

PROLEGOMENA TO THE STUDY OF THE SAN BLAS  
LANGUAGE OF PANAMÁ

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INTRODUCTION

THE *Tulé*, or San Blas, Indians of Panamá number approximately fifty thousand souls, nearly all of whom live in the Panamanian province of Colon, which extends westward from the city of Colon. They seem to have a political organization, or a tribal federative system, as they have informed the writer that they recognize a head-chief, *sāgla*, whose function is to arbitrate between the lesser chieftains presiding over the various communities. These Indians will seldom if ever permit any whites within their territory farther than half a day's journey, in order that the strangers may not spend the night among them. This precaution, according to the Indians' own statement, is to avoid any possibility of blood mixture, of which they have a great horror. In fact, their dislike of the Panamanians is due largely to the mongrel character of that people, whom the San Blas look upon with contempt.

The San Blas disclaim all racial connection with other tribes, even with the Cuna of Darien, although the Cuna and San Blas dialects are very similar and the Cuna also call themselves *Tulé*. The language of the *Chuquenaque* tribe of Darien and that of the *Bayamo* clan on the Pacific side, the San Blas say, are quite different from their own, but this statement should be substantiated, when possible, by a study of the idioms in question.

Mr I. N. De Long of Cristobal in the American Zone was fortunate enough to enjoy the very unusual opportunity of accompanying an expedition undertaken by some priests to the San Blas city of San José de Nargana, where a missionary is tolerated. Here Mr De Long took the accompanying photographs (pls. VII-VIII), which admirably illustrate the physical characteristics of these Indians



and show them in their own home. He says in his letter to me of November 7, 1911:

"This town is 105 miles from Colon in a southerly (*sic*. westerly?) direction and is built upon one of a hundred small islands which are, for the most part, covered with cocoanut trees, presenting a very pretty view. The Indians live upon cocoanuts, tropical fruits, and other 'husks' not specified. The men come to Colon frequently, and there are evidences of advancing civilization, such as guns, cooking pots, etc. At the village store, they had several cans of foodstuffs and, of course, quite a supply of beer and spirits. This particular storekeeper drew attention to his place by means of an Edison phonograph! It seemed most strange to see the Indians gather about the instrument and chuckle over 'Has anybody here seen Kelly?'"

From the above, it appears that at least the frontier folk of the San Blas are beginning to become "Americanized," although even on their borders their rule against foreigners after dark still prevails.

The purpose of the present paper is to present to Americanists a preliminary study of this peculiar idiom which the writer believes is practically identical with the Cuna language of Darien, and distinctly, though distantly, connected with the Chibcha linguistic stock of Colombia. His reasons for this view are set forth at length in the following pages, which contain much matter never before published and which may prove of assistance to further philological work in this comparatively untouched field.

The material marked P. was obtained by the writer at Mount Hope, in the American Zone, from two intelligent San Blas Indians, Ina Mákchia and Ina Diséli, who were introduced to him through the kindness of Mr A. B. Shippee of Mount Hope. The rest of the San Blas vocabulary was contributed, without philological comment, by Mrs Eleanor Yorke Bell of Colon, who has long had an interest in these Indians, having published in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1909 a description of the manners and customs of the San Blas, with photographs.

## PART I

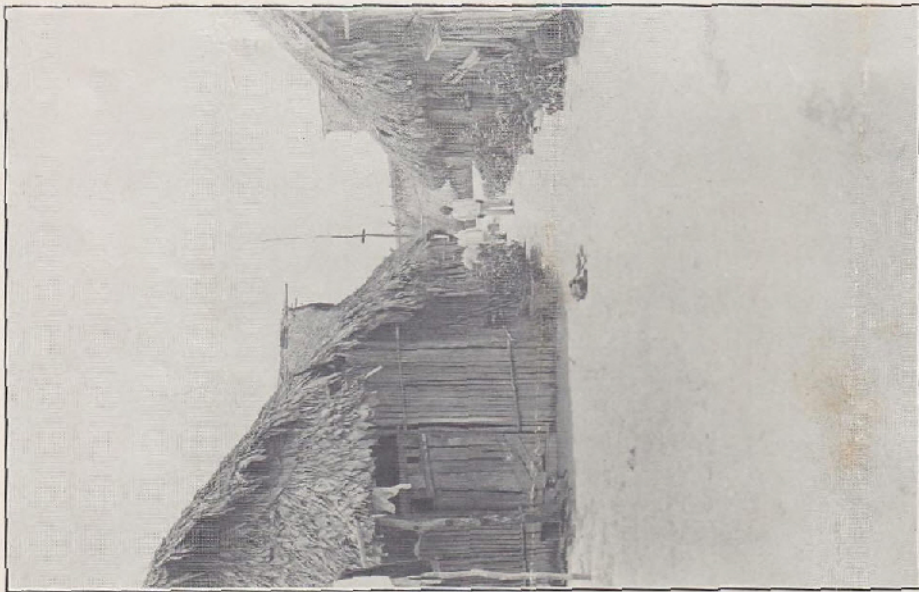
### PHONETICS AND MORPHOLOGY

Since a large part of the San Blas vocabulary, on which this comparative study is based, comes from the kind contribution of



CLOSE VIEW OF WOMEN'S COSTUME

Note the nose-rings



STREET SCENE IN SAN JOSE DE MARGANA

Several families live in one house.



Mrs Bell, the system followed in noting the San Blas words in the grammatical sketch and glossary has necessarily been to observe her use of the English values of the consonants (*c*; *g* always hard) and of the Italian vowels (except *ea* = *i* and *oo* = *ú*). The vowels in San Blas are clearly pronounced and are rarely indeterminate, as, for example, in the North American Algonquian dialects, so that her method is not so defective with regard to the vowels as might appear to the phonetician at first sight. The peculiar nature of some of the consonants as observed by me is explained in the following Table of Phonetics, which should be carefully read before proceeding to the study of the Glossary (note especially the Tenues and sub *TS*; *CH*).

The Cuna material has been gathered from A. L. Pinart, *Vocabulario Castellano-Cuna*, Paris, 1890, and also from a manuscript catechism in the Cuna language by Fr. Pedro de Llisa, *Pequeño Catecismo Cristiano*, Panamá, 1884. These Cuna words cited by me are all noted in the Spanish system of orthography. The reader will observe, however, that the *j* is the Spanish guttural *j*, while the *z* is the South American Spanish hard *s* and not the lisped Castilian *th*. The numerals in old Cuna in English notation in the following comparative table of numerals are taken from Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, 1500, reprinted, and re-edited by George Parker Winship, Cleveland, 1903.

The Chibcha material has been culled from E. Uricoechea, *Gramática de la Lengua Chibcha*, Paris, 1871, in which work the Spanish notation is also used, with the exceptions that the *z* = harsh *ts* and the *x* = *ks* and not the guttural of the older Castilian. The Chibcha *y* = the English short *i* in *pin*.

The abbreviations SB. = San Blas; C. = Cuna; CH. = Chibcha; P. = Prince; B. = Bell; n., nn. = the numbered notes to the Glossary.

