marubos. K.G. Grubb provided the following brief information on the Marubo.

As very small sub-tribes [of the Mayoruna] we mention the *Marubo* and the Pisabu on the River Galvez [Peruvian tributary of the Javari; Figure 1] (1927:83).

Unfortunately, Grubb does not make explicit the source of this information, and his conclusion that the Marubo are a subtribe of the Mayoruna may have been based on historical accounts of the Marubo at Maucallacta. Tessmann (1930:373, 582) also noted that according to his informant, the Morike were enemies of the “Marubo/Maruba,” whom he located on the upper Javari. The modern-day Marubos claim that they did not live along these rivers/streams, while Matses oral history places the Matses on the Gálvez, Lobo, and upper Javari during this period, suggesting that these references to the Marubo and Kapanawa were actually all to the Matses.

The first likely use of the term Marubo to refer to the present-day Marubos that I have found was by Frei Fidelis de Alviano:

Marubas ... This tribe lives in the upper Curuçá, on the Ituí, Itacoái, Arrôjo, and Río das Pedras. These Indians are enemies of the rubber tappers; they have little contact with the whites (1943:5).⁵⁷

Language of the *Marubas* — It is a dialect of the first linguistic group, of the Americanists, and belongs to the Panoan family (1943:6).⁵⁸

The localities given by Alviano correspond exactly to the location where the modern Marubos were contacted less than one decade later. Note as well that Alviano makes no claim that the Marubos are a Mayoruna faction.

Another secondhand source from this period, like Grubb, puts the Marubo on the Gálvez and illustrates just how little was known about groups labeled Marubo during this period:

Mayos, Mabas and *Marubos*: between the Gálvez (tributary of the Javari), the Tapiche (tributary of the Ucayali) and the Tahuayo (tributary of the Amazon). They are completely wild; they are fierce and attack the whites. It is not known how many they are, but it is assumed that they do not amount to more than 100 families (Villarejo 1943:102).⁵⁹

In a second edition, Villarejo evidently incorporated Alviano’s information (including Alviano’s 1957 report on the Jandiatuba Maiorunas), conflating references to what were surely two linguistically and ethnically distinct groups; and in a later publication introduced the idea that there existed slavery among these groups:

Mayos, Remos, Pisahuas and *Marubos*: Four located between the Gálvez, the Tapiche, the Tahuayo and the Tamishacu Rivers, always seeking the most inaccessible places. There are also *Marubos* in the Brazilian upper Curuçá, Ituí,

Itacoái, Arrôjo Rivers/Streams; and Mayorunas on the Brazilian Jandiatuba (Villarejo 1953:162).⁶⁰

Marubos: Located in the area between the Tapiche and Jaquirana Rivers. They and the Pisahuas hold the Mayos and Mayorunas in slavery. Nahua subtribe. See “Pishahuas.” Savajes (Villarejo 1959:139).⁶¹

It would appear, then, that during the 1940s and early 1950s the term Marubo was being applied to several little-known and/or uncontacted groups living on the Javari and its tributaries, including the Matses and the modern-day Marubos.

The present-day Marubos of the Ituí and Curuçá Rivers

In 1948, protestant missionaries contacted and later established permanent contact with the group currently denominated Marubo:

In this period the first New Tribes Mission agents began to visit them [the *Marubos*], and in 1962 these missionaries established themselves on the Ituí headwaters, where they remain today (Melatti 1992:221).

Subsequent to these missionaries' contact with the Marubos, word lists (Boutle 1964; Fields 1970) and grammatical descriptions (Kennel 1978; Costa 1992) have become available, allowing us to confirm that the language is a member of the Nawa group, and certainly not a Mayoruna language.⁶² Unfortunately, we cannot work backwards beyond the 1940s using the available historical record, and so it is difficult to determine when the term Marubo began to be applied to the modern-day Marubos. Most likely it was during the first half of the twentieth century, but we cannot be certain that the homophony did not already exist in the 1800s. After the 1950s, however, all reports of Marubos at other localities (i.e., beyond of the eastern tributaries of the Javari River) ceased, as did first-hand information associating the Marubos with the Mayorunas. However, as late as 1968 (Loukotka) and 1984 (Tovar and Tovar), “Marubo” has been listed as a synonym of Mayoruna, with no cautionary note specifying that this synonymy only applies to historical usages of the term Marubo and not to the extant group living on the Ituí and Curuçá.

The last clue to the mystery comes from the oral history of the Marubos, particularly with respect to events of the first half of the twentieth century. According to Marubo oral histories, the current-day Marubo ethnic group is composed of several tribes that spoke mutually intelligible Panoan languages (Ruedas 2001:709–41, 2003:37–9, 2004:30–4).⁶³ The language

of one of these groups (the Shainawabo people) is what the Marubos speak now, and a second language, that of the Inunawabo and Kananawabo people, was in part retained as a component of a ceremonial/shamanic language called Asãikiki by the Marubos. The rest of the languages were reportedly forgotten.

This union of tribes occurred as follows, according to Marubo oral history. During the beginning of the invasion of the Javari area by rubber tappers (i.e., at the end of the nineteenth century), the ancestors of the Marubo lived in the Javari basin, north of their current location. Some worked gathering rubber, but most contact with non-Indians involved violent raids by Peruvians and Brazilians aimed at capturing Indian women and children and/or exterminating the local Indian population (consistent with Augusto da Cunha Gomes' description quoted above). To escape this aggression, the leader of one of these groups, Tomás, led his people south, to the headwaters of the Arrojo stream, an affluent of the upper Curuçá in the interfluvial area between the Curuçá and Ituí Rivers (see Figure 1). Later (probably in the first decade of the twentieth century) Tomás's son, João Tuxawa, invited remnants of other tribes in the Javari basin who were being exploited or attacked by rubber workers to come to live at his village, with the intention of increasing the population to a level where they could defend themselves from invasions. There they lived, in the interfluvial area between the upper Ituí and Curuçá Rivers, avoiding all contact with non-Indians until they were contacted on the Agua Branca stream (a left bank tributary of the Ituí River) by Protestant missionaries.

LEXICAL COMPARISONS WITH SPIX'S KULINA LEXICON

I made cursory comparisons of Spix's "Culino" (i.e., Panoan Kulina of Olivença) with all the extant and documented extinct Panoan languages. This initial examination revealed that Spix's list matched Marubo more closely than any other Panoan language. Katukina was second closest match, as one might expect from its lexical similarity to Marubo (see Panoan classification above and Table 2). Subsequently, to judge the precise level of lexical similarity, I carried out detailed comparisons of Spix's list with the following languages: Kulina of the Curuçá River, Matses, Matis, modern Marubo, Shipibo, and Katukina. Matses, Matis, Marubo, and Shipibo data were elicited by me and checked in the field with multiple speakers, with special attention to detecting possible misunderstandings in Spix's list. Katukina data are from Aguiar (1994), Key (2000), and

Lanes (2000). Table 4 lists the results of these lexical comparisons, and the appendix provides a comparison of Spix's list with Kulina of the Curuçá and modern Marubo.

As a final step, I compared twenty-two words from the Asäikiki ceremonial language/register of the Marubo, and I found that despite some intriguing lexical matches and phonological similarities, overall the Asäikiki words match the terms in Spix's list less closely than did the corresponding Marubo words.⁶⁴ The results show beyond any doubt that the Kulina of Olivença was not a Mayoruna language and that it is considerably more similar to Marubo than to any other Panoan language of the Nawa group. The lexical similarities between Spix's list and Marubo are high enough that if one takes into account that some of the mismatches may be undiscovered misunderstandings, and others could be due to lexical replacement over the past 185 years, it is possible that Kulina of Olivença is the direct linguistic predecessor of modern Marubo. A second possibility is that Kulina of Olivença and modern Marubo were either dialects of the same language or very closely related languages.

