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ON MARTIUS' DISTINCTION BETWEEN SHAVANTE
AND SHERENTE¹

by

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I

It was von Martius who first pointed out the close relationship between the languages of many tribes in Central Brazil and suggested that they belonged to a single language family, which he proposed to call the Gês (1867, 1: 258). Since his treatise an enormous bibliography has accumulated on the Gê tribes, as they came to be called, much of it of little worth.² Recently, however, a number of anthropologists have perceived that the Gê pose some fascinating problems and have therefore devoted themselves anew to the study of them.³

These tribes have, so far as we know, occupied their present habitat longer than any of the other indigenous peoples of Brazil (Mason 1950:288). They have lived and apparently thrived on the savannahs of the high Central Brazilian plateau where they have, to a remarkable extent, conserved their own traditions and way of life right down to the present day. They appear to have been technologically backward compared with other Brazilian Indians and yet they have developed institutions of elaborate complexity. It is perhaps not too much to suggest that the data which is being collected and published on the Gê may prove as

(1) This paper is based on research which has been in progress since 1955. I gratefully acknowledge grants from the University of São Paulo (for research among Sherente), the Emslie Horniman Fund and the Brazilian Government (for research among the Shavante) and from the National Institutes of Health for research at present being carried out among the Gê tribes.

(2) An excellent critical summary of this literature is available in Baldus 1954.

(3) For example Dreyfus 1963; Haeckel 1939, 1952, 1953; Lévi-Strauss 1949, 1952, 1956, 1964; Lewis 1941; Maybury-Lewis 1960a, 1960b; Nimuendajú 1939, 1942, 1946.

significant for the development of anthropological theory as the data from Australian societies once did.⁴

Certain ethnographic problems remain to be elucidated however before a comparative study of the Gê may properly be undertaken. The historical relationship between the Shavante and the Sherente⁵ is one of these. I have elsewhere (Maybury-Lewis 1965) analysed the historical sources in an attempt to discover whether these two tribes were ever a single people. It is certain that they occupied either a common territory or adjoining territories in northern Goiás during the eighteenth century and it is of crucial significance for Gê studies to determine why the Shavante moved to their present location in Mato Grosso and, if possible, when.

Martius is the earliest authority on Shavante-Sherente relations. In his view the Sherente were, at the time of his travels in Brazil (1817-20), merely easterly Shavante (1867, I:275). It may then be wondered why a separate designation was required for them at all, especially since Martius is unable to explain either the provenance or the connotation of the name *Sherente*. Nevertheless, as empirical evidence of the distinction between these tribes, Martius published two word lists (1867, II:135-9 and 139-41) in the light of which it would appear that the Shavante and the Sherente spoke closely related but substantially different languages. It is the purpose of this paper to re-examine these vocabularies in the light of my knowledge of present-day spoken Shavante and Sherente.

In the appendix I have listed 131 words which appear in both the Shavante and the Sherente vocabularies. Seventeen further words (132-148) are listed which appear only in the Sherente vocabulary but are marked with an asterisk to denote that they also belong to the dialect of the Shavante (sic). In all Martius marked 29 Sherente words out of a total of 190 as being common to both languages. The remaining 12 appear in his Shavante vocabulary. It seems that he was under the impression that this was the extent of the correspondence between Sherente and Shavante.

On the right hand side of the appendix I have listed Shavante and Sherente equivalents for Martius' Latin terms.

(4) In this connection, I am at present directing the Harvard-Central Brazil research project which is carrying out research among the Gê tribes in collaboration with the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

(5) Shavante may also be spelled Xavante and Chavante in Brazilian orthography. Sherente is similarly rendered as Xerente or Cherente.

These are taken from my own linguistic knowledge gathered in the field (Sherente 1955-56, 1963; Shavante 1958, 1962, 1964). I have also added a column of English equivalents. It is now possible to determine the extent to which Martius' Shavante vocabulary differs from his Sherente one. The procedure I use is as follows. I classify each pair of terms (Shavante and Sherente) in Martius' vocabularies as 1) identical 2) cognate 3) different 4) doubtful 5) eliminated. The classification procedure is discussed in Section II.

As any field-worker knows, the collection of vocabulary is not the simple matter which it was thought to be in the days when every traveller felt he ought to bring back word-lists among his other trophies from the natives. The proper translation of words requires an intimate knowledge of the cultural contexts in which they are used. The majority of these words were collected by Castelnau (1851, V:264) who certainly did not possess such knowledge. Still less did Pohl whose Shavante vocabularies (1837, II:33) were incorporated in the lists when Martius published them. Fortunately Martius is careful to specify which words are taken from Castelnau's lists and which from Pohl's, since the former transliterated them with French values and the latter with German values. If these considerations are borne in mind it is possible to identify obvious misunderstandings and mis-translations and these make up the bulk of the "doubtful" category. The terms I have eliminated refer to alien concepts (such as "cross") for which the Shavante and the Sherente do not normally have words.