#### Table of San Blas Phonetics

*Apocope* of *s*, apparently in SB. *sacke* = C. *caet* 'net'; n. 40; of *g* in SB. *oowa* = C. *hugúa* = CH. *gua* 'fish.'

*Aspirate* in SB. *íti* 'he, it' and similarly in SB. *eckto* = C. *ito*, the aspirate being represented by the *-ck-*; cf. nn. 26; 55. We find a prefixed aspirate in SB. *hogur* = C. *ucúr* 'hungry; hunger'; cf. n. 30; also in C. *hugúa* = CH. *gua* = SB. *oowa* = 'fish.'



For the change of aspirate to sibilant, see *CH-S* to *J*.

*B-G*; see *G-B*.

*B-P*; see *Tenues*.

*B-V*: SB. *ogowah* = C. *ocob* 'cocoanut'; SB. *n-ewah* 'air'; lit., 'sky, day,' and SB. pl. *ne ewigana* 'the days' = C. *ipé* and also = SB. *eba* 'sun.'

*C-G* see *G-K*; and on *Tenues*.

*C(K)-P*: SB. *cockéno* = *curquúna* CH. *pcuaꝑcua* 'hat,' probably all from allied stems; see *Metathesis*.

*CH-N*; see *N-CH*.

*CH-S* to aspirated *J* (= *kh*): SB. *suára* = C. *chwána* = CH. *ja* (= *kha*) 'wood.'

*CH-S*; cf. *S-CH*.

*CH-T*: SB. *atchúo* = C. *achú* = CH. *to* 'dog.'

*CH-TS*; see *TS-CH*.

*CH* constant: SB. *chichigua* = C. *chickiti* 'negro.'

*D-G*: SB. *budoquizah* = CH. *bgyscua* 'die.'

*D-N*: SB. *puúna* = C. *puúna* 'wind.'

*D-T*; see = *Tenues*.

*E* for *A*: C. *talmal* and *telmal* 'sea' (see *Sail, Sea*). Merely a slight oversight on the part of *Pinart*.

*F-T*: SB. *fodohwey* = C. *totae* 'play.' I am doubtful as to the SB. form (B.).

*G-B*: SB. *negssla* = C. *nabsa* 'earth'; SB. *túlagwéna* = C. *tulábuenta* 'twenty.'

*G-D*; see *D-G*.

*G-K*; see *Tenues*.

*GUA-CU*: C. *guápin* = CH. = *cubun* 'language.'

*GUE-HWE*; SB. *poúwey* = C. *pogue* 'cry.'

*HWE-GUE*; see *GUE-HWE*.

*J-Y*: SB. *japane(y)* = C. *yapáne* 'smell.'

*K-G*; see *Tenues*.

*K-T*: SB. *kewalo* = C. *tiguála* 'river.' Perhaps an error on the part of *B*. (see n. 45), although *k-l* is a common phonetic change; cf. Canadian French *moiquié* for *moitié* 'half.'

*L* omitted in SB. *cunai* = C. *cundli*.

*L-N*: SB. *quiley* = C. *quinégel* 'dance.' Note SB. *negssla* = C. *nábsa* 'earth' with the insert *l*.

*Metathesis* is of not infrequent occurrence between the dialects; thus, SB. (s)acke = caet 'net'; n. 40. Note also SB. *kúg'le* = C. *cubiéque* = CH. *cuhupca* 'seven,' and SB. *cowagai* = C. *quecújal* 'sick'; nn. 49-50. In the latter instance, the metathesis is *c(k)-w-g = qu(k)-c(k)-j* (= *h* here, equivalent to SB. *w*).

*N-CH*; SB. *ni* = C. *ni* = CH. *chis* 'moon.' Doubtful (see n. 38). The *n* here is probably the demonstrative element.

*N*-insert: SB. *súnmacke* = C. *chúmaque* 'speak'; also SB. *múnticke* = C. *múntiqui* 'night.'

*N-L*; see *L-N*.

*N-M*; see *Verb*: *am-pe-takse* = *an-pe-takse*. *N-M* under the influence of the following labial.





AN UNUSUAL GROUP, OBTAINED WITH DIFFICULTY



SAN BLAS GROUP

The men dress in European style, but the women retain the native costume. Note the albino woman on the right.



*N-R*; see *R-N*.

*Palatalization*; see *J-Y*.

*R* omitted in SB. *cockeno* = C. *curguina* 'hat'; possibly an inadvertence of B., but note SB. *carbey* = C. *capié* 'sleep' and see n. 50.

*R-N*: SB. *suára* = C. *choána* 'wood.'

*S* apocopated; see *Apocope*.

*S-CH*; perhaps the most common interchange between SB. and C. For full examples, see n. 3. The sibilants *S-CH* are highly palatalized in these languages = *tsy* which appears both for *S* and *CH*. See *TS-CH*.

*S-T*; SB. *i ti* = C. *ati* = CH. *sisy* 'he, it'; SB. *ti* = C. *ti* = CH. *sie* 'water.'

*T-CH*; see *CH-T*.

*Tenuis*. The most striking feature of the SB. phonetic system is the absolutely voiceless character of the tenuis *k(c)-p-t*, which are pronounced with no aspiration whatever. This explains why Mrs Bell in SB. and Pinart in C. write *k(c)-p-t* and *g-b-d* indiscriminately, representing the pure unaspirated tenuis. In the following texts every *k-g*; *p-b*; *t-d* are *k-p-t*.

*T-F*; see *F-T*.

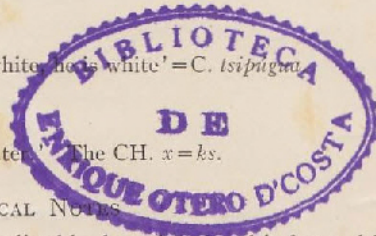
*T-S*; see *S-T*.

*TS-CH*; SB. *sipúgo* and *tsipúgua* 'white head is white' = C. *tsipúgua*.

*TS-S*; see *S-CH*.

*V-B*; see *B-V*.

*X-T*; see SB. *ti* = C. *ti* = CH. *xie* 'water'. The CH. *x* = *ks*.



#### GRAMMATICAL NOTES

The SB. noun appears to be indeclinable, but the plural is formed by the ending *-gan*, *-gana*, *-cana*, as *macherédi* 'man,' but *macherégan* 'men'; *óme* 'woman'; *óme cána* 'women'; *évi-gána* 'days.' The plural ending of the pronouns, however, is *-mal*, *mala* (also of the noun with pronominal prefixes), as *pe* 'thou'; pl. *pe-mala* 'you'; *í ti*; *ati* 'he, it'; pl. *í timala*, *atmala* 'they'; *an-ula-mala* 'my canoes.' Both these endings are the same in Cuna, as *chapi* 'tree'; pl. *chapi gana*; *ati* 'he'; pl. *amal* 'they' (Pinart, pp. 4-5). Nouns in SB. may be formed by the prefix *ood-*, *oot-*, as *ood-boti* 'boat'; *ood-cacolah* 'canoe'; *ootmola* 'sail.' The ending *-édi* is used in both nouns and adjectives; *macherédi* 'man'; *serrédi* 'old'; nn. 42; 62.