CONCLUSION: DID THE KULINAS BECOME THE MARUBOS?

The time span between the disappearance of the Kulinas of Olivença (at the end of the nineteenth century) and the appearance of the Modern Marubos (in the middle of the twentieth century) was long enough to have given time for the Kulinas of the Olivença to have migrated from the Jandiatuba River area to the not-too-distant Ituí River and other localities in the Javari basin. It is surely no coincidence that the Kulinas of Olivença, the Marubos of Maucallacta and the Mayorunas of Cochiquinas all disappeared from these towns during the rubber boom, which was a time of large scale migration and decimation of Amazonian tribes. The most likely scenario, consistently with Marubo oral history, is that during large scale rubber collection in the Javari valley (1888–1912) the ancestors of the Modern Marubos migrated south to the more remote tributaries of the Javari River. These ancestors could have been the documented Kulina who were living in the vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença, a faction of these Kulina living in the upper Jandiatuba out of contact with non-Indians (and perhaps speaking a somewhat different dialect), or a completely uncontacted group living in this area or in the Javari basin speaking a language very similar to Kulina of Olivença. If the Kulina of Olivença language was not the direct ancestor of Modern Marubo, another possibility is that the

TABLE 5. Results of lexical comparisons of Spix’s Kulina of Olivença list with five Panoan languages.

Languages compared with Spix’s list	Clear matches ^a	All matches ^b	Words compared ^c
Nawa languages:			
Modern Marubo	61%	80%	237
Katukina	52%	66%	212
Shipibo	44%	57%	240
Mayoruna languages:			
Matis	27%	33%	225
Kulina of the Curuçá River	22%	27%	222
Matses	20%	26%	231

^a A clear match (“y” in the appendix) is scored when the two corresponding words in the list have the same meaning and essentially the same form, allowing for consistent sound changes and idiosyncrasies in Spix’s transcription.

^b This includes clear matches and questionable matches. A questionable match (“?” in the appendix) is scored when words look somewhat similar, and it is not evident if there was a transcription error, phonological change over time, or if in fact the words are different. A questionable match is also scored when Spix’s term matches a different word in the language being compared, apparently due to a misunderstanding in Spix’s list.

^c The number of words compared vary among the languages based on several factors. Since I did not elicit the Katukina list myself, some terms were absent from the existing sources and therefore unavailable for comparison. With the other languages, sometimes the language simply did not have term a particular word in Spix’s list (e.g., names for astronomic constellations).

Kulinas of Olivença went into headwaters of affluents of the Javari where they were decimated and eventually recruited by João Tuxawa to form part of the multiethnic society that would come to be known as the Marubos, and their language was subsequently lost. Of course, it is also possible that the Kulinas of Olivença simply assimilated to non-tribal societies at São Paulo de Olivença and elsewhere, or even that some of them exist today as one of several uncontacted groups known to still be living in the Brazilian Javari basin.

In short, the answer to the question is a tentative “yes”: the lexical comparison and the ethnohistorical investigations indicate that it is quite possible, if not probable, that the Kulinas of Olivença, or a faction of this group, formed part of the multiethnic society that came to be known as the (Modern) Marubo. Unfortunately, we cannot be certain of exactly how this happened, as the historical record for the Javari basin during the period of interest is too scanty to allow us to trace the proposed migration. Nevertheless, three conclusions of the present linguistic and ethnohistorical investigation will prove important for classifying the Panoan languages:

- 1) In addition to noting the homophony with Arawan Kulina, scholars should be sure to distinguish Kulina of Olivença (a Nawa language) and Kulina of the Curuçá (a Mayoruna language).
- 2) Marubo of Maucallacta (a language of the Mayoruna branch) should not be confused with Modern Marubo (a language of the Nawa group of the Mainline branch).
- 3) If Kulina of Olivença is not accepted as the same as or a dialect of Modern Marubo, it should at least be placed in the Nawa group alongside Marubo and Katukina.

NOTES

Acknowledgements. I would like to thank all the Panoan Kulinas of the Curuçá River (those currently living in Tabatinga, Brazil or among the Peruvian Matses), Marubos (those living in Atalaia do Norte or among the Peruvian Matses), and Shipibos (living in or visiting Iquitos, Peru) who patiently shared with me their oral histories and their languages. Alexandra Aikhenvald, Jean-Pierre Chaumeil, Stefan Dienst, Philippe Erikson, and Javier Ruedas provided valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Pedro Cesarino helped with the lexical comparisons involving Marubo and Asäikiki (the ceremonial language of the Marubos).

1. Other authors have recognized the high level of divergence of the Mayoruna languages from the other Panoan languages, both in reference to the historical Mayoruna (Sagolis 1901:365; Larraburre 1908:XIII:261; Izaguirre 1922–29:

IX:40), and of the modern Matses (D'Ans 1982:92; Kneeland 1994:23; Lanes 2000:162, 2002:116; Dorigo 2001:9–10). However, previous classifiers of the Panoan family have failed to separate the Mayoruna languages at the highest level as I have done, typically instead placing the Mayoruna languages (often ignoring this branch's internal diversity and calling it the "Mayoruna/Matses language") on the same level as groupings that according to my classification would be subdivisions of the Nawa group. See Fleck and Voss (2006) for a description of the Mayoruna ethnic groups.

2. I propose this category for the first time in the present paper. The term Mayo was used in the early 20th century to refer to some of the Mayoruna groups.

3. I propose this category for the first time in the present paper. The selection of the label for this category was motivated by i) Tastevin's (1924) and Villarejo's (1959) use of "Nawa"/"nahua" as an alternate label for the Panoan language family; ii) the fact that most of the members of this group have "-nawa" as part of their denomination or clan/moiety names, while the Kashararis, the Kashibos, and the Mayoruna tribes do not. Most past Panoan study has been concerned with sub-classification of the Nawa group and Kashibo, either ignoring or downplaying the Mayoruna languages and Kasharari, which were linguistically essentially unknown until the end of the last century.

4. The only sound Panoan genetic classification is by Olive Shell (1965/1975); however, her reconstructive work included only seven languages/dialects: Kashibo, Chakobo, Shipibo, Kapanawa, Amawaka, Kashinawa, and Marinawa. I will not here say much about extinct Panoan languages and dialects, other than ones called Kulina and Marubo. Fleck (in press) will classify the other extinct languages/dialects.

5. Information on Panoan mutual intelligibility, or the lack thereof, is partly from my own observation of interactions among Matses, Matis, Kulina, Marubo, and Shipibo speakers. Interviews with speakers of all the Mayoruna languages and of Marubo, Shipibo and Kapanawa provided additional data on this topic. See Loos (1999:228) for information on mutual intelligibility among Panoan groups in the Purus-Juruá area, and Lima (1994) for reports of mutual intelligibility among Marubo, Katukina, and Yawanawa speakers. Frank (1994:140) reports mutual intelligibility between Shipibo and Kashibo speakers, and this is confirmed by Roberto Zariquiey (personal communication). I have no information on mutual intelligibility for Chakobo and Kasharari, but the latter is so different from the rest of the Mainline languages, that little or no mutual intelligibility is predicted. The Mayoruna languages are quite similar to each other phonologically, and this increases the ease of understanding of languages within the branch, despite their sometimes low lexical similarity.