II

1. Cognate⁶

Martius' Shavante term is taken from Castelnau so that the *eu* should be pronounced like the French *eu* in *peu* and is the same as my *ɛ*. The voicing of certain consonants varies greatly among both Shavante and Sherente nowadays, so that *z*, *j*, *s* and *sh* may be used interchangeably by different speakers in certain words. *-di* and *-ki* are interchangeable suffixes which indicate a state qualified by the preceding adjective. Sherente might still say *hezé-di* here but the *-ki* suffix is no longer used in modern Shavante.

(6) The numbers refer to the listing in the appendix.

2. Eliminated

I have not heard either tribe use a word for embracing, which is a concept foreign to them. Martius' Sherente term is probably a phrase meaning "ka (there) ñō (sleep) wē-ki (is beautiful, pleasant).

3. Doubtful

I cannot identify Martius' Shavante term and his Sherente one is clearly erroneous. *wasté-di* means bad, horrible.

4. Identical

The slight difference between Martius' Shavante form and his Sherente form is explained by the alternatives I list. *ē* (*kē*) refers to running water, *u* (*ku*) to still water.

5. Doubtful

Martius' Sherente term is a misunderstanding. *kubá* means a tree felled or fallen across a river to make a bridge. It should be translated as "bridge" and has also come to mean "boat" for both Shavante and Sherente.

6. Cognate

The Sherente word *kuminikē* has come to mean "gun". They refer to a bow as a certain type of wood, from *udé* (tree).

7. Identical

The suffix *-kra* (Sherente) or *-ra* (Shavante) means "child" of the stem. *-ri* is a diminutive.

8. Identical

The slight variation in Martius' forms is grammatical. The roots are identical (as shown in my lists). Martius' alternative Shavante phrase resembles modern Sherente *kē* (water) *wi-mkā* (bring here) *kri-pra* (in the house) *krenē-da* (to drink).

9. Identical

bonus is a mistranslation here. The Shavante/Sherente phrase *zein-di* or *sein-di* means "I like it" or "(It) pleasing is (to me)".

10. Different(?)

Shavante and Sherente have different words for various parts of the arm. It is possible that *dapas* which I cannot identify refers to a different part from *da-painō*.

11. Cognate

12. Doubtful

Martius' Shavante listing resembles a grammatical form summoning people to sing (... *ñōkri-wakbakē*) and

his Sherente one is reminiscent of the rallying call (*Aké*) used in summoning others to sing.

13. Cognate

14. Different

15. Doubtful

The Sherente term *ctence* is marked with an asterisk in Martius' list, indicating that it is also a Shavante word. However Martius lists a separate term in his Shavante vocabulary (as in the table). This possibly indicates a certain type of meat for *ini* is shortened to the suffix *-ni* when it is attached to a stem specifying what sort of meat it is.

16. Doubtful

Martius' Sherente term is a misunderstanding and probably represents some phrase such as (modern Sherente) *ktēká-kē* (water running over stones) *kri* (houses) *kōdi* (none).

17. Different

18. Doubtful

Both Martius' terms are obviously derivatives of *da-to* (eye). I am unable to identify his Sherente term, while his Shavante term is clearly a combination with his *desahi* (hair). It seems likely that these are different compounds, e.g. eye-lash, eye-brow etc.

19. Doubtful

"Club" is in any case too general a designation for people as interested in and as particular about discriminating between their clubs as the Shavante and the Sherente.

20. Identical

21. Identical

My listings show only the stem of the verb "sit down". *ī-ñamrā* is part of the first person singular present tense. *aisamrā* is the imperative "sit down!". *to* is a particle with a variety of meanings. I am unable to understand what *talmi* can be.

22. Doubtful

I am unable to understand either of Martius' terms. The Shavante one is clearly a phrase, whereas the Sherente one could possibly be an onomatopoeic invention of a particular local group. This verb is one of the most difficult ones to find equivalents for in either language. The Sheren-

te commonly use the word *si-dototó*, a recent onomatopoeic invention, to refer to boiling, the only form of culinary preparation they have acquired from the whites. In the old days, according to their own traditions, they only roasted food in the embers of the fire or baked it in earth ovens. These are the methods still most commonly used by the Shavante to-day. Thus both tribes use a phrase *sebré-da* (*sebré* = cooked as opposed to raw and *da* = purposive suffix) to designate the act of cooking.

23. Different

24. Cognate

The top terms are Castelnau's, the bottom ones Pohl's.

