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## ON THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE

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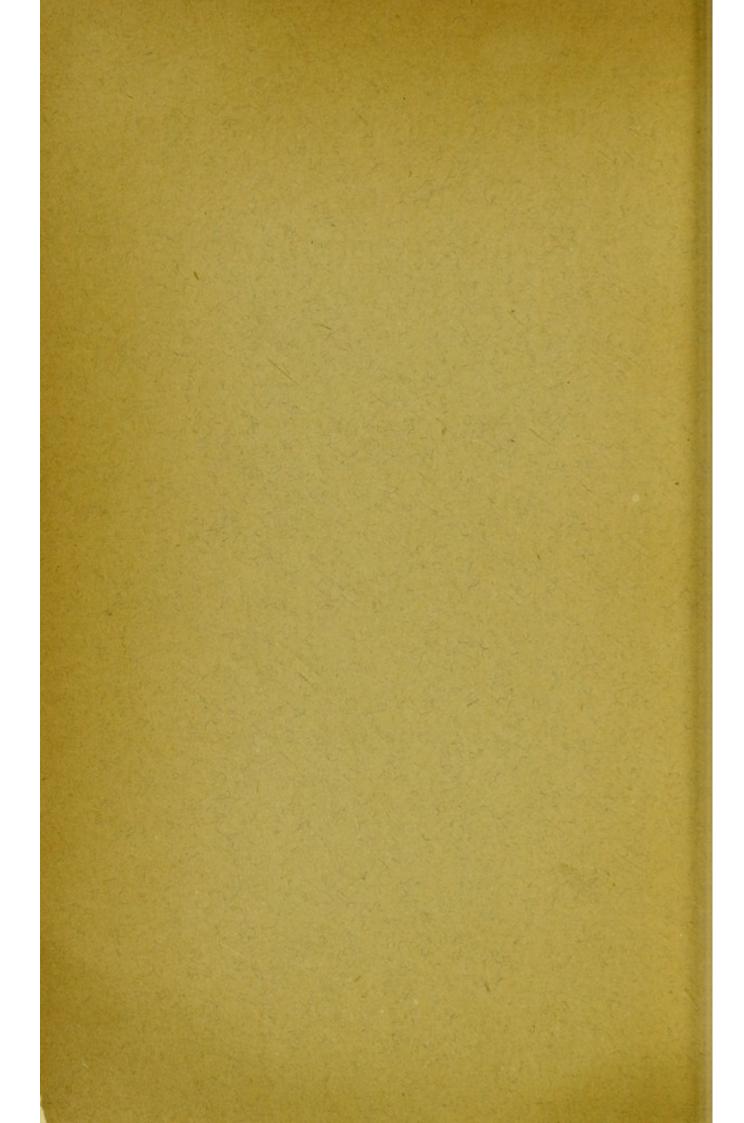
# NATIVES OF TENERIFE.

A PAPER CONTRIBUTED TO THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SECTION OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, 1891,

JOHN,
MARQUESS OF BUTE,
K. T.
(MAYOR OF CARDIFF.)

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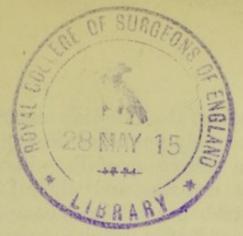
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### ON THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE OF THE NATIVES OF TENERIFE.

To read a paper before the present audience is an act of such temerity upon my part, that I feel that I ought to begin by explaining the circumstances which lead me to hope that it may not be altogether without interest. In the spring of this year the state of my health made it desirable that I should go abroad for some weeks, and I selected Tenerife, not only for the sake of the singularly perfect climate, and of the shortness and ease of the journey, but also to gratify my curiosity by the sight of a region until then entirely unknown to me. Those who know Tenerife at all, know that, especially in the case of an invalid, it is necessary, in order to have any occupation, to take up some line of study; and it occurred to me to turn my attention to the language spoken by the inhabitants at the time of the Spanish conquest. I was the more encouraged in this because, as far as my native informants could tell me, the subject had hitherto been treated in only a very slight and superficial way, and, in especial, no attempt had been made to discover the grammatical inflections, by the examination, not only of the words, but also of the few sentences which have been handed down to us. Dr. George Perez, of Orotava, gave me the second volume of the "Estudios Históricos, Climatológicos y Patológicos," of Dr. Gregory Chil, of Las Palmas in the Grand Canary, who is probably known to some of those here present as having been one of the Vice-Presidents of the Universal Anthropological Congress at Paris in 1878. It is this work which has really

supplied the basis of the following remarks. The volume in question was only published in 1889, and I am not aware that the collection of Tenerifan words and sentences which it contains, and which I believe to be the most perfect which has yet been compiled, has hitherto been made the subject of definite study by any European writer. I feel therefore some confidence that I am calling your attention to something new, or am at any rate treating a subject which may not be itself new with new means of examination. On the other hand, I am not invading a province which Dr. Chil has made his own. The investigations of that distinguished man have not unnaturally taken a course more germane to his own profession, such as craniology. He has not, as I understand, given any attention to philology, and has only compiled such matter incidentally as he came across it in the historical section of his work. Into these other The history of the matters I have not followed him. conquest is not in itself an attractive one. I will only observe that the great bulk of the islanders resisted the invaders for several years, and only capitulated when they became sure that for them the war was becoming one of extermination. On the other hand, one of the native chiefs, the Prince of Guïmar, early joined the enemies of his country, and was left comparatively undisturbed. Hence, no doubt, the fact mentioned by Sir Edmund Scory, that the native language was still spoken at Candelaria, in the Principality of Guïmar, about 300 years ago, that is, about a century after the conquest, whence I conclude that it can hardly have become entirely extinct before about 1650 at the very earliest.

Again, I have not followed Dr. Chil into his anthropometrical researches. Race and language are doubtless often allied in the most interesting manner, but it by no means follows that because a given people speak a given language, therefore they belong to a given race. This is especially the case where one race has been exposed to the domination of another. I need hardly cite the

adoption of Teutonic dialects by Kelts, as in Ireland, or the manner in which the language of the Arab conquerors has entirely superseded Coptic in Egypt; probably the most glaring instances are such as that of Hayti, where the inhabitants are undoubtedly negroïd, but speak a dialect of French. That there was a mixture of races in the ancient Tenerife seems at least very probable. Putting aside all anthropometrical questions, in the strictest sense of the term, it is to be remarked that the Spaniards noticed that the natives of the northern side were fair, whereas those of the southern side were dark, and seemingly different in disposition. They remarked the tremendous social distinction between the governing and the servile class; and Espinosa records that the native tradition was that the latter were beings produced by a different creation.2 This also may perhaps have to do with another native tradition recorded by him,3 to the effect that once upon a time sixty persons had come to the island, none knew whence, and settled near Icod. There may even be an indication of a mixture of several languages in the statement of Marin y Cubas that "for one thing they use more than two or three different words,"4 as though showing something like our own duplicated or triplicated vocabulary.

In the present paper I have kept myself, as far as possible, exclusively, to the language once spoken in the actual island of Tenerife itself. Some writers have been pleased to assume that one and the same language was spoken by the natives of all the islands of the Canary Archipelago, and have compiled vocabularies of what they term generically the Guanche tongue, compounded of words collected in all the islands, and often with little or no attempt to indicate which word belongs to which island. This assumption of lingual homogeneity or identity is at least very bold. Thomas Nicolas, whose description, written in 1526, is preserved in a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chil, pp. 16, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pp. 40, 41.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in Chil, p. 46.