6. Mayoruna, Marubo, Shipibo and Kapanawa data for Table 1 were collected by me, the latter two after prior consultation of published dictionaries (Loriot et al 1993; Loos and Loos 1998). Kashibo data were collected by Roberto Zariquiey following my specifications, after prior consultation of Shell (1987) and Key (2000). The following are the sources for the other languages in Table 1. Katukina: Aguiar (1994), Key (2000), Lanes (2000); Amawaka: d'Ans and

Van den Eynde (1972); Hyde (1980); Kashinawa: Montag (1981), Lanes (2000); Sharanawa: Jakway (1975), Scott (2004); Shanenawa: Lanes (2000), Cândido (2004); Chakobo: Zingg (1998), Key (2000); Kasharari: Pickering (1973), Lanes (2000), Sousa (2004), Couto (2005). A lexical match was scored when the two roots (excluding prefixes and suffixes, and any modifying words in multi-word terms) were both phonologically equivalent (taking into account consistent sound changes and probable transcription errors) and semantically equivalent (i.e., not just looking for any matching form in the language). Percentages in Table 1 should be read as relative indexes of relative lexical similarity, not as values to be used for lexico-statistics. Lists not collected by Zariquiey or by me are not complete, do not circumscribe the exact definition of the words, and/or contain an undeterminable number of errors, making comparisons involving these lists less precise. In my experience, the number of matches increases by up to 6% when a list is collected more carefully. Table 1 excludes languages for which fewer than 150 words from the Swadesh (1952) list were available, and for the Yaminawa dialect complex, only a few selected dialects are included.

7. The available historical sources can be divided into three types: i) first-hand reports (where the author actually saw the people in question); ii) locally-collected second-hand reports (where the author traveled to the relevant locality and obtained information from locals); and iii) second- or third-hand information based on sources of types (i) and (ii). Types (i) and (ii) will be referred to collectively as “reports,” though when possible type (i) and type (ii) reports will be distinguished, the former obviously being more reliable. Table 2 contains only reports that mention the Kulinas (or some variant of the term), and excludes information of type (iii); likewise for Table 3, which lists reports of the Marubos. References to sources of type (iii) are included in the prose only when they include information that cannot be attributed to reports that are cited in this paper.

8. All material in square brackets inserted into quotations are comments or clarifications added by me. [In these quotations, certain ethnonyms have been italicised for emphasis. These italics have also been added by the author. (eds.)]

9. My translation from the Spanish translation of the Italian original: Curinas (Curinae, Curini).—N.B. al sur del Marañón, poco conocida. Se sabe además que estos Indios están en continua guerra con los Aguas, y de ese modo se destruyen entre sí.

10. My translation from the Spanish translation of the Italian original: Quirabas (Quirabae).—N.B. sobre la orilla Septentrional del Marañón. Desciende de los Curinas, y está siempre en guerra con la N.B. de los Aguas.

11. “Tampoco ponemos en la lista antecedente los nueve pueblos de Ucayales, Pirros y Cunivos...” (Chantre 1901:580). “Sus nombres eran Cambas, Remos, Manamobobos, Cunivas y Piros. [...] Tengo por cierto según el empeño que tienen los Cunivas...” (Chantre 1901:282).

12. My translation; original in Portuguese: Em distancia de mais treze legoas, e na mesma margem austral do Amazonas está a villa de Olivença, passados os dois riachos Acuruí, e Jundiátyba, no qual habitão Indios das nações Uraicú, Marauá, Colino, e Mayuruna.

13. My translation; original in Portuguese: Habitão-no varias nações de indios

sendo conhecidos os Uraicús, Marauás, Colínos, e Maiurúnas. [...] Proxima se nos seguio a boca do pequeno rio Jandiatyba, povoado das mesmas nações, que habitão o Acuruí. [...] Habita-o o gentio Colíno, nação famosa pela ligeireza da carreira, e á qual nunca foi possivel reduzir-se a aldeiar-se.

14. My translation; original in Portuguese...e os Culinos, mui conhecidos entre os outros indigenas, por terem o rosto mui redondo, e os olhos por extremo grandes.

15. My translation; original in Italian: A non più di 1500 anime può ascendere quella popolazione, comprendendo gli abitanti delle circostanti campagne, per la più parte composta di indiani Ticuñas, Campivas [Omaguas], Culinas battezzati in altri tempi dai missionarj.

16. My translation; original in Italian: Molte sono le tribù selvaggie che abitano nelle vicinanze di S. Pablo d'Oliveinça; distinguonsi fra le altre i Campivas, gli Arayas, Culinas e Ticuñas; tutti vanno nudi, con poca o nessuna differenza dalle altre tribù, alle quali danno indistintamente il nome di Tapuyos (barbari).

17. My translation; original in French: D'après cet homme, les nations du Juruá sont, en remontant de l'embouchure vers les sources, dans l'ordre suivant: Les Marawas, les Cataochis, les Arawas, qui sont hostiles; les Culinos, qui sont en partie hospitaliers et en partie hostiles; les Canamaris, qui seraient les mêmes que les Puru-Purus; les Catuquinas et les Nawaes, qui sont anthropophages. Sur la grande rivière de Chiruan se trouvent les Cataochis, les Culinos et les Purus.

18. Castelnau (1851:164-7) copied and published information on the distribution of Amazonian Indians in a journal he found in Belem do Para called *Telegrafo Paraense*, published 28 March 1829. This journal had "Colino" in the district of Olivença, and "Cruirina" on the Juruá. Unfortunately, it is not certain what type of information this journal article was based on, so it is hard to judge its reliability. It does imply, however, that (a variant of) the term Kulina was being used for Indians on the Juruá earlier than Castelnau's visit. This may be the source of Marcoy's (1867:98) questionable location of the Kulinas on the Juruá in 1640-80.

19. Castelnau's informant's statement about some of the Culina being hospitable may have been motivated by the Culina at São Paulo de Olivença; even if Castelnau missed the fact that there were Indians called Culinos or Culinas at São Paulo, his informant would have surely been aware of this.

20. My translation; original in Portuguese: No seculo passado, segundo escrevem viajantes dessa época, eram as regiões do valle do «Javary» habitadas pelas tribus de indios Maranas, Panos, Tapaxanas e Tucunas. No começo deste seculo, haviam já outras tribus em substituição áquellas, as quaes denominavam-se Colinos, Uraicus, Jannes e Mayurunas. Destas tribus pouco encontrou a comissão de 1864, a não ser a dos Mayurunas, já com o nome Mangeronas, que habitavam toda a região ribeirinha do «Javary», sempre ferozes e bravios. Foi esta tribu que atacou e perseguio a expedição de 1864, que matou a flechadas o distincto hydrographo e astrónomo capitão-tenete Soares Pinto e ferio gravemente o geographo peruano Paz Soldan. Hoje os indios que vivem no valle do «Javary» são em pequeno numero, devido ás correrias continuas, que fazem os caucheiros peruanos para expellir-os do territorio, onde exploram o — Caucho, e para tomarem as pequenas,

cuja venda constitue um ramo de negocio lucrativo.