25. Eliminated

26. Identical

Clearly both terms refer to some kind of *couba* = boat. As a corollary to the variable quality of sibilants (noted above) the word which I have rendered as *sauve* = big may be more nearly pronounced as *joweré*.

27. Eliminated

28. Doubtful

"Day" cannot be rendered into Shavante or Sherente by a single word but is translatable in a number of ways depending on the context. The course of a day (French *journée*) is *bede* (Shavante) or *bdę* (Sherente) which also means "sun" and "path", so that a literal translation would be "path of the sun". "Day" in the question "How many days?" is *apte* (Shavante) literally so many "sleeps". A sentence referring to the break of day would include the term *awē* (dawn) as possibly does Martius' Sherente term. "Day" in the expression "to-day" would include the term *māra*, as possibly does Martius' Shavante term.

29. Identical

I have listed only the stem of the verb. The variations in Martius' lists are grammatical. His *aboukidi* probably corresponds to Sherente *abke-di* which means "sleepy".

30. Identical

The egregious form *vosanaka* is derived from an Indian attempt to reproduce Portuguese *vou jantar* = I am going to have supper. The other forms seem to be phrases containing the stem as I list it.

31. Eliminated

32. Doubtful

The Sherente term is probably the word for urine (q.v.).

33. Identical

34. Identical

35. Doubtful

This pair of terms is riddled with misunderstandings. The word for child of either sex is *'ra* (Shavante) or *kra* (Sherente) and occurs elsewhere in Martius' vocabularies. Martius' Sherente term to-day does indeed mean "girl". I was at a loss to understand his Shavante term until I realised that there is a frequent misprint of *c* for *e* in many of Castelnau's terms reproduced by Martius. *acoutai* thus become *aeoutai* or (in my notes) *aiuté* = baby.

36. Doubtful

Here the Sherente term is correct (see 35). The same misprint recurs in the Shavante term which is clearly a phrase corresponding to *aiuté 'māsomri* (give me the baby). One may imagine how Castelnau's signs indicating that he wanted the translation of "my child" were misinterpreted to produce this rendering.

37. Identical (see 26)

38. Cognate

39. Identical

The same misprint recurs in the Sherente term which should read *eueudi*. The natives frequently draw out a vowel for emphasis.

40. Different

41. Doubtful

Both of Martius' terms appear to be variants of *māto mū* (*moto mū*) meaning "went away". The alternate Shavante term is a phrase which I cannot understand. I have listed the correct renderings of "flee".

42. Doubtful

Martius' Shavante term corresponds to *tāiwapska* (Sherente = thunder) whereas his Sherente term is clearly *'budzi* (flash), an abbreviation of *tā'budzi* = rain flash (lightning).

43. Eliminated

Shavante and Sherente notions of property did not allow for a simple translation of the word "thief". Significantly both peoples have borrowed the Portuguese word *roubar* = to steal.

44. Doubtful

Martius' Shavante term is clearly derived from *rowaskú* which in modern Sherente means "tell a story". It seems unlikely that Castelnau who spoke neither language could have got an accurate translation for such a sophisticated concept as "garrulous". This impression is confirmed by the fact that the Sherente word in Martius' list clearly means "good" (see 9).

45. Different

46. Doubtful

The first Shavante term listed is Pohl's, the others Castelnau's. They correspond to *worazú* (*orazú*) = stranger + *ri* = diminutive + *ka* = white. The Sherente term probably (and curiously) refers to a red (*pré*) stranger. The Shavante nowadays refer to all outsiders as *woradzú'rā* = dark strangers. The Sherente still reserve the corresponding term *worazuará* (see 47) for negroes and refer to outsiders in general as *kte* (tapir) *wanō* (gun).

47. Cognate (see 46)

48. Identical

49. Identical

50. Identical

In Martius' Sherente listing the *g* is soft as in French. The terms actually mean "mouth". My listings are correct for "lip".

51. Identical

My listings denote milk in general, Martius' refer to cow's milk.

52. Cognate

53. Identical

Martius' Shavante listing refers to pig's fat (from *kuębi* = domestic pig).

54. Different?

In so far as I am able to understand Martius' Sherente listing, it appears to refer to getting married, from *wa* = I + *mrō* = spouse + *da* = purposive suffix.

55. Identical

Europeans taking down Amerindian words frequently use *r* and *l* interchangeably, since the sound is half way between them.

56. Different

57. Cognate

58. Identical

The alternative Shavante listing means "sky".

59. Identical

Martius' listings mean "don't like", mine mean "not good".