MS. in the Library at Laguna, says of the Tenerifans:-"These people were called Guanches. Their language was different to that of any other of the Canary Islands. Each island had its own language." This is, perhaps, quoted in "A pleasant description of the Fortunate Ilandes . . . . by the poore pilgrime," published in London in 1583, where it is said:-"These people were called Guaches by naturall name. They spake another language cleane contrarie to the Canarians, and so consequently everie iland spake a severall language." Mr. Glas, who wrote rather more than a century ago, and is reckoned one of the most trustworthy of the English authorities, says expressly:—" Whether the Canarians were exiles from Africa, or not, I shall not pretend to determine; but am persuaded they came originally from thence. This may easily be proved from the similitude of customs and language in South Barbary to those of the natives of all the Canary Islands, excepting Tenerife. The language of Tenerife, at the time of the conquest, had no affinity to those spoken in the rest of the islands: by the annexed specimen it seems to have some resemblance of the Peruvian or some other of the American tongues."2 Antonio Galvanos says :-"Every island did speak a severall language." Again, we find the opinion that there were separate languages in the different islands combined with one which was common to all. Thus we read that the "Guanches [of Tenerife | had a peculiar language quite different from the Canarians, and so in the rest, the inhabitants of every island had a distinct tongue besides the language common to all;"4 and, again, "Every island had a peculiar dialect of one mother language which was common to them all."5 And some writers have endeavoured to distinguish particular words as local, while they specify others as being common to all the islands. Again, we

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Note communicated to me by Mr. de G. Birch.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands, p. 172.

Purchas his Pilgrimes. Pt. 2, p. 1673.
 General Collection of Voyages, p. 537.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 533.

find it stated, in direct contradiction to the writers first cited, that "They spake all one language." The most general opinion seems to have been that expressed by Viera y Clavijo, namely, that the different languages spoken in the different islands of the Canary Archipelago, were different dialects of one mother tongue.2 I have not myself gone into this question, which is, perhaps, insoluble. Dr. Chil has taken the truly scientific course, by endeavouring to compile separate vocabularies for all the islands. I will only say that, having read those of the other islands, as well as that of Tenerife, as given by him, the impression produced on my mind was that, as far as the vocabulary was concerned, there was a resemblance somewhat similar to that between English and German. But I need not impress upon this audience that vocabulary alone is a most uncertain guide, especially where different languages have been brought into contact. It has been well remarked that if the language of Gibbon were subjected to a scientific examination from the point of view of vocabulary alone, such a study would be apt to lead to the conclusion that the history of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire had been written in a dialect of Latin. Thus, also, the spoken dialect of the English Gypsies offers us English grammar with an Indian vocabulary, and that of the peasants of Brittany, a Keltic vocabulary with French grammar. Whether, therefore, the Tenerifan language was, or was not, more or less identical in vocabulary with those of the other Canary Islands, is only a partial factor in determining its character. The grammatical indices as regards the others seem to be very, very scanty: and I have been largely influenced, in confining myself to the Tenerifan, by the consideration, embodied in the remark made by Dr. Chil,3 that it is the only one of which the existing remains offer a number of words and phrases sufficient to form any basis for a grammatical analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 533.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cited in Chil, p. 46.

Before going farther, I may be permitted to remark, although it is going a little outside the line which I have proposed to myself, that there seem to have been three main opinions as to the nature of the Tenerifan language, which the majority of writers have been pleased (as seems, to me, very rashly) to identify with those of the other Canary Islands, in one tongue which they generically

designate as Guanche.

The first is that of Glas, already cited, who, separating it entirely from the others, considers it to be American, while they are African. This opinion received an interesting confirmation in the result of an experiment recently made by me through Mr. de Gray Birch, of the British Museum. I sent him the existing sentences of the language as given by Dr. Chil. Mr. Birch laid them before Dr. Charles Rieu and Mr. A. G. Ellis, without saying what they were, and both gentlemen, after studying them, gave the same opinion, viz., that the language was an American one. Of course this opinion is one which would specially commend itself to believers in a lost continent Atlantis, who would thus hail an additional proof that the Canary Archipelago is but the peaks of its otherwise submerged highlands. And if it can be shown that the Tenerifan is really American, and further that it is really identical with the languages of the other islands, of which so much less is known, it will be clear that Glas' limitation of his linguistic theory fell short of the truth.

The English prophet of the second opinion, may, I believe, be said to be Sir Edmund Scory, who, writing in the time of Queen Elizabeth, says:—"The language of the old Guanches (which remayneth to this day among them in this island in their towne of Candelaria) alludeth much to that of the Moores in Barbary." This Berber theory seems certainly the most natural one, and may be called the fashionable one. Lists of words have been made in order to support it by real or fancied resemblances. It has sometimes been assumed as if an un-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cited in "Purchas his Pilgrimage," v. 786.

doubted fact. To discuss it at length is not within my proposed purpose, but I may be forgiven for citing in connection with it one very singular passage in a later treatise contained in the same MS. at Laguna which contains that of Thomas Nicolas. The author expresses the belief that all the islanders had come originally from the mainland of Africa, that their language had originally been African, and that some words were still the same. But he says that the language now spoken by them was as a whole so totally different from any African one, that, having regard to the obscure mass of palatals and gutturals in which the pronunciation consisted, he hazards the speculation that the Romans had cut out the tongues of all the original immigrants, and that these afterwards, in order to have a medium of vocal communication, had invented an entirely new language, containing only such sounds as they were able to articulate with the stumps of their tongues, along with such African words as were amenable to the same treatment.

Lastly, when I was reading Dr. Chil's compilation in Tenerife, and without any access to a Berber, American, or even Shemitic grammar, I was struck by what appeared to me to be Aryan elements. This seemed to me so entirely out of the question that I felt almost ashamed of the thought. It is only since my return that I have learnt how widely the theory of the Guanches' Teutonic origin has been discussed and maintained upon the basis of the remains of their language.

I have not gone into these theories. I am not aware that any of them have been supported by grammatical argument. I have had no wish to study the controversies of others, still less to plunge into them myself. I do not even wish to advocate a theory. My only wish has been to lay before you the results of my analysis of Dr. Chil's compilations, as the fullest and most recent on the subject, in the hope that I may thus obtain for the matter the attention of some who are more fitted to treat it than I am. And for the purpose of such an analysis I have

<sup>1</sup> Note made for me by Mr. Birch.

considered it an advantage that I should approach the subject as ignorant as possible of the disputes which have taken place before me.

For the subject of my analysis I have come to the conclusion that it is best for me generally to adhere to the list given by Dr. Chil. From being a native of the Canaries, and from his special position at Las Palmas, he occupies a position of greater vantage for his purpose than any other writer with whom I am acquainted. Mr. de Gray Birch, of the British Museum, has been good enough to have a large number of books in the library there consulted for me, and also to go to the Canary Islands for the same purpose—a voyage which I also trust was of some service in recruiting his health after an attack of influenza. But the extracts made for me by him, in addition to the almost endless difficulty which they offer by confounding Tenerifan words with words belonging to the languages of the other islands of the Archipelago, seem to contain few or none not known to and classified by Dr. Chil. The only exception of great importance is a number of names of plants, and among these, besides the immense difficulty, to one entirely ignorant of botany as I am, of identifying each by its scientific name, and the probability that the vast majority are proper names of plants peculiar to the Canary Islands, I have been startled by finding such pure Spanish words as manzanilla and helecho put down by some authors as native; if such be the case with words so very ordinary, what can be expected in the case of more unusual, more archaïc, or more provincial Spanish terms which may have been, and doubtless were, imported by Spanish colonists of two, three, or four centuries ago? More than forty words were also supplied to me by the Rev. Claudio Marrero, Beneficiado of the Church of the Concepcion at Laguna, and of these about twenty are not in Dr. Chil's vocabulary, but of these twenty all were proper names of places, except one or two which are technical names for objects peculiar to the island. I have also another and peculiarly interesting list of eighty-six words, communicated by Don Manuel de Ossuna to Mr. Birch.¹ Very few of these words occur in Dr. Chil's work, and Don Manuel has the intention of publishing them. They consist of proper names of places, including those of four sepulchral caves of the aborigines, and two of places traditionally associated with their kings, and names of plants which I take to be peculiar to the island, along with two or three local technical words, and thirteen words traditionally addressed to animals, which may be verbs, but the exact

meaning of which is now unknown.