21. My translation, original in French: *kurana* 'le bon génie' ; *kurimes* 'dieux habitant les profondeurs de la terre' ; *zupinèrès* 'une sorte de sorciers ou pagés' ; *ami-ami* 'grandes cérémonies religieuses' ; *duri* 'Ces pierres sont en réalité fabriquées par les zupinèrès, ils employent à cet effet le terrible sue d'une plante amazonique, l'assacu, et leur donnent le nom de *duri*. [...] Arabunão s'approcha, prit la petite pierre minuscule, simula un grand effort, passa la pierre sur différentes parties du corps, puis me tenant le bras, y plaça la pierre, appuya et escamotant prestement le *duri* montra aux assistants ses mains vides.'

22. My translation, original in Portuguese: *dori* 'feitiço (o objeto que é jogado no corpo para enfeitiçar)' ; *dsoppineje* 'bruxo, paxé' ; *tocorime* 'entidade sobrenatural, espírito xamânico; por extensão: alma.'

23. My translation; original in German: Er teilt mir über die Geographie der Indianer das Folgende mit. Während zwischen dem Envira und Tarauaca sich Kulino finden, wohnen im obersten Quellgebiet des Envira Pakanaua oder Dolchindianer und Kapanaua oder Eichhörchenindianer.

24. My translation; original in French: Ces Kurina ou Kulino n'ont rien de commun comme langue avec les Kulina ou Kulino du Juruá. Ils parlent un dialecte pano et sont probablement les plus orientaux des Mayoruna.

25. My translation; original in French: Avec raison, Chandless suppose que les Kulino doivent faire partie de la tribu des Yamamadi. Les Kanamari désignent les uns et les autres du même nom: Kólö; leurs langues se ressemblent beaucoup et forment, avec le Pammari et l'Araua, un sous-groupe linguistique arawak très homogène.

26. My translation; original in French: De l'ajoupa des Wani-nawa, j'ai passé par terre au carbet des Kurina, des sources de l'Erú. J'ai recueilli un vocabulaire complet de leur dialecte, qui appartient au groupe Arawak. Leur nom propre est «Madija» (les hommes) et non point Kurina, dénomination qui leur vient peut-être des Katukina, que les appellent Kore.

27. My translation; original in Portuguese: Os «Curinas» habitavam o alto «Gregorio», afluente do «Juruá», onde viviam da pequena agricultura, constituída principalmente pelo milho, macacheira, batata, banana e mendobim. Atualmente existe um numeroso grupo na fós do «Gregorio», trabalhando no seringal «Ituxi», do Sr. José Pedro de Souza, que lhes deu agasado, e com êles está fazendo agricultura e extração da borracha. [...] Conseguimos levantar o pequeno vocabulario, que, estudado com o Sr. Curt Nimuendajú, verificámos tratar-se de um diateto Aruak.

28. My translation; original in Portuguese: Curinas (Colinas): Ocupam a região da fós do rio Gregorio e quasi todo o valle deste rio. [...] A lingua dos Curinas é bem distinta das demais tribus no alto Juruá e conforme nos informou posteriormente o Sr. Niemandajú [sic], autoridade em questões de ethnographia amazonica, pertence ao grupo de «Aruak».

29. My translation; original in French: Le premier groupe,—le moins nombreux—, les Kolina, appelés Kólö par les Kanamari, se trouve sur la rive droite du Juruá à la hauteur de Marary et sur le haut Tapauá. C'est à ces Kolina que se rattachent sans aucun doute les Arawá de l'igarapé Chiué, ou mieux Chué. Le

second groupe, les Kulina ou Kurina, représente le gros de la tribu. Ces Indiens, qui s'appellent eux-mêmes Madiha et que les Kašinawa nomment Pišinawa (Indiens puants) ou apunawa (Indiens pourris), vivent actuellement entre l'Erú et le Gregorio et ont vécu autrefois entre l'Envirá et le Tarauacá.

30. My translation; original in Portuguese: Antigamente o rio se chamava "Curinahá", que significa "casa dos curinas." Estes indios ainda habitam aquelas paragens e odeiam de morte os peruanos, que conhecem pelo sotaque.

31. It is uncertain whether this group was ever mentioned in the historical literature prior to this time. If they were mentioned, they were probably identified as a Mayoruna group and called Mayorunas, Mangeromas, etc. It is also possible, though less likely that Marcoy's and Gomes' 19th century reports of Kulinas on the Javari were to this Mayoruna group.

32. The Mawi Kulinas in Tabatinga report that some Mawis went to the Jurúa River to work rubber in the beginning of the 20th century, but Peruvian Kulinas deny this.

33. Melatti (1981:112) and Cavuscens and Neves (1986:40) reported that at the time there were still 29 or 35 Mawi Kulinas living in the area. It should be noted that in addition to the approximately 6 uncaptured Mawi Kulina men who were still alive in the 1980, the rest of the 29/35 purported Mawi Kulinas include a few female Kulinas who were captured by the Matses (very close relatives of the three Kulina men), their children (fathered by Matses men), and other Matses related to them. Among the latter purported Kulinas, none speak the Kulina language at all, except the older captured women.

34. My translation; original in Portuguese: Há notícias de líderes, mas nada sobre a natureza dessa liderança. No Pedro Lopes, o chamado Capitão Capistrano, já falecido, poderia não ter passado de chefe de uma família elementar com muitos filhos...

35. My translation; original in Spanish: Otras tribus bravas existen todavía en ese sector fronterizo: Los Grillos o Capishtos, los Marubos y los Remos.

36. My translation; original in Spanish: Los mayorunas nos hablan de la tribu de los grillos o capishito que dicen es muy numerosa y son bravos, "con brujos, saben que va a llegar uno, matan"; esos grillos habitan según ellos las cabeceras de la quebrada Soledad, abajo de Angamos. Los mayorunas nos hablan también de otras tribus que ellos han exterminado, tales como los cumala, shapajas y pinshes.

37. The Matses word *tonnad* is a general term for all tree species of the Family Myristicaceae (Portuguese *ucuíba*). As noted by Romanoff (1984:37): "Matses often call other groups by a peculiarity of their diet."

38. My translation; original in Portuguese: Marubos.—Tribu, de que nenhum dos antigos escriptores dá noticia. Mr. Raimundi diz, que os Marubos formão uma fracção da tribu Mayoruna. Os Marubos fallão a mesma lingua dos Mayorunas, e têm os mesmos costumes. Os que tem sido attrahidos á civilisação, habitão na decadente povoação de Maucallacta, á margem direita do Marañon. Os que permanecem selvaticos são antropophagos, como os Mayorunas do alto Javary.

39. For uncontacted groups called Mayoruna at the time, this area was composed of the roughly triangular area formed by the Amazon-Ucayali River, the Tapiche River, and the Javari basin. In addition to Cochiquinas and Maucallacta,

contacted Mayorunas were reported in the 1800s as settled in missions and non-tribal towns along the Amazon (San Joaquin de Omaguas, Orán, Tabatinga) and the Ucayali River (Sarayacu mission); see Figures 1 and 2. See Erikson (1990, 1994, 1996); Coutinho (1993); Matlock (2002); and Fleck (2003) for additional historical and ethnographic information on the Mayoruna.

40. Shortly after the Jesuits' departure, the administration of some, but not all ex-Jesuit missions in the province of Maynas was taken over by secular priests, who in turn were replaced by Franciscans in 1774 (Golob 1982:256). Escobar was one of these secular priests.

41. My translation; original in Spanish: Maucallacta, (pueblo viejo Q.) puerto ó embarcadero en la orilla derecha del rio Amazonas, dist. Pevas: 100 millas arriba de Loreto: habt. 242, la mayor parte de la tribu de Maruvos: dista de Cochiquinas 2 leg. (11 k.).