60. Cognate

61. Different

62. Doubtful

I am unable to understand Martius' Sherente listing. His Shavante one probably corresponds to a phrase *da-krā* (head) + *sebré* (in, enter) *te-krawi* (to cover up).

63. Different

64. Cognate

The stem of the verb nowadays is a I list it. Martius' versions appear to be variations of *tsa-ri* or *sa-ri*, a frequently used verbal diminutive.

65. Doubtful

While Martius' Sherente listing means "death" or a "dead man", his Shavante listing is incomprehensible to me. The alternative Shavante listing appears to rest on a comic misunderstanding, for it possibly corresponds to the sentence *māri wabeę pra-ī-ti-keę?* which means "What am I going to get money for?"

66. Cognate

The Shavante listing is the first person singular, present tense whereas the Sherente listing corresponds to an infinitive.

67. Doubtful

This term is full of ambiguities. *nepos* even when its gender is specified can be rendered either as niece or granddaughter. There is no simple equivalent in Shavante or Sherente for "niece", since their kinship categories do not correspond to our genealogical specifications. The Shavante word for "grandchild" is *ī-nihúdu*, while the Sherente term is *ī-nihrdú*. Martius' *acoutai-pré* is a misprint for *aeoutai-pré* and means "red baby". Similarly his *da-cra pré* means "red child". These are obviously references to the practice of painting children with *urucú* in the belief that this makes them both strong and beautiful.

68. Doubtful (see 28)

69. Identical

Martius' Sherente form corresponds to *da-uri-ni* = in order to kill. His Shavante form derives from the phrase *aké-wa-t-da-uri-ni* = "Come (*aké* = call summoning people) that we may kill".

70. Identical

My listings show the current correct form for referring to "my village". Martius' are respectively *da-rowa* and *wa-rowa* and we have seen that *da-* is a neutral prefix, while *wa-* can be "I" or a first personal possessive prefix.

71. Identical

In Castelnau's transcriptions *g* and *j* have the same value.

72. Identical

I am unable to identify the suffix *canou* in Martius' Shavante listing, but clearly the word *pra* was recorded as being common to both languages at his time.

73. Eliminated

In any case the Shavante listing is derived from Portuguese *chapéu* = hat.

74. Cognate

75. Cognate

Martius' Shavante listing, taken from Castelnau, corresponds to *tébé wawē* (*wawē* = old, but also may be used as an augmentative). My *wawē* corresponds here to Castelnau's *ouanouan*. The Sherente listing does not refer to any big fish but to a special variety of fish *té-rāipó*.

76. Identical

Martius' Shavante listing corresponds to the sentence *aké tebe wa-t-ka-uri-ni* = Come that we may kill fish (cf. 69). The Sherente listing is simply *tebe uwi-ni*. *uwi* and *uri* are interchangeable (see 69).

77. Doubtful

Martius' Shavante listing is reminiscent of the modern Shavante term *tsibi* from *tsi* (bird) + *bi* (tail) which is used especially to designate the tail feathers of the macaw, much used for ceremonial purposes. His Sherente term is probably a version of *sibaká* which does not mean feather but rather flamingo.

78. Identical

79. Doubtful

pico corresponds to *pikō* = woman; *bactonlei* to *baktō-ri* = little girl and *dacrada* to *da-kra da* = to make a child.

80. Doubtful

psichiendi is clearly derived from *sein-di* = I like, and does not mean beautiful.

81. Identical

Martius' Shavante listing corresponds to *ke* (water) *suru* (little). His Sherente listing corresponds to *ke-ri* (little water) *auré* (there is).

82. Identical

83. Identical

All Martius' terms are variations of Sherente *sikrene* = to celebrate a festival (Shavante *si'rene* = dance), combined with the first person prefix *wa* or the second person prefix *ai*.

84. Different

85. Identical

86. Different

87. Eliminated

The terms are in any case identical and correspond to modern Sherente *kuikuzé* = alcoholic drink.

88. Identical

89. Doubtful

Martius lists one possible alternative for the Shavante and the other for the Sherente (see 28).

90. Doubtful

Martius' Sherente term corresponds to my Sherente listing. His Shavante term probably derives from a phrase such as "*wa-s-teñamr da*" = for me to stay.

91. Doubtful (see 18)

92. Doubtful

These listings appear to be misunderstandings. The Shavante term is probably *hē-ta* = there you are (expression used when handing or offering something to someone). This suspicion is strengthened by the Sherente listing which resembles *a kuēbi-ni* = your (domestic) pig's meat!

93. Eliminated (see 6)

94. Doubtful

Martius' Shavante listings correspond to both of mine. His Sherente term however corresponds to *suprá* = sand.