Here also I had perhaps better say at once that I have given no attention to the so-called inscriptions said to have been discovered. I am not concerned to deny that these few collocations of scratches may really be inscriptions. But, even if this were admitted, and also that they are native, the amount of information which they could yield would be quite insignificant compared with that derivable from other sources. I understand however that those who have studied them have generally regarded them as Libyan or Carthaginian. It is certain that the natives, at the time of the Spanish conquest, knew nothing of either reading or writing. And my own belief is that these inscriptions, if inscriptions they be, would throw no more light upon the native language than the inscriptions left by the Franklin expedition would throw upon that of the Esquimaux.

If there be a fault in Dr. Chil's list, it is that I suspect

In the letter to Mr. Birch in which he encloses them he says:—"I make an expedition every year to the out-of-the-way district of Anaga, a portion of this island which is full of attractions for an anthropologist, or indeed for any kind of student. There the primitive aboriginal type has been preserved in great purity, and the native families have handed down among themselves customs and traditions of great antiquity. In my expedition last year I collected various words of the language which was spoken before the Spanish conquest, and a naturalist who accompanied me discovered a small bird which had never before been classified, and which I have named, after him, the Rubecula Cabreriensis." I cite these words chiefly to give the reader the pleasure of knowing that a man so intelligent is engaged upon work so interesting.

that he has sometimes included in the Tenerifan, words belonging to the languages of other islands, such as Tamonante, which he gives for "the priestess" on the authority of Viera, and as a proper name on that of Berthelot, while, as far as I have been able to ascertain, it was the personal title of a particular witch who lived in Fuerteventura, and with her very possibly only a local title from some shrine, since in Dr. Chil's vocabulary of the language of the Grand Canary I find Tamonanten and Tamoganten for "the house," and Tamonantacoran and Tamogantacoran for "the house of God." But, having in view his greater personal advantages for research, I have thought it better to accept his conclusions than to endeavour to sift them by any criticism of

my own.

His list consists of about 1,000 words and phrases collected out of the incidental notices of divers old historians and travellers. Of these, however, about threequarters are proper names of places and people, and to determine how far they may be generic or descriptive would require an amount of topographical research which has been beyond my reach. Of about 250 which remain, I will put aside the complete sentences for the moment, as I would rather treat them in connection with grammar than with vocabulary. On analyzing the rest, so many turn out to be mere variants in spelling, that the residuum comprises only some ninety words, and from these again must be deducted as comparatively useless for philological purposes the names of plants and other things peculiar to the island. I have been obliged to use the word "about" deliberately, as the varieties of spelling are such that I cannot feel certain that I may not have confounded some words which are really different, or separated some words which are really the same. This question of spelling must be fully faced. It must be kept in mind, to begin with, that the writing is all phonetic, and that the system of phonography is purely Spanish. Thus, the combination th is not intended to represent any such sound as that of the Greek o, but

one somewhat like that of th in the words pothouse and carthorse. Again, if a sound did not exist in Spanish, some other which does would certainly have been substituted for it. Thus, I asked my learned friend Dr. George Perez how a Spaniard who did not know English would be likely to represent the two obscure sounds of t in the word tuition, and he answered that such a man would probably represent both by ch. Again, Spanish orthography is still sufficiently fluid, as, for instance, in the use of j or x; and the pronunciation is very various, as, for instance, that of the soft c. And here we have to deal with writers of centuries ago. I am strongly inclined to suspect that by many, if not all, h, j, x, and even g were treated as convertible: thus, "the assembly" is called Tagoror by Castillo and Tahoror by Berthelot: and even r seems sometimes to approximate to the same, as in the variants Tarucho and Tahucho, the name of a mountain. Again, c must be used by some as universally convertible with s, since the word spelled chucar by Viera and Nuñez de la Peña is spelled chusar by Viana; and an uncertainty even hangs over z, as where we find the word for a daughter given by Espinosa as Cucaha, rendered Zucaha by Viera, Zucasa by Abreu Galindo, and Zuchaha by Bory de St. Vincent. After all these difficulties come the blunders of copyists and printers, as where it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the word ascribed to Viana as sahaqua in one place is the same which he is made to give as zahaña in another. So that the reader is exposed to the terrible suspicion that the essential consonant upon which he is basing some structure of philological argument may after all owe its existence to nothing but a slip of the pen or the inadvertent movement of a compositor's hand.

Under all these drawbacks I now proceed to give a list, partially annotated, of the words which seem to me the most important of those which have known equivalents in other languages. This I treat, as far as possible, only as vocabulary. The sentences I shall take afterwards, in an attempt to throw some light upon the grammar. But I

must beg leave here to assume what I hope then to prove, viz., that the definite article was some form of t, at, or ta, or some sibilant modification of it, such as atch, ash, as, or ach. And I must also beg to be allowed in analyzing the earlier words to make use of some of the later. The words are taken as a whole in the nearly alphabetical order in which they are given by Dr. Chil.

Acaman, "God Most High" according to Viana; "the Sun" according to Marin y Cubas. This seems to show that Gop and the Sun were regarded as identical. Abreu Galindo gives the word as Achaman, with the meaning "Gop." From this it appears that the ac is for ach, and is the article. The word also appears in the forms Atuman and Ataman (i.e., seemingly with the article unmodified) translated "the sky" by the same Abreu Galindo, who also gives two compounds, Atguaychafanataman and Atquaychafurataman, which he translates "the Owner of the sky." As atguay means "the spirit," the difficulty lies in chafan or chafur (perhaps this latter a misreading of the former). Maximiliano Aguilar gives Chafa as the name of a mountain, and Chafanzo as that of some place undescribed, while Don Claudio Marrero gives me Chafa as that of a very lofty mountain-ridge, and Chefina (perhaps the true form of a word Chafiras attributed to Maximiliano Aguilar as the name of another place undescribed) of a gentle rising ground. Chafan may, like some other words, be a plural form. Query, therefore: Does Atquaychafanataman mean "the spirit of the mountains of the Sun"-as indicating some peaks upon which the rays lingered most? It may possibly, on the other hand, be connected with chafeña, chafar, or afaro, and signify "the spirit of the Sun's grain," in reference to the spirit presiding over some sacrificial offering. Viana also gives Amenacoran for "My God, have mercy!" The Amen may be the same as Aman, and, if so, the true meaning of the phrase is "Sun God."

Acguayaxerax, "the Great, the Sublime, the Sustainer of all" according to Abreu Galindo. As we know

separately that Guaya means "spirit," and Xeraxi, "the sky or universe," the meaning might be given as anima mundi, but this is too abstract a notion for these savages, and I take it that the signification is "the Life (or Soul) of the sky," and that the phrase is probably a divine title of the Sun. It occurs in a variety of forms. Abreu Galindo himself gives Achguayerxerax as "the Sustainer of heaven and earth," Achguarergenan (a form which, from other examples, I think is probably a plural) as "the Sustainer of all," and Guarirari (without the article) as "the Indweller of the universe." Viana gives Aguarerac, and Goyagerax, without any meaning, but referred by Dr. Chil to Achguayaxerax, and Guayaxiraxi as "the Owner of the world" to which Dr. Chil refers the Guaxagiraxi of Bory de St. Vincent. Viera has

Aguaerar.