The demonstrative pronominal element which also serves as the definite article is *ne-*, as *ne evi-gana* 'the days'; *ne-gseacona* 'the lakes' (the *-cona* (B.) probably = the pl. *-gana*). This demonstrative *n*-element is also apparently found in verbs, as *necktosah* 'hear'; nn. 27; 55.

The personal pronouns in SB., C., and CH. are as follows (P):

	SB.	C.	CH.
I	<i>ani</i> ; <i>an-</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>hycha</i>
Thou	<i>pe</i> ( <i>be</i> )	<i>pe</i> ; <i>be</i>	<i>mue</i>



He, it	<i>ĩĩ; ati</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>sĩsy</i>
She	<i>iti; ĩti; ati; ome-</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>sĩsy</i>
We	<i>anmala; ampõgua;</i> <i>ampõgpela (dual)</i>	<i>nen; nenmal</i>	<i>chie</i>
You	<i>pemala; pepõgua;</i> <i>pepõgpela (dual)</i>	<i>pemal</i>	<i>mie</i>
They	<i>ĩĩmala; atmala;</i> <i>pela; pelakwop; pelakwoppa(?)</i>	<i>amal</i>	<i>sysy</i>

SB. *pela* = C. *ambali* of general pl. force. See Mountain.

In SB. these pronouns are used as follows with the verb, according to the data supplied to me by Ìna Mákchia and Ìna Diséli at Mount Hope (see Introduction). Alternate forms admitted by these Indians are in parentheses.

<i>Táksě</i> 'see' = (P.).				
	Me	Thee	Him; it	Her
I		<i>am-pe-takse</i>	<i>an-takse</i>	<i>an-ome-takse</i>
Thou	<i>pe-an-takse</i> <i>p-an-takse</i>		<i>an-iti-takse</i> <i>pe-takse</i>	<i>am-puna-takse</i> <i>pe-ome-takse</i>
He	<i>iti-an-takse</i> <i>ati-an-takse</i>	<i>iti-pe-takse</i> <i>ati-pe-takse</i>	<i>iti-takse</i>	<i>(iti-ome-takse)</i> <i>(iti-puna-takse)</i>
She	<i>ome-an-takse</i> <i>puna-an-takse</i>	<i>ome-pe-takse</i> <i>puna-pe-takse</i>	<i>ome-takse</i> <i>puna-takse</i>	<i>(ome-takse-ome)</i> <i>(puna-takse-puna)</i>
We		<i>ampõgpela-pe-takse</i> <i>(anmala-pe-takse)</i>	<i>ampõguo-iti-takse</i>	<i>ampõg-ome-takse</i>
You	<i>pemala-an-takse</i>		<i>anmala-iti-takse</i> <i>pemala-iti-pe-takse</i>	<i>anmala-ome-takse</i> <i>pemala-ome-pe-takse</i>
They	<i>atmal-an-takse</i> <i>pela-an-takse</i>	<i>atmal-pe-takse</i> <i>pela-pe-takse</i>	<i>atmal-iti-takse-iti</i> <i>pela-takse-iti</i>	<i>atmala-takse-ome</i> <i>pela-takse-ome</i>
	Us	You	Them	
I		<i>pepõgpela-am-petakse</i> <i>pemala-am-pe-takse</i>	<i>an-takse-(mala)</i>	
Thou	<i>pe-an-takse-(mala)</i> <i>p-an-takse-(mala)</i>		<i>pe-takse-(mala)</i>	
He	<i>iti-an-takse-(mala)</i> <i>ati-an-takse-(mala)</i>	<i>iti-pe-takse-pepõgua</i> 'he s. you two,' or <i>-pemala</i> 'you,' pl.	<i>iti-takse-(mala)</i>	

She	<i>ome-an-takse-(mala)</i>	<i>ome-pe-takse-pepogua</i> 'she s. you two,' or - <i>pemala</i> , pl.	<i>ome-takse-(mala)</i>
We		<i>ampögua (anmala)-</i> <i>am-pe-takse-(mala)</i>	<i>ampögua (anmala)-an-</i> <i>takse-(amala)</i>
You	<i>pemala-an-takse-</i> <i>(mala)</i>		<i>pemala-takse-(mala)</i> <i>pelakwop-an-takse(?)</i>
They	<i>(aimal-an-takse-mala)</i> <i>pela-an-takse-(mala)</i>	<i>(aimal-pe-takse-mala)</i> <i>pela-pe-takse-(mala)</i>	<i>pela-takse-amala</i> <i>pelekwooppa-an-takse-</i> <i>mala(?)</i>

The pronominal incorporation in SB. is much simpler than that seen, for example, in Algonquian. In SB., the subject usually has the first place, the object second, and the verbal element comes last: thus, *am(= an)-pe-takse* 'I thee see'; *pe-an-takse* 'thou me seest,' etc. Yet this is not invariable, as they say: *pela-takse-iti* 'they see him,' with the object last, and *pepögypela am-pe-takse* 'I see you,' with objective prolepsis. It will be observed that there is no such genuine assimilation of elements as appears in most of the languages of North America. The pronominal elements are really not indeterminate at all, as they are quite separable from the verb-stem and vary only insignificantly from the independent pronouns. In this respect, SB. is rather isolating than polysynthetic, so far as its verbal system is concerned. This isolating character of the idiom is more apparent when we look at such phrases as *pi(pe)-abe-neca* 'where (*abe*) do you live' = *neca* 'house,' the stem being used verbally here. This *abe* is probable cognate with C. *pia*, *piaje* 'where'; cf. also *pi(pe)-abe-iani* 'whence come you?'

As to grammatical gender there is none at all, although a 'she' and 'her' form appear above. I have given this, simply because my Indians informed me that they use the words for 'woman' = *ome* and *puna* pronominally whenever it becomes necessary to specify or emphasize a feminine meaning.

The use of the pronouns as possessive prefixes emphasizes still further the isolating character of the idiom; viz.,

<i>an-ulu</i>	<i>an-ulu-mala</i>	<i>anmal-ulu</i>	<i>anmal-ulu-mala</i>
'my canoe'	'my canoes'	'our canoe'	'our canoes'
<i>pe-ulu</i>	<i>pe-ulu-mala</i>	<i>pemal-ulu</i>	etc.
'thy canoe'	'thy canoes'	'your canoe'	



<i>i'ti-ulu</i>	etc.	<i>i'timal-ulu</i>
'his, her canoe'		'their canoe'

In C. the same system prevails, as *an-moli* 'my horse'; *pe-moli* 'thy horse,' etc.; but Pinart (p. 5) gives the special possessive forms *angati-* 'my'; *pegati-* 'thy'; *a, atigati, agati* 'his'; *nengati* 'our'; *pemalgati* or *pemal* 'your'; *amalgati* or *amal* 'their.'

My material does not extend as yet sufficiently to enable me to state anything definitely as to the tense-system of the verbs. It seems, however, to resemble that of the C., which uses prefixes, reduplication, and *Ablaut* to distinguish between its tenses; cf. Pinart, pp. 5-6: *an nao* 'I go'; *an nandedi* 'I was going'; *an negua* 'I have gone'; *an-queb-nao* 'I will go.' In SB. the present may be used for the future, as *Sék am-pe-takse Colon-gini* 'Jack, I will see you in Colon.'