95. Identical

96. Different

97. Eliminated
Neither tribe has a concept which would correspond to "sad".
98. Different
99. Eliminated
Martius' listings are two different invented terms, *da-ro* (*ro* = things in general, countryside) *saure* = big and *kri* = house + *rã* = huge.
100. Doubtful
These peoples do not have a simple term for "to hunt". The killing of game is an important part of their lives and they consequently refer to it either directly as "killing..." (cf. 76) or subsume the activity in categories of action which refer to the purpose of the hunt, the people involved, how long they will be away and so on.
101. Identical
Martius' Sherente listing is clearly two alternatives *da-de* or *da-di*.
102. Eliminated
Both peoples wore no clothes originally.
103. Identical
104. Different
105. Different
106. Different
107. Different
108. Eliminated
109. Eliminated
110. Eliminated
111. Identical
112. Cognate
113. Identical
114. Doubtful
115. Different
116. Identical
The Shavante listing specifies that the monkey is a howler monkey.
117. Identical
coucu is once again a misprint for *coueu*.
118. Cognate
119. Identical
Martius' listings add the diminutive suffix *-ri*.

120. Doubtful
Martius' Sherente listing corresponds to mine. I am unable to identify his Shavante term. In any case these peoples distinguish at least seven different kinds of armadillo, six of them designated as varieties of *erã/werã*, so precise equivalents cannot be given here without a knowledge of their taxonomy.
121. Identical
ohiká is a misprint for *chiká*.
122. Doubtful
The listings here refer to different species of parrot.
123. Doubtful (see 122)
124. Identical
125. Different
126. Doubtful
The Sherente listing refers to snakes in general whereas the Shavante one probably refers to a certain species.
127. Doubtful
Martius' Shavante listing is derived from Portuguese *côco* = coconut palm.
128. Cognate
129. Different
130. Identical
The suffix *-ze* indicates a diminutive part of the prefix, in this case a plant.
131. Identical
- 132-148. Identical
Except for 135 which is Doubtful (see 35)
147. Eliminated

TABLE 1

Comparative analysis of Martius' vocabularies

Total no. of terms common to both	148		
eliminated	15		
doubtful	36		
	<hr/>	51	-51
Total no. of terms in comparative sample	97		
identical	59	60.8%	
cognate	17	17.5%	
different	21	21.7%	

TABLE 2

Comparative analysis of Maybury-Lewis' vocabularies

Total no. of terms common to both	148		
eliminated	15		
doubtful	19		
	<hr/>	34	-34
Total no. of terms in comparative sample	114		
identical	31	27.2%	
cognate	66	57.9%	
different	17	14.9%	

III

The results of my exegesis of Martius' vocabularies are set out below in table 1. For comparative purposes I have undertaken a similar examination of my own Shavante and Sherente listings for Martius' terms. The results of this test are summarized in table 2.

It will be seen that there is a high degree of correspondence between Martius' Shavante and Martius' Sherente

list. Once the inappropriate and doubtful terms had been removed from the lists, 60.3% of the remainder were adjudged identical and a total of 78.3% were either identical or cognate. There are therefore insufficient grounds in these vocabularies for the argument that the Shavante and the Sherente were linguistically discrete in the early nineteenth century.

Comparison with the results of a similar check on my own word lists is particularly revealing. In table 2 the number of doubtful cases has been reduced from 36 to 19, largely by eliminating the misunderstandings of Castelnau and Pohl. The remaining items in the doubtful category are there either because I do not know their equivalents (e.g. "captive") or because there is some ambiguity involved. Of the cases considered however there is a higher proportion of correspondence than in Martius' word lists, a total of 85.1% being either identical or cognate. This might seem to show that the physical separation of the Shavante and the Sherente had resulted in an approximation of their dialects! This is, of course, absurd and the explanation is not far to seek.

In the first place the gross character of our tests is such that the percentages in themselves may not be taken too literally. They provide an indication, nothing more. Secondly, the terms listed as different in table 2 are only those known to be so. Those listed as different in table 1 are all those which were taken down as different and which I have subsequently not been able to show to be other than different. It must be remembered that Martius' Shavante and Sherente vocabularies have looked and seemed "different" for nearly a century, yet I have been able to show that much of this difference was illusory.

It would seem that there was indeed a high degree of correspondence between Shavante and Sherente when the first vocabularies were recorded and that roughly the same degree of correspondence exists to-day. Yet we now know that the two tribes are discrete and separated by 500 km (Maybury-Lewis 1965). This would indicate that the convergence or divergence of their languages, especially in the crude form recorded, is no indicator of the relations between the tribes. Consider however the interesting fact that whereas the overall degree of correspondence between Shavante and Sherente (identical + cognate terms) has remained roughly the same, the proportion of identical terms

in the lists has sharply declined and the proportion of cognates correspondingly increased. This would be exactly as expected if the two tribes had spoken substantially the same language when they cohabited in northern Goiás. Subsequently differences of pronunciation, consequent on their physical separation, would have crept in. I suggest that this is in fact what took place. Martius' vocabularies then provide an inadequate basis for distinguishing between Shavante and Sherente, but tend to support his statement that the two peoples were closely related in 1817-20.