Acoran (Abreu Galindo) and Acoron (Nuñez de la Peña) are clearly identical, as suggested by Dr. Chil, with the Achoran of Viana and the Achoron of Espinosa. word admittedly signifies "Gop." I suspect that it is also the same word as Achahuerahan, given as "God the Creator" by Bory de St. Vincent, and Achahurahan, rendered "Great Gop" by Viera; and these once more I take to be the same with the Acuhuragan of Viana and the Achuhuaban (probably the b a mistake of copyists for h) of Abreu Galindo, both translated "Great Gop." Nuñez de la Peña also gives Achuhurahan, Abreu Galindo Achuhuyahan, and Viera Achxuaxan. The word oran, oron, huerahan, hurahan, &c., appears to me to be probably the same as appears in Eraorahan, given by Abreu Galindo as the name of the male deity worshipped by the natives of Hierro, and which after their conversion they applied to our LORD. For this Abreu Galindo also gives the forms Erahoranhan and Eraoranhan, but in these we have the syllable han following the final n, and I am therefore inclined to regard them as dual or plural forms, signifying "the gods," since we know that in the language of the island of Palma tigot signified "heaven" in the singular, and tigotan (with an suffixed) "the heavens" in the dual or plural. I must also remark that in the form Achahuerahan, and perhaps in some of the others, it would seem at least probable that we have the syllable hu inserted after the article and before eran, and I have suggested in connection with another word that hu was a preformative indicating greatness or holiness, so that Viera, Viana, and Abreu Galindo may have been literally right in translating the words which they endeavour to represent by the forms Achahurahan, Acuhuragan, and Achuhuaban, by the term "Great God."

Achaño, "the year" (Viera). It is evident that año is merely the Spanish word, and this compound is therefore in itself an almost sufficing proof that Ach is the

native definite article.

Achic, "son or descendant of —" (Viana). I believe this word to be a mere blunder founded upon the beginning

of Achicuca, of which hereafter.

Achicasna, "the servant," and Achicasnai and Achicasna, "the villager," doubtless in the sense of serf. This was the title of the servile class among the natives, and I think that casna, casnai, and casna are probably the same as the word zahana, zahaña, &c., which occurs repeatedly in the sentences preserved to us. This I conclude from the sense of these passages. It would follow that in zahaña the ictus should be upon the antepenultima.

Achiciquiso, Cichiciquico and Cichiciquizo. The latter two are translated "squire," and Gichicicuizo, "attached to the nobility." Abreu Galindo also gives Chilhisiquizo. This is the designation of the free class above the Achicaxna but below the Achimencey. The question here is whether the initial C's and G are prefixes to the article, and what is the precise force of the prefixed syllable chil.

Achicuca, translated "the bastard," which is not its precise meaning. I will speak of cuca under its own head, and here only observe that the present word is

another proof that ach is the definite article.

Achimaya and Achimayec, "the mother." There is a certain resemblance between maya or mayec and the Latin

mater, English mother, &c. And I may say here that I have noticed that Tenerifan and other Guanche words expressing women often contain the syllable ma or mo. In connection with this word I may also call attention to the fact that there exists what purports to be a verse of native poetry of the Grand Canary, and of which we have what purports to be a word-for-word translation. In this the word aguabal is said to mean "our mother," and such total dissimilarity in such a term would argue total dissimilarity of language: but there may be a mistake, especially as the next word (rendered "these people") is maicá, and may be the real word, and a form of mayec.

Achimencey and Archimensi, "the noble," and Ahimencey, "the descendant of a prince." These were the highest social class, including the actual princes or kings, since Mencey alone (without the article) is given by Viera as signifying "sovereign" or "king." Of its derivative Menceyto, a title of God, I shall speak in its place. The fundamental notion appears to be height, and there is a place called Menceina or Menceyna, perhaps meaning "an height." I confess that it reminds me of the word

eminence.

Achineche, the name of the island of Tenerife. It is also found as Atchinetche, Chineche, Chinechi, and Chinet. Dr. Chil seems to be of opinion that Chineche is only another form of the more ordinary name Chenerfe, Chenerife, or Tenerife, but I confess that I cannot account for such a transmutation of ch with f, and I prefer to regard it as a separate word, the fundamental meaning of which is now lost.

Achmayec-Guayaxirax-Acoran-Achaman (Viana). As we have all these words separately, we know the meaning of this to be "the mother of the soul of the sky, God the Sun." Abreu Galindo also gives Atmayceguayaxiraxi, "the mother of the soul of the sky," but which he falsely translates "the mother of the Sustainer of the world," as he also renders Chaxiraxi (in Marin y Cubas Chijoraji), "the sky," by "she who bears the Owner of the world,"

and says that it was a title given by the natives to the Virgin of Candelaria. I presume the real title to have been the long one here given, and that it was simply an

attempt to translate the Spanish Madre de Dios.

Achucanac and Acucanac are words given by Abreu Galindo, and identified by Dr. Chil, doubtless rightly, with Achjucanac, translated "the Sublime Goo" by Viera, who also gives Achazucanac and Ahicanac. Espinosa gives Achuhucanac. This is obviously the same word with the Hucanech of Nuñez de la Peña, and the Jucancha, "the Omnipresent Gop," of Marin y Cubas, who also gives Gucancha. This is really the name of an apparition in the shape of a large dog, and is connected with Cancha, of which presently. The peculiarity of the present word is the syllable Hu fixed as a differentiation between the article and the noun. It is clearly a preformative indicating greatness or holiness. It is certainly suggestive of the English high or the German hoch. It seems to occur as the first syllable of some names of places, and it would be interesting to discover whether they are all heights, like the mountain called Hyo by Berthelot. It seems to me also possible that this preformative hu may enter into some of the divine names such as Achahuerahan which I have mentioned under Acoron, the fundamental word being oron; but the vagaries of spelling among the different writers are so great that I shrink from drawing a conclusion upon this point.

Aguere. This is the ancient name of Laguna, and seems to have the same meaning, viz., "the lake," in allusion to the beautiful lake there—the only one in the island—now drained. The word is certainly rather suggestive of the Latin aqua, or, if the ag be taken to be a corrupt representation of the article or the gu to be simply the digamma, the guere or uere may have some remote connection with the English word weir or even water. I cannot pass away from the subject without allowing myself an expression of deep regret at the destruction of this lake. Arguing by analogy from the striking pecu-

liarities of the land flora, it probably possessed some unique aquatic vegetation, the knowledge of which has thus been for ever lost to science.

Ahico, a dress, seemingly identified with a leathern shirt.

Ahof or Ajof, "milk."

Ara, Aja, or Axa, "a she-goat." It is said also to mean "a fold," in the same sense as Haña and Jaña, and I am inclined to identify it with haro, "a fold." The word ara, "a she-goat," occurs in Berber, but considering the existence of the Latin aries, "a ram," I do not think that very much can be built upon that circumstance. I have also been informed that in Sanskrit (of which I know nothing) aga means "a goat."

Ana, "a ram." I suspect that this is the same word as hana and jana, rendered "a fold," just as the double meaning is ascribed to ara. In connection with this word it is natural to remember the Latin agnus, in the Italian pronunciation of which the gn has exactly the same sound

as the Spanish  $\tilde{n}$ .

Aran, or Haran, "fern." Allowing for the same transmutation of f and h by which the Latin filix becomes the Spanish helecho, haran would be faran, and simply the same word as the English fern, which in Scotland is often pronounced feron.

Axo and Xayo, "a mummy."

Benesmen, "the position of harvest-time," according to Viera, seems to be the same word as Benismer and Benesmer, which Abreu Galindo gives for the month of

August.