42. My translation; original in Spanish: Cochiquinas, pbl. Dpt. Loreto, prov. Bajo Amazonas, dist. Pevas: á la orilla derecha del Amazonas, 6 leg. (33½ k.) abajo de Pevas: habt. 208, de la tribu Moyorunas. En 1814 tenia 100 habt.

43. We can be certain that the town that Maw called "Cochiquinas" was not Old Cochiquinas because he stated "Pueblo of Cochichenas situated on a high part of the right bank" (Maw 1829:203) and (New) Cochiquinas is on a high bank, while Maucallacta/Old Cochiquinas is not, as I have personally observed and as can be seen in the engravings in Marcoy (1866:129,130).

44. My translation; original in Spanish: Maucallacta. Situado en la márgen izquierda del rio Marañon á la surcada, distante tres leguas de Peruaté: su poblacion consta de ciento ochenta personas, compuesta de una familia de blancos y el resto de indígenas de la nación Marubos, los cuales han sido catequizados por Don Antonio Villacres, fundador de aquella población: viven reunidos en sociedad, á mas de estos existen dentro del monte como cuatrocientos y salen por temporadas á la población...

45. My translation; original in Spanish: Los Morubas componen como 800,000 habitantes, según buenas informaciones de un comerciante brasilero que ha tenido tráfico establecido con ellos. Viven hacia el O. NO. de los grupos Ticunas, á distancia de 18 leguas del primero de que he hablado, i 22 leguas del segundo...

46. My translation; original in Spanish: Al N. de él habita la numerosa raza de los Yaguas á las 28 leguas, i los infieles Cacajuras á las 30, que viven incógnitos; al NE. de Pebas i N. de Cochiquinas están los infieles Ambiyacus i al S. del primero i del gran río [Amazon] los Morubas, de quienes he hablado ya. Al E. de Pebas i á 16 leguas está el puerto de Cochiquinas que tiene 100 moradores. De allí al pueblo Maucallacta hai 24 leguas i su población no pasa de 60 habitantes. Dicha aldea está en la orilla sud del Amazonas i al N. se sitúan, el otro grupo de los Mayorunas i la tribu indeterminada en número de los Mariatés.

47. My translation; original in French: Le population du village se compose de trente-cinq familles, formant un ensemble d'environ cent quatre-vingts personnes, toutes de la nation des Mayorounas. Des Indiens sauvages, appelés Marovas, viennent souvent dans le pueblo: ils vont nus, et sont établis sur les bords du rio Cochiquinas, qui ne peut se remonter que pendant trois ou quatre jours

pour les plus petits canots. C'est une tribu de Mayorounas, mais ils sont en guerre contre les anthropophages de l'Ucayale, qui étendent leurs excursions jusqu'aux sources de la rivière, laquelle ne reçoit que deux ou trois ruisseaux insignifiants. Le village actuel est situé au-dessus de l'embouchure de la rivière, en face d'une île nommée Mayro. Sur l'emplacement de l'ancien village, il y a une ferme du nom de Manconiata, qui est composée de cinq à six maisons, et où nous trouvâmes avec étonnement deux vaches et quelques cochons ; nous y vîmes pour la première fois le joli agami à ailes blanches.

48. My translation; original in Italian: Una giornata di navigazione mi condusse da Pebas e Cochi-china, piccolo villaggio dipendente dalla missione di Pebas sulla riva destra del fiume, abitato da Mayorounas.

49. My translation; original in Italian: Il giorno 4 s'arrivò di buon mattino a Makaquete, ossia l'antico villaggio Cochi-china, ove non si vedono che 15 o 20 capanne abitate da Mayorounas; sorge poco discosto dalla foce del fiume che porta lo stesso nome.

50. My translation; original in Portuguese: Manhaã. — 8h. 45m. Passamos á B.B. o Povoado Maucallacta [sic], na margem austral, 12 milhas ácima de Peruaté. A situação déste Povoado, de 130 Indios Tecunas, e Mangeronas, que habitão em 17 cazas, é bastante agradável.

Manhaã — 10h. 40m. Fundamos no porto de Cochiquinas. [...] O Povoado contem 20 cazas, e uma Igreja cobertas de palha, e seus habitantes não excedem á 300 Indios Tecunas, e Marubos. Antigamente esta povoação esteve situada 4 milhas abaixo, d'onde se virão forçados seus moradores a transferi-la para o actual lugar, em consequencia da perseguição dos Indios Mangeronas, que assaltavão a Povoação, para roubar as plantações que seus habitantes fazião.

51. My translation; original in Spanish: Cochiquinas es poblada por unos 250 individuos Mayorunas que se ocupan en recoger zarzaparrilla, copal y otros productos. [...] Maucallacta, es habitado por indios marubos ó marobas, los que son una division de los mayorunas. Este lugar tendrá un poco mas de 100 habitantes.

52. My translation; original in Spanish: 11.04 Llegada al pueblo de Maucallacta, que quiere decir "Pueblo viejo." [...] Los indios de Maucallacta pertenecen a la tribu de los Marubos; son bastante dóciles e inteligentes. Los que viven en la población, andan vestidos, llevando los hombres pantalón y una pequeña camisa de color negruzco o café. Los que viven fuera del pueblo, están desnudos y se adornan los brazos con plumas.

53. My translation; original in Spanish: Siguiendo aguas arriba viene Mauca Llacta en ruina completa. Cochiquinas tampoco existe, salvo algunas casas dispersas más abajo.

54. This makes improbable Philippe Erikson's (1996:57) proposed etymology of the term Marubo as containing the Mayoruna (Matses, Matis, etc.) word *maro* 'bald'. However more problematic is the fact that the word *maro* 'bald' is an adjective and not a noun and cannot be used with the plural suffix *-bo*. A more likely etymology is the term *maru* 'spirit, demon' (also proposed by Erikson 1996:57), both because it is a noun and because of the *u*. The latter is also the modern Matses' folk etymology of the term.

55. My translation; original in Portuguese: My translation; original in Portuguese: No baixo «Javary», isto é, da sua foz até a boca do rio «Galvez», existem poucas malocas de selvagens, quasi na totalidade já domesticados. Pertencem elles ás grandes tribus dos «Marubos» e «Tucunas» vindos das margens do «Maranhão» e principalmente das do lago, onde foi fundada a cidade de — «Cavallo Cocha».

56. My translation; original in Portuguese: Quatro são as tribus que habitam a bacia do «Javari»: os «Mayus», os «Capanauas», os «Marubius» e os «Remus». No rio «Coruçá» e baixo «Javari», vivem os «Mayus», que se estendem ao «Galvez», «Tapiche» e «Rio Branco», os dois ultimos, afluentes do «Ucayale». Os «Capanauas» residem no «Igarapé dos Lobos» e á margem direita do «Javari», desde a fós do «Galvez» até Lontazana. O «Jaquirana», nome por que é conhecido o «Alto Javari», desde a fós do «Galvez» até á nascente, serve de *habitat* aos «Marubius».

57. My translation; original in Portuguese: Marubas...Esta tribo vive no Alto Curuçá, no Ituí, Itaquai, Arrôjo, rio das pedras. Estes indios são inimigos dos caucheiros; têm pouco contacto com os brancos.

58. My translation; original in Portuguese: Idioma dos Marubas — É um dialeto do primeiro grupo lingüístico, dos americanistas, e pertence à família Pano.