APPENDIX

MARTIUS

Latin	Chavante	Cherente	Shavante	English
1. aeger	aeujeaki	osaké	edzé-di udzé-di	ill it hurts
2. amplexi	ouatehite- leba	canion- aouenki	?	embrace
3. anus	ouawai	ouastedi	da-naretó	anus
4. aqua	keu	cou	ç u	water
5. arbor	wédé	couba	wédé	tree
6. arcus	comunika	comicran	umint'ê	bow
7. avis parva	chicral	chi	tsi-ri	small bird
8. bibere	eukrané keumakan- ripacrenlida	jaucrene	'rê	drink
9. bonus, a, um	seendi	chlendi	petse-di	good
10. brachium	gouanikeu	dapai-nau	da-painô	arm
11. calor	dapas	roacro	roa'ro-di	hot
12. cantare	moacrowakba- keu	aca	da-fô'ri	sing
13. capilli	desahi	layahi	da-dzern	hair
14. capivivus	imijaman	cajo-cra	?	captive
15. caro	crupioni	ctence	ini	meat
16. cataracta	teucata	tencaca- criarondi	?	waterfall
17. cauda	amanan	crou	imbî	tail
18. cilia	datot-cu- sahi	datot-incan	-bî ?	eyelash

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Latin	Chavante	Cherente	Shavante	English
1. aeger	aeujeaki	osaké	edzé-di udzé-di	ill it hurts
2. amplexi	ouatehite- leba	canion- aouenki	?	embrace
3. anus	ouawai	ouastedi	da-naretó	anus
4. aqua	keu	cou	ç u	water
5. arbor	wédé	couba	wédé	tree
6. arcus	comunika	comicran	umint'ê	bow
7. avis parva	chicral	chi	tsi-ri	small bird
8. bibere	eukrané keumakan- ripacrenlida	jaucrene	'rê	drink
9. bonus, a, um	seendi	chlendi	petse-di	good
10. brachium	gouanikeu	dapai-nau	da-painô	arm
11. calor	dapas	roacro	roa'ro-di	hot
12. cantare	moacrowakba- keu	aca	da-fô'ri	sing
13. capilli	desahi	layahi	da-dzern	hair
14. capivivus	imijaman	cajo-cra	?	captive
15. caro	crupioni	ctence	ini	meat
16. cataracta	teucata	tencaca- criarondi	?	waterfall
17. cauda	amanan	crou	imbî	tail
18. cilia	datot-cu- sahi	datot-incan	-bî ?	eyelash

19. clava	koumero	coupera	um'ra eibro brudu	kwiro	club
20. collum	daboudou	dabedau	da-budu	da-bdu	neck
21. considere	assen-moran assamran- talmi	tol-nia- moran	fiamr	fiamr	sit down
22. coquere	imlsai manwamo andi	triari-bau	sebre-da ruiwa-da	sebre-da	cook
23. cor	dapekyanyé	daen	da-iduture	da-wapú	heart
24. culter	sinkejai schinkasche	semecajai sinikajai	sinbedzé	smíkezé	knife
25. crux	dekrefekidi	chedaícouacha	?	?	cross
26. cymba magna	couba- jowéréé	couba-rai	ubá-saure (di)	kuba-saure (di)	big boat
27. diabolus	michopoiri	cupanri	?	?	devil
28. dies	tomaja-ouna- wai	mangra	?	?	day
29. dormire	wanioton asson-ton	toniantan aboukidi	ñótó	ñótó	sleep
30. edere	vosanaka akoa-chandai	ouchada	ĩsá	ĩsá	eat
31. ensis	schinkascheu bacanai	coucoucanai	?	?	sword
32. excrementa	dejanaa	coutondi	da-ñana		excrement
33. femina	piconemptia- di (femina pulchra)	picon	pi'õ	pikõ	woman
34. femur	dasda- jounté	daja	da-dza	da-za	thigh (leg)
35. filia	acouati	bacanon	ĩ'ra	ĩ-kra	daughter (child)