I note in SB., moreover, that *-gua* seems to indicate a predicate, as *sichígwa* 'black, he is black'; *tsipúgua* 'white, he is white'; *ichaguagua* 'he hates'; *punalógua* 'girl, she is a girl,' etc. This is the same element seen in C. *tegua* 'who?', and also in CH. *gue*, as *ze gue* 'I am'; *mue gue* 'thou art,' etc.

Reduplication also plays some part in SB., as *nane(y)* 'walk' = the same stem as C. *nao* 'go'; seen also in C. *manégal* 'walk' = CH. *nyn*. The infix *-n-* appears in such combinations as *avaganeckloga* 'feel,' q. v. Note that 'taste' = *eckloge*, so that *-n-* may be the prepositional element = 'in'(?). Cf., however, the demonstrative *-n-* seen in verbs, as *necktosah* 'hear.'

The SB. numerals (P.) are as follows, given in comparison with the C. and the Old Cuna from Wafer (see above), pp. 167-168. It will be observed that the Chibcha numerals also given below differ perceptibly from the SB.-C.

	SB.	C.	Old C.	CH.
One	<i>kwénchakwa</i>	<i>cuénchique</i>	<i>conjugo</i>	<i>ata</i>
Two	<i>pōqua</i>	<i>pocua</i>	<i>poquah</i>	<i>boza</i>
Three	<i>pāqua (pāgua)</i>	<i>pagua</i>	<i>pauquah</i>	<i>mica</i>
Four	<i>pakégua</i>	<i>paguégua</i>	<i>pakequah</i>	<i>muyhica</i>
Five	<i>atále</i>	<i>atále</i>	<i>eterrah</i>	<i>hyzca</i>
Six	<i>nerkwa</i>	{ <i>nercua</i> <i>nericua</i> }	<i>indricah</i>	<i>ta</i>

Seven	<i>kūg'le</i>	<i>cublégue</i>	<i>coogolah</i>	<i>cuhupca</i>
Eight	<i>pábaka</i>	<i>pabacá</i>	<i>paukopah</i>	<i>suhuza</i>
Nine	<i>pakébaka</i>	<i>paquébague</i>	<i>pakekopah</i>	<i>aca</i>
Ten	<i>ambégi</i>	<i>ambégui</i>	<i>anivego</i> (sic!)	<i>ubchihica</i>
Eleven	<i>ambégi kaká</i> <i>kwenchakwa</i> etc.	<i>ambégui cacá</i> <i>cuenchique</i> etc.	<i>anivego</i> <i>conjugo</i> etc.	
Twenty	<i>túlagwéna</i>	<i>tulábuena</i>	<i>toolaboguah</i>	
Thirty	<i>túlagwéna-kaká-</i> <i>ambégi</i>	<i>tulábuena cacá</i> <i>ambégui</i>		
Forty	<i>túlábógua (-pōgua)</i>	<i>tulápocua</i>		
Fifty	<i>túlábógua-kaká-</i> <i>ambégi</i>	<i>tulápocua-cacá-</i> <i>ambégui</i>		
Sixty	<i>túlapágua</i>	<i>tulápagua</i>		
Seventy	<i>túlapágua-kaká-</i> <i>ambégi</i>	<i>tulápagua-cacá-</i> <i>ambégui</i>		
Eighty	<i>túlapakégua</i>	<i>tulápaquégua</i>		
Ninety	<i>túlapakégua-kaká-</i> <i>ambégi</i>	<i>tulápaquégua-cacá-</i> <i>ambégui</i>		
Hundred	<i>túlatále =</i> <i>tula-atále</i>	<i>tulí atále</i>		

The SB. numerals, like the adjectives, follow the noun, as: *macherédi pōgua* 'two men'; *puna poqua* 'two women'; *mériki sipúgo* 'white American'; *an-ulu-mala pāgua* 'my three canoes,' etc.

A study of the above table reveals the following facts. A reduplication of the *g(k)*-element appears in the SB.-C. *pakégua-paquégua* 'four,' a lengthening of SB.-C. *pāgua-pagua* 'three' and in SB.-C. *pakébaka-paquébague* 'nine,' a lengthening of SB.-C. *pábaka-pabacá* 'eight.' This lengthening, like the similar phenomenon in CH., seems to add *one* to the numeral thus treated (see just below).

Old C. *anivego* must be an error for *amvego* = SB.-C. *ambégi-ambégui* 'ten.' Note also the interchange between *l* and *r* in SB.-C. *atále* = Old C. *eterrah*.

SB. *kūg'le* 'seven' is identical with old C. *coogolah*, whereas C. *cublégue* 'seven' = CH. *cuhupca* and are apparent metatheses of the same stem. Note also the apparent metathesis in Old C. *pakekopah* 'nine' = SB.-C. *pakébaka* = *paquébague*, and see nn. 49-50; or is *pakekopah* an error of Wafer's?



Above nineteen, the SB.-C. numerals run by adding to the score = *túlagwéna* 'twenty'; thus, 'thirty' = a score and ten; 'forty' = two scores; 'fifty' = two scores and ten, etc.

Note in CH. *mica* 'three' and its lengthened form *muyhica* 'four' that the distraction seems to add *one* to the original numeral, like the lengthening in SB.-C. mentioned just above.

CH. *boza* 'two' is probably cognate with SB.-C. *pōqua-pocua*, while CH. *aca* 'nine' seems cognate with the final *-ka-gue*-element in SB.-C. *pakébaka-paquebague*.

Prepositional construction is expressed by postpositive particles, as *Colon-gini* 'in Colon'; *an-ulu-gini* 'in my canoe,' etc. Cf. C. *necaguin* 'in the house,' etc.

#### *The Affinity between SB.-C. and CH.*

The practical identity of the SB. with the C. will be seen and appreciated from the above brief phonetic and morphological sketch and will be further demonstrated in the following comparative glossary. As to the relationship between this Isthmian group and the Chibcha family of Colombia, this is not so apparent at first sight, and yet, a comparison of the following resemblances should satisfy the philologist that the SB.-C. and the CH. must either have been originally the same at base, or else, at some ancient period, have stood so closely in connection as to influence each other. It is true that the pronouns and numerals differ widely between the two stocks, still, even at these points, a careful comparison seems to reveal a radical similarity in at least two instances. Thus, in CH. the 2 p. *mue*, pl. *mie* 'thou, you,' is probably the same stem as the SB.-C. *pe*(*be*). There is a very evident relationship between SB.-C. *i'ti, ati* 'he, she' and CH. *sisy*, with the not unusual change between *t* and *s*; cf. n. 26 and compare the familiar Ashkenāzi pronunciation of the Hebrew consonant *Tav* as *Sav* after vowels. This is owing to the degeneration of the soft *t* = *th* into the sibilant. As to the other pronouns, the CH. *hycha* 'I' and *chie* 'we' undoubtedly contain the same *ch*-element of the 1 p., changed in CH. to *ze*- in the verbal system. This seems to differ radically from the *n*-element of the SB.-C. first person, but even here there may be a

connection, as changes between *n* and a sibilant are noted in Chinese (cf. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, p. xii and see this article, n. 38). Note also that the CH. verbal element *gue* is clearly cognate with the SB. predicate *-gua* (see above).