59. My translation; original in Spanish: Mayos, mabas y marubos: entre el Gálvez (afluente del Yavari), el Tapiche (afl. del Ucayali) y el Tahuayo (afl. del Amazonas). Están completamente salvajes; son fieros y atacan a los blancos. No se sabe cuántos son, pero se presume que no lleguen a 100 familias.

60. My translation; original in Spanish: Mayos, remos, pisahuas y marubos: Cuatro situadas entre el Gálvez, el Tapiche, el Tahuayo y Tamshiyacu, buscando siempre los lugares más inaccesibles. También hay marubos en el Alto Curuzá, Ituy, Itecoahí, Arrojo, brasileños; y mayorunas en el Jadituba del Brasil.

61. My translation; original in Spanish: Marubos. Ref.: zona entre el Tapiche y el Yaquerana. Ellos y los pisahuas tienen esclavizados a los mayos y mayorunas. Subtribu nahua. Véase "pisahuas". Salv.

62. Silva's (1952) report, cited in Loukotka (1968), could be the earliest detailed source on the modern Marubos, and presumably contains linguistic data. Unfortunately this document is inaccessible and probably lost.

63. I first learned of this merging of tribes from Javier Ruedas (personal communication), who has conducted anthropological fieldwork among the Marubo. I later confirmed and inquired further about this information with Marubo speakers in Atalaia do Norte, a Brazilian town on the lower Javari River.

64. The Asäikiki list come partly from my own field data and partly from data kindly made available to me by Pedro Cesarino, who is writing a Ph.D. dissertation on this topic. According to Cesarino (personal communication), the Asäikiki, in addition to lexical items that appear to be, as the Marubo claim, from a related Panoan language, contains formulaic neologisms. To make the evaluation of where Kulina may have been the language that contributed to the Asäikiki lexicon, neologisms were eliminated from the comparison.

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Appendix 1: Lexical comparison of Spix's list with Kulina of the Curuçá River and Modern Marubo

The following table compares Spix's list of Kulina of São Paulo de Olivença with Kulina of the Curuçá River (scored in column "A") and with Modern Marubo (scored in column "B"). The first column is my translation from the Latin in Martius (1867:II:242-4); the entries below follow the original order in the list.

English	Spix's list	Curuçá Kulina	Marubo	A	B
go away	nuncapa	kuan	nun ka-pa 'shall we go'	n	y
turtle egg fat	watischuny	(nişón) bakuá şáni	(şawíwan) batfí şáni	n	y
air, wind	neuy	kúnkekid	níwi	n	y
high	ukêtia	abúk	kéya	n	?
paternal aunt	umbano	tşayá, natfí	nátfí; in pánu 'my female cousin'	n	?
old woman	yusá	matşó	yunşa	n	y
water	yacu, kuhua, uaka	waká	wáka	y	y
tree	huibý	mişté	íwi	n	y
rainbow	noaway	wen bai	nawá bai	n	y
fingers	mutii inkyty	miţşáte dşán	măbirăbu; mătúnti 'index finger'	n	?
toes	rateng-ghity	taí dşán	tăirăbu	n	n
to hear, listen	nighaky	kuak	ninkan-i	n	y
ear canal	nikuty-ghyny	pabişan kiní	pántşu kini	y	y
grandmother	tschya	tşitfí	tşíftşu (maternal), paintşu(paternal)	?	?
bird	tschay	wiktşún	şái	n	y
ear	tsabynky	pabişan	pántşu; pabinki (archaic)	n	y
maternal uncle	upitscha	kukú	kúka	n	n
armpit	puímaty	podó aná	pífkən	n	n
grandfather	auntia	tşáido	tşáitşu (maternal), úştşu (paternal)	n	n
to drink	au	ak	a, anu 'I'm going to drink'	y	y
arm, forearm	nuaná	podó, măpú	mătaşí	n	n

<u>English</u>	<u>Spix's list</u>	<u>Curuçá Kulina</u>	<u>Marubo</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
small, short	tukutscha	tuku-tsik	tukúšta	y	y
to defecate	puitana	pi(-tan)	púi; púi-tan-a, pui-taina 'go defecate'	y	y
heel	tautschi-tschoko	taí tsitúku	taí tʃintu	y	y
to sing	wü-way	nomán	sai iki; kúka; bñ bai 'name of song'	n	?
hair	wo	manídakid (on head); dani (on body)	bu (on head); rani (on body)	n	y
head	mazu	maşó	mápu (Asâikiki: máşu)	y	?
eyelash	wuspy	ışi kuisbú	bıřpi rani	n	y
to call out	uky	kuın 'to call'	u-ki	n	y
clavicle	tüsy-kasau	típúdun kuesté	tıřu şáu 'neck bone'	n	y
kin	ymutza	kun matsés	ın wıtsa	n	y
neck	tüka	tıtún	tıřu, tıpun	?	?
to wed	uinaiunakai	tʃidó bed	ainbu bia; awin 'wife'	n	?
to hit	tiri-anky	kues, mıkán	rıřki	n	n
heart	huinty	winté	winti	y	y
body, corpse	üá	dadá; ibi 'I'	yora, káya; ia 'I'	n	y
rib, side	bispy	mıkáš	pıři; şaban 'rib cage'	n	n
hip, hip bone	schiputu	tsibén	tʃintu	n	?
tomorrow	viteka-aunetu	sédke-ař	şabama; nití 'day'	n	?
shin	wytasch	widén, wipú	ıtášı	n	y
elbow	matüká	mıntsımpis	mıbi tʃıtášı; puyan tʃıtášı	n	n
boat (canoe)	nuty	nunté, kuaşán	núnti	y	y
tooth	dza kiriri sita	şıta	şıta	y	y
god	nukebu	(no term)	nukı ibu; nai ibu	-	y
devil, demon	yunschy	madú	yufın	n	y

English	Spix's list	Curuçá Kulina	Marubo	A	B
day	nutu	sédke 'to dawn'	bári 'daytime'; niti 'night, 24- hour day'	n	y
house	subutischy	şubú	şubu; şubu iftışta 'small house'	y	y
to sleep	uschay	uş(-ek)	úşa(-i)	y	y
let's go	gaungú	kuan-nu	ka-nu, kawán	?	?
to eat	hirity	pe	pi; pi-ri 'Eat!'	n	?
I	úa	ibi, imbi	ia, ián	n	y
thigh	ghisywurena	bitúku	kifi	n	y
river	uaka	wáka	wáka	y	y
daughter	eyun-paky	tşampi	ain baki	n	y
son	uúmy	madó	yumi	n	y
flower	egpeuy	bunták, wa	úa, bimi wa; (máni/iwi) pii 'leaf'	n	?
leaf	many	maşte podo	máni pii	n	y
brother	utschy	butşí, maşku	útşí	y	y
forehead	wumana	bimánan	bimani	y	y
fruits	wimý	maşte bakué, bimi	bimi	y	y
lightning	wüy-wuaky	abú bedbédke- kid	kaná bişaki; wi wá 'rain is coming'	n	?
to taste	ghitos-ghoty	tan	tána(-nu/ina)	n	n
throat	nu-rhunty	tşepákte 'esophagus' tidós 'trachea'	tintu	n	?
liver	taghá	takuá	táka	y	y
today	yramaby	nibi	ráma (şábapa)	n	y
human, man	nukuny	dadá	biruni, bini; yúra	n	n
many people	ytschanokobu	dada dabidpenkio	yúra antsa-antsa-ka	n	n
few people	hanyma	dada dabidpatsik	yúra antsa mistá; ánima 'small'	n	?
shoulder, upper arm	noaghôla	pişúku	pişutuku	n	n
ground	mai	mapúk	mái	n	y
fire	yuai	maşte	tşí; iwi 'tree'	n	n
that	ua	ákid, úkid	wa	n	y