Bentinerfe, Benichin, Bentcheni, Bincheni, and Binchini, also Vicheni, also Guanchtinerf, Guanctinerfe, Guanche, and Guanchinet, "a native of Tenerife." This word opens one of the most interesting questions in connection with this language. It is necessary to remember, (1) that to the Spanish ear B and V are hardly distinguishable; we actually find Ventore given for Bencom, the name of the Tenerifan king: (2) the close connection between V and W, which latter letter the Spaniards do not possess, and the undoubted confusion

between the sounds of W and Gw. It is thus that in Latin the Welsh word Gwent constantly appears as Venta, or that we learn from the Venerable Bede that Penguaul was Pictish for "the head of the vallum." And I may mention that in Tenerife itself I have invariably heard the word Guanche pronounced Wanche. word Guanche is of course only the beginning of the word before us. The name of the island is Tenerife, and, with the T softened, Chenerife or Chenerfe. informs us that Guan signified "son of -;" hence Guanchinerfe simply means "son of Tenerife." The variety of the spelling of this word Guan, Ben, or Ven, seems to me to point clearly to a digamma, which had probably a sort of W sound. As to the word itself, the form Ben is exceedingly suggestive of the Shemitic Ben, "a son," but I should like to know the derivation of Vandal and Wend before hurrying to any conclusion; and also whether it may not be possible that by the mutation of the digamma into the aspirate, and of the aspirate into the sibilant, as in the case of such a word as our salt, this word may not, after all, be the same as the English word son.

Benicod, Benicoden, "the people of Icod," a town in Tenerife. These are evidently formed by Guan or Ben and the name of the place, like the generic term for the natives of the island. The two words are very valuable, as they seem to be singular and plural, and thus supply another instance of the plural in en. Dr. Chil adds Benicoren, but I am rather led to think that there is a separate place called Icor, in which case this is only an additional instance of the same formation. However, if this be really the same and not another word, I should regard it as a mere mistake of Berthelot, his copyists, or

his printers.

Benrimo, as we are informed by Abreu Galindo, meant "son of the cripple." As Ben is "son," rimo must

mean "cripple."

Before passing from this word Guan or Ben as found in these compounds, I should like to add the following note extracted by Mr. Birch from the tenth of twelve volumes of MS. materials for a history of the Canary Islands, compiled by Don Agustin Millares, of Las Palmas, in the Grand Canary, by whom they were courteously shown to him. Speaking of the way in which the natives translated their real names into Spanish, the ancient authority copied by Don Agustin says: "He who was called Dara translated his name and called himself Casas, in the same way that Bentagaire translated his and called himself Sierra; and so, many others. As a matter of fact, however, Bentagaire meant 'son or native of the lofty ridge.'" I take it that this word tagaire is the same as taraire, which Dr. Chil gives as an alternative name of the Peak of Tenerife, otherwise called Teide.

Cabuco, "a goat-fold." This word is of course sug-

gestive of the Latin caper and capra.

Cancha or Cuncha, "a small dog." As the dogs of the island are all small to the eyes of an European, no importance need be attached to the adjective. This word has already been spoken of in connection with the apparition of the god in the form of a dog, called Hucanech, and Viera once makes the mistake of applying to this spectre the word Achicanac, which is evidently merely cancha with the definite article, but without the qualifying syllable Hu. This word Cancha is of course irresistibly suggestive of the Latin canis, but the root, which we ourselves have in the word hound, is so very common, existing, I believe, even in Chinese, that too much ought not to be made of it. It is perhaps worth noticing that this word supplies the commonly received etymology of the name Canary, according to the theory that these islands were called the Dog-Isles, in the same way that Spain herself was so called by the Phœnicians from the abundance of rabbits (shaphan) which they there observed; but, admitting the derivation, there may be in this case a higher and religious sense, from the local deity or divine apparition of the Hucancha.

Cel, "the moon." The Greek σελήνη is at once suggested. I would here mention a word which is not in Dr.

Chil's work. The Rev. Don Claudio Marrero gave me chafeña as signifying "a small portion of toasted grain," and Don Manuel de Ossuna has the same for "toasted grain," with a verb chafar, meaning "to finish grinding." It is certainly very suggestive of the English word chaff. It may however be formed from the article, and a word afaro, or ofaro, signifying "grain," and which is given by Dr. Chil.

Cofe-Cofe, the plant called goose-foot. I mention this unimportant word because, if it be genuine, it is remarkable as the only known instance of a repetitive word in the language; but it seems to me, for this very reason, to be more probable that it was a mistake caused by the native informant repeating the word, in order to

impress it upon his Spanish auditor.

Coran, "man" or "husband" (hombre). This is given

by Abreu Galindo alone.

Coruja, the red owl. This may be onomatopæic, from the bird's note, and so analogous to the Latin corvus.

Cuca and Cucaha. The Spanish writers inform us that, while prostitution did not exist among the natives, divorce and re-marriage were not uncommon. After a divorce the children of the marriage so dissolved were designated by a peculiar term, a boy cuca, and a girl cucaha, which latter is also spelled Zucaha, Zuchaha, and Zucasa. Abreu Galindo gives Achicuca for the male, which is another proof, if any more were wanted, that Achi is the article. From their peculiar position, unknown to Spanish law, the Spaniards sometimes call these children illegitimate, and sometimes emphasize the fact of their legitimacy. The great value of these words lies in the evident fact that Cucaha is a regularly formed feminine from cuca.

Chamato, "woman" or "wife" (mujer). This is given by Abreu Galindo alone. The root may possibly be ma or mo as in mayer and some other words signifying women. Ch is probably the article and to perhaps a kind of superlative, as in the word Menceyto, of which presently.

Chivato, "a kid." This is given by Berthelot only,

and strikes me as very suspicious, that is, as regards the meaning, as ch would naturally be the article and to looks like a superlative. It may be a technical term for the first or largest among kids. In connection with this word I may cite the following passage extracted for me by Mr. Birch from an article upon "The Guanche Race" in the Revista de Canarias (I. 131):-" In the way in which our peasantry furnish their houses, in their dress, their customs, their games, their fights, their tastes, their exercises, their diet, their ways of showing pleasure, &c., &c., there is much more that is Guanche than that is Spanish. We preserve also many words of their [original] language, even without reckoning the names of a great number of villages and other places. Take, for instance, gofio, hara, chiva, chafeña, guañar, &c." Gofio is a kind of porridge; hara, as already mentioned, either a "shegoat" or a "fold"; chafeña, a portion of toasted grain; of quañar, which sounds like a verb, I know nothing; but chiva may, I think, be the root of chivato, and possibly means a kid. If so, it may enter into the topographical names chivisaya and chivara, and the latter, from the root oro or goro, "assembly," may mean a place for herding kids together.

Echeyde, Echeydey, and Egeide, also Teyde, Teida, and Teide. In these variants the transmutation of the soft t is very evident, as well as the prefix of the vocal sound to the sibilant. This was the name of the Peak, and was translated hell by the Spaniards. It was supposed to be the residence of the evil spirit which sent out the destructive eruptions, &c. There is, however, nothing to show whether the word be the name of the place, and got the signification of hell from particular circumstances, or whether it is a regular word meaning hell, which was merely applied to the place in consequence of these circumstances. As ech or t would appear to be clearly the article, the root must be ida or some similar word. On the one hypothesis it recalls the proper name of the Mounts Ida, and on the other that of Hades. The Peak is also said to have been called Taraire, but this does not look like the same name, and, as already observed, I am inclined to identify it with the *Tagaire* which appears in the derivative *Bentagaire* and which we are informed

meant "lofty ridge."