*Table of Affinities*

See in glossary s.v. the following words:

Air, bad, bird, boy, buy, bring, die, father, fish, give, hat, he, in, it, lake, language, man, moon, net, nine, rain, sad, send, seven, sleep, thou, three, tree, two, walk, water, wood.

PART II

COMPARATIVE GLOSSARY

	SAN BLAS	CUNA	CHIBCHA
Air	<i>nevah</i> <sup>14</sup>		<i>fiba</i>
American	<i>meriki sipúgo</i> (P.) 'American white man.'		
And	<i>kaká</i> (see Numerals)	<i>cacá</i>	
Animal	<i>achosapopaliti</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>ib</i>	
Bad	<i>ovah</i> <sup>2</sup>	✓ <i>islar</i>	<i>achuenza</i> 'bad thing'
Belong	<i>pi-abe-nega</i> 'Where do you b.?' Contains <i>nega</i> 'house,' b. v.		
Big man	<i>tuletumadi</i> (P.)	<i>quáyártan</i>	
Bird	<i>siquey</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>chicú</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>sue</i> <sup>3</sup> ; <i>sue guana</i>
Bite	<i>cunai</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>cunái</i> <sup>4</sup>	
Black	<i>sichigwa</i> <sup>3</sup> (P.)	<i>chichiti</i> <sup>3</sup>	
See Negro.			
Boat	<i>oodboti</i> <sup>5</sup>		
Boy	<i>machéa</i> (P.); <i>machígua</i> <sup>5</sup> P.	<i>máchiguá</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>guasgua</i> <sup>5</sup> <i>cha</i>
Bring	<i>sadage</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>chetáque</i> <sup>3</sup>	
Buy	<i>packey</i> <sup>7</sup>		<i>bcuscua</i> <sup>7</sup>
Canoe	<i>oodcacolah</i> <sup>5</sup> ; <i>ulu</i> <sup>3</sup>		
Carry	<i>sedey</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>chetáque</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>zemoscua</i> ; <i>bsoscua</i>
Chief	<i>sāgla</i>	<i>urumia</i>	
Clothes	<i>mola</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>yóque</i>	
See Sail.			
Cocoanut	<i>ogovah</i> <sup>9</sup>	<i>ocob</i> <sup>9</sup>	



Cold	<i>temperipa</i> <sup>10</sup>	<i>tampe</i> <sup>10</sup>	<i>anyan mague; nyco hichuc aguecua; hi- chupcua.</i>
Come	<i>an-eksenai an-ulu-gini</i> (P.) 'I come in my canoe'; <i>pi-abe-tani</i> <sup>11</sup> 'whence come you.'	<i>tanique</i> <sup>11</sup>	
Cry	<i>polwoey</i> <sup>12</sup>	<i>pogué</i> <sup>12</sup>	<i>zeconsuca</i>
Cut	<i>sickey</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>chighileja</i> <sup>3</sup>	
Dance	<i>quiley</i> <sup>13</sup>	<i>quinégál</i> <sup>13</sup>	<i>bzahanasuca;</i> <i>bcausca</i> <sup>13</sup>
Dark	<i>secsequa</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>chichiti</i> <sup>23</sup>	
Days	<i>ne</i> <sup>14</sup> <i>evigana</i>	<i>ipá</i>	<i>sua</i> 'sun'
Devil	<i>nian</i>	<i>níya</i>	<i>guahayoque</i>
Die	<i>budoquizah</i> <sup>15</sup>	<i>purque</i> <sup>15</sup> ; <i>oguigúgal</i>	<i>bgyscua</i> <sup>15</sup>
Dog	<i>alchíto</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>achí</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>to</i> <sup>16</sup>
Drink	<i>cobey</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>copé</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>bihoitysuca; maiota;</i> = $\sqrt{iotu}$
Dry	<i>yinagua</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>liná</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>buchua</i>
Eat	<i>cuney</i>	<i>cúne</i>	<i>bsoscua</i>
Earth	<i>negssta</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>nábsa</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>hicha</i> (element); <i>qui- ca</i> (country)
Eight	<i>pábaka</i> <sup>19</sup> (P.)	<i>pabacá</i> <sup>19</sup>	<i>suhuza</i>
Eighty	<i>túlápakégua</i> (P.)	<i>túlápauégua</i>	
Father	<i>beber; pabá</i> (P.)	<i>patiri</i> 'priest'; <i>pap</i>	<i>paba</i>
Feel	<i>avaganecktoga</i> = 'taste in feeling'; see Taste, Healthy, How.		
Fifty	<i>tulabóguakákambégi</i> <sup>20</sup> (P.)	<i>tulápocua-cacá- ambégu</i> <sup>20</sup>	
Fish	<i>oowa</i> <sup>21</sup>	<i>hugúa</i> <sup>21</sup>	<i>gua</i> <sup>21</sup>
Five	<i>atále</i> (P.)	<i>atále</i>	<i>hyzca</i>
Food	<i>sapeturpa</i>	<i>onó</i>	
Foreigner	<i>wága</i> (P.)		
	See Spaniard.		
Forty	<i>tulabógua</i> (P.)	<i>tulápocua</i>	
Four	<i>pakégua</i> (P.)	<i>paquégua</i>	<i>muyhica</i>
Girl	<i>punalogo; punalógua</i> (P.)	<i>puná</i>	<i>guisgua fucha</i>
	See Woman.		
Give	<i>okey</i> <sup>22; 47</sup>	<i>uisutague</i> 'g. me.'	<i>hocmuyscua</i> <sup>22</sup>
God	<i>Beber</i>	<i>Dios; Quilulele</i> <sup>23</sup>	
	See Father.		
Good	<i>newedi; nuwédi</i> <sup>24; 62</sup> (P.)	<i>nukueti</i>	<i>cho</i> 'a g. thing.'
Good-bye	<i>tégimala</i>		