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Latin	Chavante	Cherente	Shavante	Sherente	English
36. filia mea	acoutai- masombli	dacra	ĩ'ra	ĩ'kra	my daughter (child)
37. fluvius	keujawerei	keu-an-wai	ẽ	kẽ	river
38. foedus	ouachodi	ouachendai	waseté-di	wasté-di	foul
39. frigidus	euki	cucudi	hẽ-di	hẽ-di	cold
40. frons	dacaisoudou	dacaniacran			forehead
41. fugere	tomo-moran manauabeaupré- anchouchi	matomoui	wára mu	wrawára	flee
42. fulgur	tanwansa	caubouji	tá' budzi	tá-ĩ-kbuzi	lightning
43. fur	tjanko	ame-me-pre -cidi	?	?	thief
44. garrulus	roascoucro ai-wemre-pred	pi-chaidi			talkative
45. gravis	simirédé	picapodi	pire-di	pre-di	heavy
46. homo albus	kraschauka quarajourika moa-jourika	coaji-oupré	woradzu'rã	ktẽwanõ	white man
47. homo niger	oraschukra couajoucran cerejoucran	coaji-ara	rãdorã-re	worazuará	negro
48. humeri	danissai	danichai (humerus)	da-nẽsai	da-nsai	shoulder
49. ignis	kusché	coujeu	udzẽ	kuzẽ	fire
50. labium	dasadoa	dagedoa	da-zdawá-hi da-tsaró	da-zdawá-hi	lip
51. lac	teu-oua-cou owa-kau	coto-oua-cou	ĩ-wa'u	ĩ-waku	milk

52. lacus	poucouwa	keu wawal	puú	pku	lake
53. lardum	couboua	oua	wa	wa	fat
54. lavare	sasacu cou- pehon	ouamronda	uptã	kuntã	wash
55. levis	wapoureké	ouapoliké	upsó	kupsó	bathe
56. lingus	dageuto	danin-fou	wapúre-di	wapumpsé-di	light
57. loqui	ai-wemré	amenai	da-nóitó	da-nóitó	tongue
58. luna	ouá heva	oua	mrã wa	mrã wa	speak moon
59. malus	seen-condi	chlencondi	ptsé-ódf	psé-kódf	bad
60. manus	dai-iperai	danicra	da-inimrada	da-nipkrá	hand
61. mentum	desacrada	daia pouda	da wadá		chin
62. mergere	acranjeubre- kekraoui	dacouabi			dive
63. mons	sianau utschu	manian-a- aurai	tsinó		mountain
64. mordere	woari	ansari	tsá	sá	bite
65. mori	eitika manliwabo- praitikeu	dadeu	dẽrẽ	dẽr	die
66. natare	ouajelibí	darbi	ríbe	jrbi	swim
67. nepos (fem.)	acoutai-pré	dacra-pré			niece granddaughter
68. nox	tomanmara	omea-craneri	mãra	mãra	night
69. occidere	aqueuwate- dawivi	dourini	uwĩ	urĩ	kill
70. pagus	darowa	ouarowa	wa-ĩñórowá	wa-ĩñórowá	(my) village
71. pectus	dagoucoudo	dajoucoudou			breast
72. pes	dapra-canou	dapra	da-para	da-pra	foot
73. pileus	schuanpo	cayamitro			hat
74. piscis	tébé tibé	tobial	tébé	tbé	fish
75. piscis	tébé ouanouan	piera-y-po	tébé-saure	tbé-sauré	big fish

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Latin	Chavante	Cherente	Shavante	Sherente	English
76. piscari	keutché ouaté kaouini	tebcweni	tébé-da tébé ti uwĩ	tbé-t-só-da	to fish
77. pluma	siwirawibi	ibaka	waripe	simdarbí	feather
78. pluvia	ta	tan	tã	tã	rain
79. puella	pico bactonlei	dacrada	baono	baknó baktó-ri	girl
80. pulcher	oueki	psichiendi	wã-di	wã-ki	beautiful
81. rivus	keu chourou	keuri-aurai	q + ti	kq + ti	stream
82. sagitta	ti	ti	ti	ti	arrow
83. saltare	ouachiere- mebra vasinerene	aenere	sĩ'renã prabá	prbá	dance
84. sanguis	apkoujaki	da-oua-prou	da-waprú	da-waprú	blood
85. senex	oanvé	oaweké	wawã	wawã	old
86. serpens	ouahi	amakal	wahĩ	amkú	snake
87. sicera	cucusche coucoujai	coucoujai		kuikuzé	alcoholic drink
88. stellae	ouachidé	chouachi	wasi	wasi	stars
89. sol	sídacro stukro	beudeu	s'daro bẽdẽ	sđakro bdẽ	sun
90. stragula dormito- ria	ouasdenia- medi	criaml	riñamrĩ	krinamrĩ	sleeping mat
91. supercilia	dasahi	daconian			eyebrows
92. sylvia	anta	acoubouni	marã	mrã	forest
93. telum pyrium	ouana ouanou	oua-a-nou	wanó	kuminikq	firearm