Fayra. Cited by Dr. Chil from Bory de St. Vincent, and mentioned in the Revista de Canarias (III. 306). It is said to have been used in Lanzerote as well as Tenerife to indicate a round stone in a place of worship. Franz von Loeher, in his book "Los Germanos en las Canarias" (p. 130) suggests the connection of this word with the Gothic vehio "sacred," veihan, "to consecrate," and veiha, "a priest." There was certainly somewhere in the Canaries an high-priest whose title was Faycan, but I have not come across any proof that such a personage existed in Tenerife.

Guaiota (Nuñez de la Peña) or Guayota (Viera), "the devil," Huayote, "the spirit of evil," according to Viana. This was the spirit supposed to live on the Peak and send out the eruptions. The root is evidently Guaya, "spirit," and if there is a bad sense, it must be in the termination ota. It seems to me, however, possible that this may be only an error for a superlative termination in to (quayato), and mean "the mighty spirit." And it must be remembered that the Spaniards had not only a great tendency, like the ancient Romans, to credit the savages with whom they came in contact with a participation in their own religious ideas, but also to look upon their gods as devils: in this sense Marin y Cubas applies the word "demonio" to the apparition of Hucancha, which was looked on by the natives as divine. The difference between -ta and -to may possibly be one of gender, as in the Greek -τατος and -τατη; especially as the termination a in Guaya and Iguaya looks like a feminine.

Guan, "son of —" (Viera). This is the interesting word which also appears as Ben and even Ven, and is the root of such words as Guanchtinerf and the corruption Guanche. I need only remark here, to show the frequency of the initial digamma, that Dr. Chil gives more than eighty words so beginning, while there are thirty com-

mencing with Ben, and how many of the other B's or V's may be really the same it is impossible to tell. In connection with this word Guan, I think this is the best place to cite another sentence from the article upon the Guanches in the Revista de Canarias already referred to. The writer there says:—"The [word] 'Gua' which the peasants of the North of Tenerife use as an exclamation, undoubtedly comes from the Guanche word Guan, which signifies a man." The fact of this exclamation, which I have not found mentioned elsewhere, is undoubtedly curious. Guan, however, does not mean "a man" generally, but, as we have seen, "a son" or "native." And again, I cannot agree that Gua is undoubtedly derived from it. It might just as well be derived from any other word commencing with Gua, or, as seems to me, be identical with the Welsh gwae, the Italian quai, the English woe, and the Latin vx.

To pile up additional proofs as to the existence and meaning of this word Guan is needless. I will only remark that out of several compounds from it in Dr. Chil's vocabulary of the language of Grand Canary, one is Guanarteme, which is recorded to have meant "son of Arteme," and in justice to the writer of the article in the Revista de Canarias, I will add that this name has a variant Guadartheme, which, along with some other words, goes to show that, in Grand Canary at any rate, the final n was sometimes dropped. Here, however, I had perhaps also better mention the fact that there is said to have been in Grand Canary a word Guayre, meaning a man in the full enjoyment of political privileges. This word Franz von Loeher compares or rather identifies with the Gothic wair, "a man"; ancient German wer. I think he might also have remembered the Welsh gwr (plural, gwyr) and the Latin vir.

Guanac, "the state," Guanoth, "the protector of the state," and Guañac, "the commonwealth," seem to be closely connected with Guan. The meaning may be children (sc., of the island) i.e., the people. The "pro-

tector" seems to be a pure craze of Viana. It is indeed quite possible that this is not a separate word at all, but is only *Guan* in the plural or with a pronominal suffix, perhaps of the third person, meaning "his people."

Guanhot, "favour," according to Bory de St. Vincent. If this is correct, it seems to have the same root, wan,

"desire or luck," found in Venus or wench.

Guaya and Iguaya, "the spirit." The prefix i in Iguaya is remarkable, as it occurs so often between the article and the noun; it may, after all, be only a part of the article attached to Guaya by Marin y Cubas by mistake. This root Guaya is found continually, not only in religious phrases, but also in those relating to life and death. It is impossible not to be reminded by it of the Greek  $\beta los$  (Latin vita), which, be it remembered, also once began with the digamma. On the other hand, there may be a connection with the Welsh wawr, and Latin aurora or aura, and this is made rather more probable by the feminine termination in a.

Guentegueste, from Gueste or Tegueste, the name of a place. The word seems clearly derived from Guan, Wen, or Ben, "child," the article, and Gueste: and to

mean simply "natives of Tegueste."

Guijon, or Guyon, "the ship." It occurs in Arguihon or Arguijon, said to be the ancient name of Santa Cruz, and to signify "see ships." If this latter be correct, it is a plural, and another instance of a plural formed in n.

Guirre or Guirhe, "a vulture." This word is also said by Glas to signify ravens or crows. Perhaps the mean-

ing is simply a predatory bird.

Harimaguada, which Marin y Cubas is also represented as spelling at least once Marimaguada, "a vestal or nun." The word Maguada is also found by itself in the same sense. This word contains the syllable ma as in mayer, "mother," and chamato, "wife." The next syllable may possibly be connected with Guay in the sense of spiritual, or, if the root be aguada, and the a or o of ma or mo have merely coalesced with the initial, or if the root be guada, there may be some connection

with the Latin aqua, or the English water, since one of the principal duties of these nuns was the ceremonial washing of the newly-born, which the Spaniards compared, or rather identified with baptism, and in consequence of which the nuns are sometimes called baptizers. This word Harimaguada has attracted great notice in the Teutonic school. Franz von Loeher says: "Harimagada, the Priestess. Magadas, virgins; hari, multitude or people; harimagadas, i.e. community or body of maidens, a word seemingly compounded like the old German heriknecht, which signifies an army of soldiers." And another extract sent me by Mr. Birch, who has unfortunately forgotten to mark it with the author's name: "Harimagada, vestal virgin, &c., cf. Hari for Halig, holy; and Gothic, magath; old High German, magad; new High German, magd; English, maid. Unless Hari, old High German, exercitus, army, be the root. I incline to the former." I admit that, to my mind, if the Gothic and old German words be correct, the argument appears to me to be a very strong one. There is a proper name of a place Guadamojete. Can this mean a nunnery?

Hecirmas, "stockings," (Marin y Cubas,) and Huirnas, "leather stockings," (Nuñez de la Peña.) It seems doubtful whether this can be the same word as Huirmas or Huyrmas, which is translated "large sleeves" by Viana. If so, and the translations are correct, it is only

like the Germans calling gloves hand-shoes.

Hirahi, Hiraji, or Xiraxi, "the sky," also used in the sense of the universe. This word is of constant use in the compounds, religious and other, and occurs in the sort of coronation oath recorded by Viana and Viera, spelled gerage and hirai. In these latter cases it would seem to form part of some such phrase as "all under heaven."

Irichen or Trichen, "wheat." This word is so obviously the same as the Latin triticum that it awakens a suspicion that it may have been introduced through

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Los Germanos, p. 89.

the Spanish trigo, especially if the g in the latter were (as is sufficiently probable) pronounced as a guttural. The t would easily have been mistaken by the natives for the article, and so led to irichen.

Jarco, "the deceased."

Herco and Xerco, "a shoe."

Magec, "the sun," according to Nuñez de la Peña and Viera; and Marin v Cubas says that the Canariotes swore by "Majec, i.e. the sun;" and considered the soul to be immortal as being the daughter of the sun. I own however that I regard this with great suspicion, because Aman has this sense. Moreover, this word has a startling resemblance to mayer, "mother," whether regard be had to the similarity of form between q and y, or to that of sound if g be taken as a guttural, of which latter confusion an example may be cited in the fact that the Spaniards spelled the Tenerifan name of the mocan fruit Hoja, Yoja, and Yoya. A possible hypothesis is that the planet Venus may have been called the Divine Mother, and that some Spaniard may have pointed to the rising or setting sun when the planet was near it, and asked what it was called, and a mistake have thus arisen. I hardly think it likely that the sun itself was regarded as female, as by the Germans, since its Divine titles were transferred to our Lord.