Hammock	<i>catchi; kochi</i> (P.)	<i>cachi</i>	
Happy	<i>napertijitoge</i>		
Hat	<i>cockéno</i> <sup>25</sup>	<i>curqúina</i> <sup>25</sup>	<i>pcuaꝑcua</i> <sup>25</sup>
Hate	<i>ichaguagua</i>		
He	<i>iti; iti</i> <sup>25</sup> ; <i>ati</i>	<i>ati</i> <sup>26</sup>	<i>sisy</i> <sup>26</sup>
Healthy	<i>avocanuédi</i> = good in feeling; see Feel, Good, How.	<i>nuhuer</i>	<i>chogue</i> 'he is well.'
Hear	<i>necktosah</i> <sup>27</sup> 55	<i>iló</i> <sup>27</sup>	<i>muꝑꝑcuaꝑcua</i>
Help	<i>bendaki</i>		
Her, hers; see	Pronouns.		
His; see	Pronouns.		
Hit	<i>nacksah</i>		
Hold	<i>cahey</i>		
Horse	<i>móli</i> (P.) <sup>28</sup>	<i>molicabái</i> <sup>28</sup>	
Hot	<i>huerpa</i>		<i>chituc aguene</i> 'be h.'
House	<i>nega</i> <sup>29</sup> 57; <i>neca</i>	<i>neca</i> <sup>29</sup>	
See Marry, Belong.			
How	<i>igi pe av'gana</i> (P.) 'how do you do?' The stem is the same as in ( <i>avaga</i> ) <i>neckloga</i> ; see Taste, Healthy.	<i>igui</i> 'how,' but <i>pe-ábo- gandi pulegua</i> 'how do you do?'	
Hundred	<i>tulatále</i> (P.) 'five twenties'	<i>tulá alále</i>	
Hungry	<i>hogurapa</i> <sup>30</sup>	<i>ucúr</i> <sup>30</sup> 'hunger'	<i>chañac</i> 'be h.'; <i>achan- sua</i> ; $\sqrt{\text{cha}}$
I	<i>áni, an-</i> (P.)	<i>ani</i>	<i>hycha</i>
In	<i>-gñi</i> (postposition)	<i>-guin</i>	<i>-n</i>
Indian	<i>túle</i> ; lit. 'a live person'; see Live; <i>an-tule-gata- wízi</i> 'do you speak San Blas language?'	<i>tulé</i> 'Cuna'	
It	<i>iti</i> <sup>26</sup>	<i>ati</i> <sup>26</sup>	<i>sisy</i> <sup>26</sup>
Jack	<i>Sék</i>		
Lakes	<i>negseacona</i> <sup>31</sup>	<i>matá</i>	<i>xíua</i> <sup>31</sup>
Language; see	Indian.	<i>guápin</i> <sup>32</sup>	<i>cubun</i> <sup>32</sup>
Laugh	<i>alley</i> <sup>33</sup>	<i>alepítár</i> <sup>33</sup>	<i>zegyhuasua</i>
Leaf	<i>sapécah</i> <sup>33</sup>	<i>chapíca</i> <sup>33</sup>	
Lie	<i>cackunsai</i>	<i>cacána</i> (noun)	
Light (adj.)	<i>negmegua; canerukai</i>	<i>talál</i>	
Little; see	<i>itségua</i> <sup>34</sup> 'a little'	<i>ichégua</i> <sup>34</sup>	
Small.			



Live	<i>túle</i>	<i>tulégua</i>	<i>opcuabiza</i> alive
See Belong.			
Love	<i>abeyeh<sup>35</sup></i>	<i>chabúci<sup>35</sup></i>	<i>btyzisuca; atyzin</i>
Man	<i>macherédi<sup>30</sup> 02</i> (P.)	<i>mastól<sup>33</sup></i>	<i>muysca<sup>36</sup></i>
Marry	<i>omenecuwey<sup>07</sup></i>		<i>isahaoacbgasca</i>
See Woman.			
Meat	<i>sanah<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>chana<sup>3</sup></i>	
Men	<i>macherégan</i> (P.)		
Metal	<i>esnumoderste</i>		
Moon	<i>ni<sup>38</sup></i>	<i>ni<sup>38</sup></i>	<i>chie<sup>35</sup></i>
Mother	<i>nana</i>	<i>naná</i>	
Mountain	<i>yahalah</i>	<i>chapúr</i> , but <i>yalá-gambáli</i> 'on the high mountains,' with pl. <i>-ambali</i> .	
Music	<i>calnamachi</i>		
My; see Pronouns.			
Negro	<i>chichígua<sup>39</sup></i> (P.)	<i>chichíi<sup>39</sup></i>	
Net	<i>sacke<sup>40</sup></i>	<i>hugúa caet<sup>40</sup></i> 'fish-net'	<i>iaia<sup>40</sup></i> 'fish-net'
		<i>quyne</i> 'hunting net'	<i>quyne</i> 'hunting net'
Night	<i>múnticke<sup>41</sup></i>	<i>mútiquí<sup>41</sup></i>	<i>za</i>
Nine	<i>pakébaka</i> (P.)	<i>paquébague</i>	<i>aca</i>
Ninety	<i>túlapakéguokákambégi</i> (P.)	<i>túlá-paquégua-cacá-ambégui</i>	
Old	<i>serredí<sup>42</sup></i>	<i>palóguít</i>	<i>tybara; tybacha saca</i> 'old thing'
One	<i>kwénchakwa</i> (P.)	<i>cuénchique; = qñe(?)</i>	<i>ata</i>
Our; see Pronouns.			
Paddle	<i>camíya</i>	<i>cáme</i>	
Panamanian	<i>wága sichígwa</i> 'black foreigner' (P.)		
Play	<i>fodohwey<sup>43</sup></i>	<i>totá<sup>43</sup></i>	
Quick	<i>quaequah</i>		
Rain	<i>iwíá<sup>44</sup></i>	<i>ti; tigué, tiguai<sup>44</sup></i>	<i>siu<sup>44</sup></i>
Rest	<i>opunowey</i>	<i>ulúcus</i>	
River	<i>kewalo<sup>45</sup></i>	<i>ti; tiguála</i>	<i>xie, sie</i>
Sad	<i>oówey</i>	<i>itorquesi</i>	<i>apquyquy; asucan</i> 'mague' 'sad person'
San Blas Indian; see Indian.			
Sail	<i>ootmola; ulu<sup>51</sup> 8</i>	<i>talmál molá</i>	
Sea	<i>telmalah<sup>8</sup></i>	<i>telmál<sup>8</sup></i>	
See	<i>tágsah<sup>46</sup>; takse</i> (P.)	<i>atác<sup>40</sup></i>	{ <i>zemístysuca</i> <i>zemíhístysuca</i>
Sell	<i>oókey<sup>47</sup></i>	<i>uquéga<sup>47</sup></i>	<i>zemístysuca</i>