<u>English</u>	<u>Spix's list</u>	<u>Curuçá Kulina</u>	<u>Marubo</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
child	yumetscha	ʃubi	báki; yuma 'son'; yúmišta 'little son'	n	y
lip	ghüba	ikbid	kışá	n	?
upper arm	múspira	pitiskin	puyán	n	n
lake	yá	meskúd	yán	n	y
stone	misky	maşáš	şášu, maşáš, mífki	n	y
to bathe	uakanaschy- yupa	nes	náfi; waka náfiyupu 'I'm going to bathe in the water.'	n	y
to wash clothes	raghuty- tschaka	dapán	úmpu 'clothing'; rakuti 'blanket' tşaka 'wash'	n	y
wood, firewood	hüyby	mişte	káru; iwi 'tree, wood'	n	?
tongue	ine caybáb anú	aná	ána rību	?	?
long	neanty-hynuy	mídúk	kíyá(-ka) 'tall'; úra(-ka) 'far'	n	n
morning star	uanamaiuny	(no term)	yamáwa	-	n
loins	ytama	kuistşúmpa	tşinká, tşışu	n	n
moon	oschý (ozü)	uşı	uşı	y	y
crescent moon	oschy (uzü) wariapa	uşı kuán(-e-k)	(no term)	n	-
new moon	oschü wüna	uşı tşuak tşuká	uşı wa bina	n	y
full moon	oschü ymany	uşıdapá	uşı bíru ánia	n	n
great, large	ani-tuschy	nua, bakú	áni(-ka)	n	y
shaman	pisá	nínı tşokid	rúmiya	n	n
breast	tschuma	şumá	şuma	y	y
mother	aini yarur, üy- una	titá	íwa	n	n
penis	yah	şui	ína	n	?
vulva	nukuh	kuı	şábi	?	n
to urinate	ysuny	isün	isun(-i)	y	y
mountain (hill)	matsy	makuş 'hill'	mátşı	n	y
to die	yamai	nán, tiknámıd	yáma-i, búpi-ai	n	y

English	Spix's list	Curuçá Kulina	Marubo	A	B
my wife	uü aüy	kun tjidó	an ain	n	y
your wife	my aüy	min tjidó	mian ain	y	y
his wife	hamontoa aüy	awin tjidó	awin ain	n	?
much	ytschá	nua	antsa(-ka)	n	n
nose	rüky	dışán	rîkin	n	y
not, no	aiy	padémen, bamaş	aşkáma, inú	n	n
we	nukü	nukí	nukí	y	y
night	wakezy	intşış(-n)	yamí	n	n
midnight	yama-puziny	intşış potsén	yamí putşini	n	y
back of head	mapuntshy- uta	maşó tsitsú	mápu tjitunti	n	y
eye	würru	işí	bîru	n	y
to emit odor	schiity	nuad; şád 'smell'	inín; şîí 'smell'	y	y
Orion constellation	wizimampu	(no term)	(no term)	-	-
mouth	iyashae, cayuca, ecuacha, ghüscha	aná, aná kini	ána 'oral cavity'; kişá 'lip(s)'	n	y
palm of hand	muni-inapa	mitşáte aná	mîbi napáşí	n	?
kneecap	rhummy-sitaly	teşkédâmpí	rûmî bîtaşti	n	y
father	üympa	papá (macubo), mamá (tsasibo)	pápa; in papa 'my father'	y	y
small, few	hatapatschem a	papistsik 'small'; tîmáksik 'few'	iftúşta, áni-ma 'small'; ántsamista 'few'	n	n
chest	sitshú	şiktún, şikmákaş	şútşí	?	?
foot	whytá	taí	tái; itáşí 'shank'	n	?
Pleiades constellation	kaputapo	(no term)	rekúnbakebu	-	n
fish	ghüma	main	yápa; kumá şánka yápa 'hatchetfish'	n	?
sole of foot	taina-pasch	taí aná	taí napáşí	n	y

<u>English</u>	<u>Spix's list</u>	<u>Curuçá Kulina</u>	<u>Marubo</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
anus, buttocks	tisunamy	tsitsü (namí) 'butt (cheeks)'; pitékíd kiní 'anus'	tšínŋu (namí) 'butt (cheeks)'; puínki 'anus'	y	y
knee	rátuka	danış	rábuş	n	?
deep	tiamatschá	íkí mädúk, şodó	úki	n	n
girl	ainbekii	tjidén bakuí, tjámpi, ain bakuí	ain báki	y	y
boy	würuna	bakúmpi	béni báki; bíruní 'young man'	n	y
root	hüy-tapú	(máşté) tapún	(íwi) tapún	y	y
branch	humynui- sautá	(máşté) kuidí	íwi mábi, íwi mían	n	n
blood	ymý	inták, imí	ími	y	y
shoulder blade, back	nahmy	podó tuinté; namí 'flesh'	píşu; námi 'muscle, flesh'	?	?
old, old man	mutun	dadásio, tsusio	şáni wítsa	n	n
to feel	myamy-nu	miş	mí 'touch'; mia mí-nu 'I'm going to touch you.'	?	y
okay, certainly	hü hü	aí; a páden 'correct'	ási 'yes'	n	n
sun	wary	uşí	bári	n	y
sister	taiyu	tşutşú (older); tşibi (younger)	tşitşu (older), tşíra (younger)	n	n
star	wizy	wispá	ífi	n	y
to sneeze	ateschanky	aktişun	aştinki	y	y
eyebrow	nukewükasu	bişni	báru kíşni; núki báru kaşú 'our eye lid'	n	?
forest	muni- schine kai	nímädúk	ní	n	n
morning	nikykaunó- zyny	sédkebudnuk	şaba nakúftai	n	n
earth, soil	mái	mapúk	mái	n	y
testicles	owú	metó	úbu	n	y
thunder	naikipuky	abú kuid(-e-k)	nai tĩrĩnki	n	?

<u>English</u>	<u>Spix's list</u>	<u>Curuçá Kulina</u>	<u>Marubo</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
you (absolute)	müa	mibi, mimbí	mía, mian	n	y
where/place	aghübeke	mitsi	átu	n	?
to hunt	nuny upa	kapú	ní-ka, mapú-ka; niukupa 'let's go hunt'	n	y
belly	buby	pukú; pobíd 'abdomen skin'	pústu; pubí 'abdomen skin'	y	y
evening	yatampákety	uşı budán	yántan pakíai	n	y
village (longhouse)	auà-tàka	şubú(-dapa)	şubu ani-ka	n	n
to see	uiny	is	win-i	n	y
to live	huýny	ik 'be, exist'	niá; nisa 'be alive'	n	n
navel	notschy-kuby	niktşun	tumpi	n	n
(finger) nail	muty	mıntsis	mıntsisi	y	y
number 1	uüty	epá(-tsik)	wísti-ŷta	n	y
number 2	rabii	dabíd	rabíbakín, rabíki	y	y
number 3	taküma	mıtşáte tédtşik	rabínin takíma	n	y
number 4	taküyuwukuin	mıtşáte tédtşik	tákii mamí, takíya mamí	n	y
number 5	takütakurasi	mıtşáte tedí	takíma mikasi	n	y
number 6	ytscha	(no term)	(no term)	-	-
number 10	nuküwümüky u	mıtşáte tedí	mábi amáriti, mábiti	n	n
tapir	ghay (or ava; see manattee)	awád, dantşif	awá	y	y
deer	tschaschó	tşaşú	tşaşu	y	y
jaguar	ghamá	kamún	kamán kuin, ínu kuin (archaic)	y	y
jaguar black phrase	ghamá titshy ghytzy	kamún wisú	káman tşişí, ínu tşişí; kitsín 'margay	y	y
jaguarundi cat	ghytzy	kamún wisúmpi	káman tşişí; kitsín 'margay	n	?
dog	ghamá	wapá 'dog'	wápa 'dog'; ru kamán 'bush dog'	n	?