Mencey, "sovereign or king." I have already spoken of this root under Achimencey, and remarked that the distinguishing notion seems to be height, or, indeed, eminence.

Menceyto, a title of God. It is evident that this is a kind of superlative from Mencey, "high or noble," and must thus mean "the Most High." This form of superlative seems to occur in other words, such as Chamato, "the chief woman or wife," and Orota(vo), "the chief assembly," it is suggestive of the Greek superlative in -τατος.

Maja or Manja, "a landing-place." Perhaps the same as Amanse and Manse, "a shore."

Morángana or Moriángana, "strawberries." Perhaps one of the an syllables indicates a plural.

Oche, "melted butter."

Quevey, Quebehi, and Quevihiera. Marin y Cubas' mentions that the king was called Quevey. An attempt has been made to connect this word with the Arabic کر, "greatness," and by von Loeher with the Gothic gabei, or gabigs, "rich." The Latin caput is certainly quite as similar. We find Quebehi or Quevechi appearing in different authors and with varieties of spelling, as "the Royal dignity;" and it is used in the phrase Quebehi Bencomo, as meaning "the Royal dignity of Bencom," king of Taoro. The addition of the syllable hi therefore seems to indicate the formation of an abstract noun corresponding in sense to kingship, and rather suggestive of the aspirated sibilant in the English -ship, or the Latin and English -tion. Lastly, Glas says that Quevehiera means "'Your Highness,' when speaking to the king." There appears therefore to be here a pronominal suffix to Quebehi, signifying either thine or your. If he is literally right and the meaning is your, this English word certainly finds a very curious cognate in iera.

Reste, "defence or prop." It is constantly employed of Princes, seemingly in the sense of Protector, and suggests the English word rest in the sense of a prop.

Sunta, "a war fleet."

Tabona, a stone knife or axe.

Tagoror and Tahoror, "the assembly." This is the root of the surviving place-names Taoro and Orotava. The national assembly was held at the great dragon-tree which stood until comparatively a few years ago in the garden of the Marques de Sauzal at Villa de Orotava, but the word itself is generic, since Don Manuel de Ossuna mentions a spot at Anaga called Tagoro. It was doubtless that where the provincial assembly of the sub-kingdom of Anaga met. The Vale of Orotava was called Orotapala and Arautapala. Nor do I regard it as improbable that the ta in Orota may have had the superlative signification, since the assembly of Orotava was the

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Chil, pp. 38, 39.

supreme council of the island, and that pala, through the resemblance of v (found in Orotava) to b and p, may be cognate with the word Vale or Valley.

Tamarco, a coat of skins.

Tamo, Tano, and Taro, "barley."

Tamonante, "the Priestess." Dr. Chil gives this as Tenerifan, both as a title and a proper name. As I have already said, while bowing to his authority, I have only noticed it as the title of a particular witch in Fuerteventura. I will only remark that it contains the usual syllable ma or mo of female titles.

Tenerife, the name of the island, also found as Chenerif and Chenerfe. An attempt has been made to derive this word from the Spanish inflerno, and I do not regard it as impossible that the mediæval Spanish sailors may have so called the island, either from resemblance of sound, from the spectacle of the black volcano, from an attempt to translate Teide, or from a combination of these causes, but I cannot accept this as the etymology of the name. What seems to me a still wilder shot is to say that it is derived from two supposed native words, thener, "mountain," and ife, "white," the former of which I regard as mainly, and the latter as wholly, guess-work. I believe the Te or Che to be the article, and, from the omission of the i in Chenerfe, Bentinerfe, Guanchtinerf, &c., that the ictus was originally upon the antepenultima, whence it has been transferred to the penultima only in accordance with the usual Spanish rule for words ending in a The word Tenerife also occurs in the island of Hierro as the name of a mountain, and my own belief is that nerife, nerfe, or enerfe, simply means "mountain" or some particular species of mountain, such as a volcano.

Titogan, "the sky," according to Bory de St. Vincent. It is curious, if correct, since we know that the sky was called Xiraxi. It is possible that it may mean the clouds, that prevailing feature of the Tenerifan sky, and seems to me the same as Tigotan, "the heavens," in the dialect of the Isle of Palma, plural of Tigot, "heaven."

Zonfa, "the navel." This is rather suggestive of the word Zone, "a girdle."

It would, as I have before indicated, be possible to give a list of words, many times exceeding the foregoing, but they would be nearly all proper names of places or persons, or of plants and other things peculiar to the island or its inhabitants. But the foregoing are at least among the chief of those with which I have met which invite comparison by designating things which have names elsewhere.

I now proceed to take the few surviving sentences of

the language. I begin with three place-names.

Arguihon or Arguijon, as I have already remarked, is said to be the ancient name of Santa Cruz, and to signify "See ships" (Mira navios.) If so, since we know that guihon is "a ship" or "ships," ar must mean "see."

Alzanxiquian abcana hacverax, according to Nuñez de la Peña, and Alzanxiquian abcanabac xerac, according to Espinosa, signifies "the place of the union of the son of the great," indicating the place where the mysterious colonists settled near Icod. I confess at once that I can make nothing out of this name. The syllable al occurs at the beginning of six other proper names of places and of two proper names of persons, and xerax or xerac is clearly the sky.

Armegnine is rendered by Berthelot "the place of the sheepfold." I conjecture it to be the same word with Arbenime and Armenime, but unless it be that it has anything to do with the Latin Armenta, or that egnine, &c., is connected with ana, haña, jaña (Latin agnus) I

can throw no light upon it.

The remaining sentences are closely connected with the subject of grammar. Viera says: "The language of all the [Canary] islanders in common is indeclinable, and the Friar Father John Galindo draws the same conclusion in the MS. history of the conquest." Dr. Chil remarks that he cannot find any such assertion in the works of Galindo; and I may add that it is incredible. It is a well-known fact that the languages of savages in especial are very complex in their grammar. Among pure languages it is observable that the tendency towards simplification which ultimately ends in indeclinability is the result of literary culture. Chinese is, I believe, indeclinable, and Coptic may be said to be nearly so, but this phenomenon is owing to the vast number of ages during which these languages have been used for literary purposes. But there is unfortunately such a thing as a speech which is not a pure language. I mean international jargons. "Pigeon-English"-probably the most degraded of all existing vehicles for the expression of thought-is, I believe, indeclinable. And the remark of Viera arouses the strong suspicion that he and the Spanish conquerors in general did not know what they were talking about, that the dialect in which they communicated with the natives was only a kind of "pigeon," and that consequently anything which they wrote down may be utterly or almost worthless as an indication of grammatical inflection. This supposition falls in only too well with the fact that the preserved words and sentences are so remarkably wanting in anything like inflected terminations, and especially in terminations which have nothing corresponding to them in Spanish, such as At the same time, miserably scanty, corcase-endings. rupt, and untrustworthy as the materials are, and imperfectly as they justify the remark of Dr. Chil that it would be possible to form out of them a grammatical scheme, I think that they still offer some points which are worthy of analysis and remark. I am not aware that any attention has ever yet been paid to these points. To some of them I have already called attention in connection with vocabulary.

There may be said to be nine sentences preserved. There is much that is the same in each or most of them, and while much of them is unfortunately unintelligible, enough is apparent to show that the Spanish translations are untrustworthy except as conveying the very loosest idea of the general sense. It is perhaps convenient to begin with the shortest.