Send	<i>parmite(y)</i> <sup>48</sup>		<i>biynsuca</i> <sup>48</sup>
Seven	<i>kúg'le</i> (P.) <sup>49</sup>	<i>cublégua</i> <sup>49</sup>	<i>cahupca</i> <sup>49</sup>
Seventy	<i>túlapáguakakámbégi</i> (P.)	<i>tulá-páguacacá-ambégui</i>	
She	<i>ĩi</i> <sup>26</sup> ; often pure fem. <i>ome</i> -; see Verb (P.)	<i>ali</i> <sup>26</sup>	<i>sisy</i> <sup>26</sup>
Shore	<i>kakah</i>		
Sick	<i>covagai</i> <sup>50</sup>	<i>quecújal</i> <sup>50</sup>	<i>iisuca</i>
Sing	<i>namackey</i>	<i>namáque</i>	
Six	<i>nérkwa</i> (P.)	<i>nercua; nerícua</i>	<i>ta</i>
Sixty	<i>túlapāgua</i> (P.)	<i>tulápagua</i>	
Sleep	<i>carbey</i> <sup>50</sup>	<i>capié</i>	<i>zéguybysuca; aqybu</i>
Slow	<i>pinagua</i>		
Small	<i>peckpequa</i>	<i>totógua; cheni</i>	<i>ynquezunga 'a s. thing'</i>
Smell (vb)	<i>japane(y)</i> <sup>51</sup>	<i>yapáne</i> <sup>51</sup>	
Snake	<i>nágpey</i>	<i>nágpe</i>	<i>muyso aqycaque</i>
Spaniard	<i>wága sipúgo</i> <sup>52</sup> (P.) 'white foreigner'		
Speak: 'you s. Indian'	<i>pe-túle-gáta-wízi;</i> 'I speak' <i>ān-wízi</i>		
Spear	<i>eswalah</i>		
Star	<i>nesquao</i> <sup>53</sup>	<i>nicheni</i> <sup>53</sup>	<i>fagua</i> <sup>53</sup>
Steal	<i>attusai</i>		
Strike	<i>nacksah</i>		
Strong	<i>canarapoh</i>		<i>achihinzan maque 'a s. person'</i>
Sun	<i>eba</i> <sup>54</sup> ; <i>tada</i>	<i>ipé</i> <sup>54</sup> ; <i>tata</i>	<i>sua</i>
Swim	<i>tomomackey</i>		<i>ihyzagoscua</i>
Take	<i>suey</i>		<i>cambzascua;</i> <i>cambquyscua</i>
Talk (see Speak)	<i>súnmackey</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>chúmaque</i>	<i>zecubunsuca; see Language</i>
'you t. to me'	<i>pundatsógi</i>		
Taste	<i>eckloge</i> <sup>55</sup>	<i>itógueli</i> <sup>55</sup>	
Ten	<i>ambégi</i> (P.)	<i>ambégui</i>	<i>ubchihica</i>
Their; see Pronouns.			
They	<i>ātmála</i> <sup>56</sup> (P.); <i>pela</i>	<i>amal</i> <sup>56</sup>	<i>sysy</i>
Thirty	<i>túlagwénakakámbégi</i> (P.)	<i>tulábuena-cacá-ambégui</i>	
Thou	<i>pe, be</i> (P.)	<i>pe, be</i>	<i>mue</i>
Three	<i>pāgua</i> (P.)	<i>pagua</i>	<i>míca</i>
Throw	<i>modey</i> <sup>57</sup>	<i>tarméiagal</i> <sup>57</sup>	
Thy; see Pronouns.			
Tiger	<i>atchuo patpart</i> <sup>58</sup>	<i>purliquéi</i> <sup>58</sup> <i>imiá</i>	



Tree	<i>sapewala</i> <sup>59</sup>	<i>chapi</i> <sup>53</sup> ; <i>gual</i> <sup>59</sup>	<i>quye</i>
Turtle	<i>juwóka</i>	<i>monó</i>	
Two	<i>pōqua</i> (P.)	<i>pocua</i>	<i>boza</i>
Twenty	<i>tulágwena</i> (P.)	<i>tulábuena</i>	
Walk	<i>nane(y)</i> <sup>60</sup>	<i>manégal</i> <sup>60</sup>	<i>inynsua</i> <sup>60</sup>
Water	<i>ti</i> <sup>26</sup>	<i>ti</i> <sup>26</sup>	<i>sie, xie</i> <sup>28</sup>
We	<i>āmpōgua</i> (P.) <sup>61</sup> ; <i>anmala</i>	<i>nen; nenmal</i> <sup>61</sup>	<i>chie</i> <sup>61</sup>
Weak	<i>nolowah</i>		
Well (adv.)	<i>nuwedí</i> <sup>24</sup> ; <i>oz</i> (P.)	<i>nuhueti</i> <sup>24</sup> ; <i>oz</i>	
Wet	<i>waraqua</i> <sup>63</sup>	<i>gualaguá</i> <sup>63</sup>	<i>totuc zegascua</i> 'moisten'
Where	<i>abe</i> (see <i>Belong</i> )		
White	<i>sipúgo</i> <sup>3</sup> ; <sup>53</sup> ; also <i>tsipugua chipúgua</i> <sup>3</sup> 'he is w.' (P.)		
Wind	<i>pudua</i>	<i>punúa</i>	<i>fiba</i> ; see <i>Air</i>
Woman	<i>ome</i> ; pl. <i>omecana, ome-</i> <i>yagua</i> 'young w.' <i>puna</i> (P.)	<i>punágua</i>	<i>muyca fucha</i> ; <i>fuhucha</i>
Wood	<i>suara</i> <sup>64</sup>	<i>choána</i> <sup>64</sup>	<i>ja</i>
Work	<i>arpai</i>	<i>arpagúet</i>	
You	<i>pēmála</i> (P.)	<i>pemal</i>	<i>mie</i>
Young	<i>sapíngua</i> (P.)		
Young girl	<i>omeyágua</i> (P.)		
Youth = young			
lad	<i>sapíngua</i> (P.)		
Your; see Pronouns.			

## NOTES TO GLOSSARY

<sup>1</sup> Contains SB. *atchuo* 'dog.'

<sup>2</sup> This probably has no connection with *obeah* in common use in the West Indies, to denote evil magical rites. *Obeah* is usually derived from a West African source.

<sup>3</sup> Note *s = ch*; see s.v. bird, black, bring, carry, cut, dark, laugh, meat (but see nn. 39; 52); star (n. 53), talk, tree, wood. Note here SB. *-quye = C. -cui* seems to be identical with CH. *-gua(na)*.

<sup>4</sup> Note the omission of *l* in SB.

<sup>5</sup> *Ood-* preformative + Sp. *bote*; see *Canoe, Sail*.

<sup>6</sup> CH. *guasgua* 'young person' + *cha* 'male'; perhaps CH. *s = ch* in SB.; C. *machigua*. See *Girl* in CH. and n. 36. In Quito in Ecuador *guambra* is the slang local word in Spanish for 'boy; girl.' Is this *gua-* element from Quichua and perhaps cognate with CH. *gua* in *guasgua*?

<sup>7</sup> SB. *p-k = CH. p-c; p = b*; see *Phonetics*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ulu* 'canoe' seen in SB. *oodcac-olah* 'canoe'; *telmalah* 'sea,' which latter word appears in C. both as *talmal* and *telmal*; see *Sail, Sea*. In SB. *ootmola* 'sail,' however, we have evidently the same stem as in SB. *mola* 'clothes' = 'cloth,' probably a different element from SB. *ulu* 'canoe,' *telmalah* 'sea.' There is no connection with SB. *moli* 'horse.'

<sup>9</sup> SB. *v* = C. *b*. Cf. n. 14.

<sup>10</sup> SB. *e* = C. *a*. Note SB. *-ripa* = ?

<sup>11</sup> SB. *lani* = C. *laniq*.

<sup>12</sup> SB. *-wey* = C. *-gue*; cf. n. 63.

<sup>13</sup> SB. *quil-* = C. *quin-*; *L-n*; cf. n. 63 *r* = *l*, CH. *bquy-* = SB *qui(l)*- C. *qui(n)*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ns* = definite article; see n. 32; *-gana* = pl. ending.

<sup>15</sup> SB. *budoquis(ah)* = CH. *bgys(cua)*; viz., *b* = *b*; *d* = *g*; *z* = *s*, C. *purque* seems cognate with SB. *b-d-qu* = C. *p-r-qu* (= *k*)? Note SB. *evi-*, C. *ipá* and SB. *nevah*, also with dem. element *n*.