<u>English</u>	<u>Spix's list</u>	<u>Curuçá Kulina</u>	<u>Marubo</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
bitch	aiwu	wapá tʃidó	wápa ainbu; ainbu 'woman, female'	n	y
spider monkey	ysú	tʃuná wisú	ísu	?	y
woolly monkey	tschuná	tʃuná	tʃúna	y	y
white-fronted capuchin monkey	schinos	tʃidú uʃú	ʃínu úʃu, manán ʃínu	n	y
brown capuchin monkey	schinokuin	tʃidú	ʃínu; kuin 'true'	n	y
saki monkey	nanaua	bíʃúdu, mamú	rúka buʃpú	n	n
uakari monkey	nana-úua	(none there)	(none there)	-	-
titi monkey	ruká	tsídɛ, masóko	rúka unʃin	n	y
night monkey	riry	didé, dikú	níru	y	?
giant armadillo	panú	panú, tʃawésamɛ	pánu	y	y
coati	schüschy	tsisé	ʃíʃi	n	y
white-lipped peccary	nauá	tʃedé	yawa	n	?
collared peccary	unú	unkín	únu	n	y
paca	anó	mapuá	ánu	n	y
agouti	marry	madé	mári	y	y
giant anteater	schay	ʃai, butʃúed	ʃái	y	y
three-toed sloth	nay	(never saw it)	nai nua, punsín nai; nai 'two-toed sloth'	-	y
two-toed sloth	yumá	nai, dínó	nai; máma 'pet sloth'	n	?
kinkajou (mammal)	schümý	ʃimín	ʃimí	y	y
manatee (water tapir)	üny-ava =	(none there)	íní awá; íní nubá	-	y
dolphin	ghuschika	(no name for it)	kúʃu	-	y
great black hawk	ymikuin	tʃikí	tɛtɛ 'hawk'	n	n
vulture	puyshy	puikún	ʃáti, pui ʃáti	?	y

English	Spix's list	Curuçá Kulina	Marubo	A	B
king vulture	nauatetu	puikún uşú	şatí uşú; títí 'hawk'	n	?
wattled curassow	asý	(none there)	kúyu; ansín 'razor-billed curassow'	-	y
razor-billed curassow	ghuyu - yu	wesníd	ansín; kúyu 'wattled curassow'	n	y
nocturnal curassow	asin - uma	(never saw it)	matáfi; ansín 'razor-billed curassow'	-	?
rooster	nukuny (error?, cf. 'human')	takáran bíní	tákari bíní	-	-
hen	atau arika	takára	tákari (oktau árika = chicken in Tikuna)	n	n
horned screamer (bird)	âbukú	(none there)	(none there); ábi 'Cocoi Heron'	-	y
scarlet macaw	schauná	kaná jin	şawán	n	y
blue and yellow macaw	ghaita	kaná uşú	káfta	n	y
parrot	waungá	bawá	bawá	?	?
parakeet	tschuky	pitşú, kuedés	tşukí	n	y
chachalaca (bird)	jaibu	madóko	ána kaşká	n	n
Spix's guan	ghübun - wa	timódas	käbu	n	y
piping guan	kuschú	kuşú	kúşu	y	y
wood rail (bird)	tschasku	tşaşkún	tşaşkún	y	y
white-faced whistling-duck	nunú	wakán nuad 'any wild duck'	nunu 'any wild duck'	n	y
duck (domestic)	schaibura	patü (from Portuguese); Sai 'bird'	(no term); jai 'bird'	-	-
Brazilian teal	uara-nuba	(never saw it)	(no term)	-	-
egret	witschú	aká	áka úşu	n	?

<u>English</u>	<u>Spix's list</u>	<u>Curuçá Kulina</u>	<u>Marubo</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
sungrebe (duck-like bird)	mumuy- schuity	wakan nuad	ini kumá	n	n
giant river turtle	yny-sauy	nişódapá	şawíwan, ini şawí	n	y
river turtle	pizukry	nişó	táunku	n	n
tortoise	schauly-tuity	tekéj	şawí	n	y
black caiman	kapiih	kaşti tşışi	kapi 'caiman'	n	y
spectacled caiman	nütscha kapiih	kaşti uşu	mätşá kapi 'small species of caiman'	n	y
iguana	sabumwá	mıştén tampás	ampí; şabú 'lizard'	n	y
Suriname toad	ghüu	şon şon	bişna; iu 'frog sp.'	n	?
green vine snake	wutú-ankú	tidínte ampúnte	bútu ántu, şátşiru	n	y
coral snake	tiarunó	iktşik	şawán runú	n	?
Western striped forest pit viper	rhunúa	abúk tidíj	kúru rúnu	n	?
anaconda	ghamusch	bişáno; kakmúş 'bushmaster'	bişná; kamúş 'bushmaster'	y	y
bushmaster (snake)	uüsana	kakmúş; bişáno 'anaconda'	kamúş; bişná 'anaconda';	y	?
tambaqui fish species	ghuman-ua	(never saw it)	kána mata; main 'cichlid'	-	n
catfish species	tonu-maua	bawén	tunú	n	y
large catfish species	yskinua	bawén	bain; işkin 'armored catfish'	n	y
piranha	maghü	(never saw it)	máká	-	y
cichlid fish species	mai-nua	main tşitó, tomá	main, kişú	y	y
aquatic snail	nowu	tşitşiko, paud, míwá	núbu	n	y
rainbow bass	maipuky	(none there)	kátna mata; main 'cichlid fish'	-	?

<u>English</u>	<u>Spix's list</u>	<u>Curuçá Kulina</u>	<u>Marubo</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
large characin fish species	paku	(never saw it)	(none there); paku 'pacu' (related fish)	-	y
clam	paua	tʃiun	paú	n	y
biting fly	tshipuy	nakmún	tʃipi	n	y
fire fly	tapy	pekó	tápi	n	y
beetle	sina	mudá	muntú	n	n
mosquito	wy	biuʃ	bi	n	y
biting gnat	schyu	siwá	ʃiu	n	y
fly	rhunschyu	ʃada; biʃámbin 'fruit fly'	náka; rún ʃiu 'small biting fly'	n	y
tick	yana	tʃiʃáŋkid; opós 'chigger'	yanán	n	y
cacao	tschuisno	dadá uʃu	ʃúma nú	n	?
manioc	bitima-aza	patʃikid	átša; pítima atša 'bitter manioc'	n	y
banana	banâra	noná	máni	n	n
rice	nauii	(no term)	(no term; náwi 'eat putting in soup')	-	-
tree species (Hura crepitans)	anâ	(never saw it)	aná	-	y
zazaparilla	mai-pámusa	mempüd	mai muʃá	n	y
vine	mischy	nisítodó	íʃi kátu 'woody vine'	?	?
corn, maize	tschüky	ʃáki	ʃáki	y	y