94. terra	tela tika	choupra	tl'a	tka	earth
95. timor	pai-cro	pai	pai-di pipa-di	pahí-di sipá-di	fear (frightened)
96. tonitru(s)	tourouran	tanyringrin	tā-īwapsá	tā-īwapská tā-īrākā	thunder
97. tristis	manua arcanacro- chmononoman	sitiocudi			sad
98. urina	aslnjai	itoni	da-dzé (uptō)	(uptō)	urine (urinate)
99. urbs	daraja ouwerei	criran			city
100. venari	tagua wateakeureu- sasari (eamus in sylvam occisum)	coucaujai	abá hemō	aikwá sasár	hunt
101. venter	dadau	dadou-da-di	da-pē (da-đi)	da-pkē da-dki	belly
102. vestimenta	schaschahue dsesaheu- comptoll	chicou-jajal	dzadzahę	sikuzá	clothes
103. numeri					
104. 1	simisi	chimichi	mitsi	smisi	one
105. 2	aouapranai	poucouanai	maparané	pon'kwané	two
106. 3	scoudaton	malpranai	siúmdatō	mrēprané	three
107. 4	monontonan	chicou-anai	maparané	sikwáempsí	four
108. 5	mononpchai	njerapeu	?	ī-nipkrá Imnambi	five
108. bos	tocou	cutican tocau	podzewaséde podzete	ktęku	bull
109. vacca	toccu	cutican- picon	podzewaséde podzete	ktęku	cow

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Latin	Chavante	Cherente	Shavante	Sherente	English
110. equus	apraisoudou quuripokripo	chomblari	awaru	sumzari	horse
111. canis	oapsa	oapchon	wapsá	wapsá	dog
112. felis onça	acouchéré	ou	hu	huku	jaguar
113. felis onça nigra	oucoucran	ou-acran			black jaguar
114. lacerta	cri-jale-oen cré	crijou			lizard
115. nasua	abeucudeu	kouacong	wa'ō	wakō	coati
116. simia hapale, pen- cillatus Rosalia:	crocoli	cro	ro	kro	monkey
117. sus	couhé	coucu	uhę	kuę	pig
118. tapirus	cauendeu kuhude	coudieu	uhędę	kđę	tapir
119. dasypus	ouaranli	couan-riai	ęrā	węrā	armadillo
120. dasypus gygas	asipocoawan	orewawa	ęrā-wawę	węrā-wawę	giant armadillo
121. gallina	schika	ohika	si'a	siká	chicken
122. psittacus	creen-lé	oua-cha	rāpré	wa	parrot
123. psittacus ara	somerara	chouara	sōite	sōite (súwara)	macaw (Hyacinth macaw)
124. rhamphas- tos	moroadá	nononouda	nrōudá	nrōudá	toucan
125. crocodilus	aconjoueu	eauieu	uihę	kuihę	cayman
126. crotalus	siseu	ouari			rattlesnake
127. cocos palma	kokodo-wédé	noron	norō-wédé	nrō-udé	coconut palm

128.	fabae	pawenjeu	ouajimjo	uhí	wazumze	beans
129.	musa (banana)	baco	chou-poiran	pa'o	ispokrā	banana
130.	herba tabaci	oali oani	oanñieu	warí	warí	tobacco
131.	sez mays	nosche	nojeu	nôdze	nôze	maize

The following words do not occur in Martius' Chavante vocabulary, but are listed in his vocabulary of Cherente and marked with an asterisk denoting that they also belong to "the dialect of the Chavantes" (1867, II:139).

132.	auris		da-inporé	da-porí	da-npokri	ear
133.	caput		dicran	da-rā	da-kra	head
134.	dentes		daguoi	da-'wa	da-kwa	teeth
135.	filiiis		acoutai	ī-'ra	ī-kra	son
136.	nasus		danescri	da-ni'ri	da-skri	nose
137.	oculus		datoi	da-to	da-to	eye
138.	piger		ouacacrodi	wa'á-di	waká-di	lazy
139.	sitis		eroboudi	rebú-di	krebú-di	thirsty
140.	testudo		koucan			tortoise
				(uhéyupó)		(turtle)
141.	domus		cri	ri	kri	house
142.	via		boudiaudi	bedé-di	bdé-di	path, way
143.	vir		ambeu	aibí	ambí	man
144.	cervus		po	po	po	deer
145.	rhea americana		man	mā	mā	
146.	dioscorea		cópa	upá	kupá	manioc
147.	batatas		coundi			potatoes
148.	canna saccharifera		doujée	robdzé	duzé	sugar (cane)

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