<sup>16</sup> CH. *to* is probably not *un neologismo de la interacción castellanica "to"* (thus Uricoechea, s.v. *perro* 'dog'), but a cognate of SB. *richuoy*.

<sup>17</sup> *B* = *p*; see Phonetics. Note also SB. *(y)ma-gua* = C. *(t)iná* 'dry'. SB. has the predicate *-gua*.

<sup>18</sup> *G* = *b*, but why the SB. *L*-insert?

<sup>19</sup> Note difference in voice-stress.

<sup>20</sup> SB. *kaká*—C. *cacá* 'and' = forty + ten.

<sup>21</sup> Note elision of *-g-* in SB.

<sup>22</sup> SB. *ookey* = CH. *hoc*.

<sup>23</sup> C. *quilulele*, probably = *Christus* + *leie*?

<sup>24</sup> *Newédi* (Bell); *nuwédi* (P.); difference of spelling explained by the indeterminate character of the vowel. Note *-t-* in C. *nuhúti*, which shows the indeterminate *t-d*. See Phonetics and also n. 62.

<sup>25</sup> All the same stem (?); SB.-C. *c(k)-k* and CH. *p-c*; *p* = *k*(?).

<sup>26</sup> I heard an aspirate plainly here and also *ati*; cf. n. 55. Note SB.-C. *t* = CH. *s*; also in SB.-C. *ti* = CH. *sie*. Cf. n. 44.

<sup>27</sup> In SB. the demonstr. *ne* + *elko* = C. *ito*; see also n. 55.

<sup>28</sup> No connection with *ulu* 'canoe'; *telmalah* 'sea'; see n. 8. The element *-cabái* = Sp. *caballo*.

<sup>29</sup> *G* = *c(k)*; see Phonetics and n. 37.

<sup>30</sup> Note the aspirate in SB.

<sup>31</sup> SB. *negsaccona* = dem. *ne* (see n. 14) + *gsca* = *ksi* = CH. *xi* in *xina* + the pl. *-cona* = *-gana* (see Grammar). Note the CH. form *xie-sie* 'water' = SB.-C. *ti*. See n. 26 and 34.

<sup>32</sup> Note C. *gu* (*gu*) = CH. *c(k)*.

<sup>33</sup> Common root *al*.

<sup>34</sup> *Ts* and *ch*; see Phonetics.

<sup>35</sup> Note preformative *ch-* in CII. The root is probably *abe-abu*.

<sup>36</sup> SB. *mach* = C. *mas* = CH. *muys*. See n. 6.

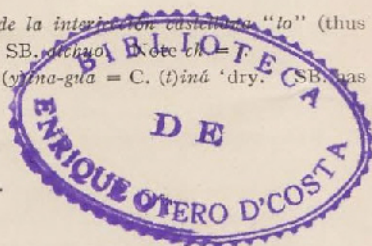
<sup>37</sup> *One* 'woman' and *nec* = *neca* 'house' + verbal *-(w)ey* lit. 'to house a woman.' Cf. Sp. *casarse*.

<sup>38</sup> Query: Is the real element *i* + dem. *n* in SB. and C., and dem. *ch* in CH., or is it a change from *n* to *ch*, like *n* to sibilant in Chinese and Sumerian (Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, p. xii; see n. 61)? The former is more probable.

<sup>39</sup> Note constant *ch* in SB. and C., but *sichigu* also means 'black' in SB.; *s* = *ch*; cf. n. 3. See s. v. Panamanian.

<sup>40</sup> I see a connection between SB. *(s)acke*, C. *cae(t)* and CH. *iaia*, C. *cae(t)*. Probably also CH. *q* in *quyne* belongs here.

<sup>41</sup> Note nasal insert in SB.





<sup>42</sup> Note the same ending *-edi* as in *macheredi* 'man,' q.v. probably also the same *-edi* as in *nuwedi* 'good'; n. 62.

<sup>43</sup> I cannot explain SB. *f* apparently = C. *t*.

<sup>44</sup> Contains *ti* 'water'; observe SB.-C. *t* = CH. *s*; cf. n. 26.

<sup>45</sup> I suspect that Mrs Bell's text should read SB. *tiwalo* = C. *ti* + *gual*. Cf. s. v. Rain in Cuna. On CH. *xie* = *ksie*, cf. n. 31.

<sup>46</sup> Mrs Bell evidently heard a longer vowel than I did; *tagsah* (B.); *táksä* (P.).

<sup>47</sup> The root seems to be *uk* in SB. and C. See Give, and cf. n. 22.

<sup>48</sup> SB. *p(r)m* = CH. *b(t)n* (?).

<sup>49</sup> Note the metathesis between SB. and C.-CH., and see n. 50.

<sup>50</sup> SB. *c-u-g* = C. *qu(h)-c-j* (= *h* = *w*). See for metathesis, n. 49. Is the *r* factitious in SB. *carbey* (B.)?

<sup>51</sup> SB. *j* = C. *y*, a real palatalization.

<sup>52</sup> SB. *sipugo* and *tsipugo*; see White; *s* = *ts*; really a highly palatalized *ch*. See nn. 3, 53.

<sup>53</sup> Clearly the same word in SB. and C.; *s* = *ch*; see n. 3. Only SB. has the element *-qua(o)*, seen in CH. *fa-gua*.

<sup>54</sup> Observe SB. *e* and C. *i*; also *p-b*; *d-t*.

<sup>55</sup> SB. *ekto* = C. *ito-*, probably an aspirate in SB. Cf. n. 26. See Feel. Same element as in SB. *necktosah* 'hear.'

<sup>56</sup> SB. *atmala* = *at* = 3 p. + *mala* = plural element (see Grammar). The C. *amal* is a less primitive form = *a(t)mala*, pl. of *ati* 'he, it.' *Pela* is cognate with the C. pl. element *ambal*, *ambali* and not with the 2 p. *pe*.

<sup>57</sup> SB. *mod-* probably = C. *-met-*.

<sup>58</sup> *Patparti* in SB. is clearly the same element as in C. *purti-quet*. In SB. it is a description of *atchuo* 'dog,' apparently used here for any small four-footed animal. In C. *imiá* = 'eyes' and *purtiquét* seems to qualify this noun.

<sup>59</sup> C. *-gual* = SB. *-wala*; see n. 3 for SB. *s* = C. *ch*.

<sup>60</sup> SB.-C. *-ne-* and CH. *-nyn-* are allied to C. *nao* 'go.'

<sup>61</sup> SB. *ampogua* = *an* 1 p. + *pogua* 'two'; *anmala* 'we,' pl. C. *nen* probably is the reduplication of the 1 p. *n*, seen in *ani*, *an* = the 1 p. singular. CH. *chie* 'we' contains another stem from SB.-C., but is clearly cognate with CH. *hycha* 'I.'

<sup>62</sup> See n. 24. The ending *-edi* is probably the same as that seen in *macheredi* 'man'; *serredi* 'old.'

<sup>63</sup> SB. *w-r* = C. *gu-l*; cf. n. 12.

<sup>64</sup> See n. 3 and observe SB. *r* = C. *n*.

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