1. Zahañat guayohec (Viana), "I am thy vassal."

I identify guayohec with the root guaya, "spirit, or soul," and suppose it to mean, "I live." It supplies an

instance of the first person singular present.

Zahañat. The meaning "vassal" given to this word, induces me to identify it with caxna, "serf," which has already been noticed in the form Achicaxna. But here there is the peculiarity that the word means "thy vassal," and that it has a suffix in t.

2, 3, 4. The next three sentences are to a great extent identical, and I preface them by remarking that Viana tells us that the word Agonec meant "I swear." Here we have to notice that the first person singular present again ends in ec, as in the only other instance, viz., Guayohec.

Agonec, acoron inat zahaña guañac reste mencey, "We swear by the day of thy coronation to make ourselves

the defenders of thee and of thy race."

Here Viana directly contradicts himself by saying that Agonec means "We swear," instead of "I swear," as he elsewhere asserts. This may be part of the "pigeon" principle, or he may be speaking loosely in giving the meaning of a collective oath. In any case, in all the other examples where the word occurs the sense given is singular, and, as already remarked, the termination agrees with that of Guayohec.

The other words are all known separately, with one exception. Acoron is "God," zahaña, "vassal," guañac, "the commonwealth," reste, "protection," mencey, "king" or "prince." The remaining word is inat. I barely suggest that the at may be the article belonging to zahaña, and that the in may be a preposition similar to the Latin, so that inat zahaña would be similar to the Latin phrase in subditos. And I think the words may be the beginning of some formula in the sense of

"I swear, O God, toward the subjects of the state a protector prince—" with some words meaning "to be" omitted. Or the t in inat may be an indication of the second person singular as in zahañat, so that the sense

may be, "I swear, O God, before Thee —"

Agogñe, Yacoron, Iñatzahaña, Chacoñamet. This is also from Viana, who translates, "I swear by the bone of him who has made me great." Nuñez de la Peña gives the words thus: - Agoñe, Yacoron, Inatzahama, Chasonamet, and translates, "I swear by the bone of that day wherein thou hast made thyself great." According to Dr. Chil (p. 49), Espinosa gives the same, except that, with Viana, he circumflexes the n's in inatzahana and restores the c instead of s in chaconamet, but according to the quotation from the same author given by the same my learned guide on p. 40, the words were Agoñe, Yacoron, Iñaltzahaña, Macoñanaet. The phrase about the bone alludes to the fact that the emblem of power carried by the Tenerifan princes was a human thigh-bone believed to be that of the founder of their dynasty. It was with this that their inauguration was performed, and it seems to have been spoken of as a convertible expression with their power or dignity, much as we speak of "the crown" or "the throne." The omission of the c at the end of Agoñe seems to imply that the sound indicated by it was very slight or obscure. The prefix of y to Acoron may perhaps indicate a vocative, as with the Arabic Ya, and our own (and the Latin) O. Iñatzahaña is, of course, although now written in one word, the same phrase as in the first oath. There remains Chaconamet, which also occurs in the next sentence.

Menceito acoran inatzahana Maconamet. "This King and God have charged me (or, raised me) to be lord." So Marin y Cubas. Maconamet is doubtless a copyist's or printer's mistake for Chasonamet. Espinosa has:—Menceyto Acoran inat zahaña chasonameth, and translates, "this King and this God have raised me to the throne." That Menceyto Acoran simply means "God Most High," can hardly be doubted, and therefore, that the general

meaning is that the prince had been raised up to reign over subjects. The crux is in the word Chaconamet, which we find translated in four different ways—"has made me great"—"hast made thyself great"—"raised me to be lord"—and "raised me to the throne." It will be remarked that where Espinosa translates it by the second person singular he ends it in t, which seems to be the pronominal suffix for that person, whereas, when he renders it by the third person plural he adds an h (th). The obscurity is in the questions of the root and precise meaning of the verb, and of what is the element which indicates the perfect tense. It is possible that the ch in chaconamet may represent the aspirated or modified sound of t, so that the syllable may really be ta: and the next sentence supplies a possible instance to show that the

perfect tense was formed by such a prefix.

5. Achoran, nun habec, sahagua reste guagnat, sahur banot gerage sote. "I swear by the bone of him who has carried the crown to follow his example and to make the happiness of my subjects." So Viana. Atchoran, nonhunhabet sahagua reste gouanac saour banot hirai sote. "I swear by the bone of him who has occupied the throne to imitate him in taking heed to the commonwealth." So Viera. Here the actual word "I swear" is omitted. Achoran is of course "Gop." Sahagua I take to be zahaña with u substituted for n by printer's error. Reste is "protection," guagnat or gouanac, "the state," unless the t or c be a mistake for th, and the latter be a pronominal suffix of the third person singular, giving guanoth the sense of "his people," and gerage or hirai the same as Xeraxi, "the sky." If this be correct, the words gerage sote or hirai sote may mean "under heaven," sote having something in common with the Latin subter. I take it as more probable that it should be a parallel and independent derivative from the same root than a corruption of the Spanish soto, although this also is of course possible. In any case, if it be a preposition, it shows a custom of placing such after the word governed by them.

6. Achit quanoth mencey reste Bencom. "[Long] live

Bencom our lord and our protector!" So Viana.

Mencey and reste are of course known. The worst of such a phrase as this is that the translation is probably idiomatic. Even in European translations of Scripture we get such phrases as "O king, live for ever," "God save the king" and "May the king live for ever," used in a way which, if they stood alone, would be almost fatal to the comparative grammarian; and here we get the Spanish Viva used in such a way that it may no more resemble the grammatical construction of the original than if it were employed to render "three cheers for —." Viana, to whom we owe this sentence, is also he who gives us the word guanoth as meaning "the state," or rather, as he diffuses it, "the protector of the state." I have already suggested that quanoth may really mean "his people," and this gains some additional force from the fact that the text of the phrase before us is represented by Webb and Berthelot' as Achit quanoth Mencey, Reste Bencom, as though quanoth mencey signified "lord of his people." It is also Viana who gives us zahañat as meaning "thy vassal." It is possible therefore that the t at the end of Achit may be here also a pronominal suffix of the second person singular, and that the meaning may be "Live thou, O Bencom, the commonwealth's protecting lord!" The next sentence perhaps throws some light upon the question.

7. Guaya, echey efiai nasfthc sahaña. This also is from Viana, who renders, "May he live to feel the evils of destiny." The same sentence is given by Webb and

Berthelot<sup>2</sup> as Guayax echey, ofiac nasethe sahana.

Here we find sahaña as the last word, and I can hardly doubt that it is zahaña or caxna once more. The preceding word nasfthc is evidently corrupt in Viana, as it cannot be pronounced, and I am inclined to adopt the more modern reading and to connect it with a word which occurs in the next sentence, and suppose it to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Histoire Naturelle des Iles Canaries, I. 124. <sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

mean "to make himself a slave" or some similar sense. At first sight the two opening words Guaya, echey bear considerable resemblance to Achit guanoth in the preceding sentence, and it may well be that Achit and echey are both imperatives or optatives of some verb meaning "to live," but differing in person. Guaya, however, has not the n which appears to connect guanoth, "the state," with guan, "a son," and it is given us by itself as meaning life. I am inclined therefore to think that the meaning may be simply "Life!" or "Let him live! that he may be a slave." Of efiai I can offer no explanation. The sense seems to be somewhat that of the Latin ut.

8. Tanaga guayoch, archimenceu no haya dir hanido sahec chunga petut. "The powerful father of the fatherland died and left the natives orphans." So Viana. And the same sense is ascribed by Nuñez de la Peña to the words Tanagaguayoch archimenceu nahaia dir hanido fahet chunga pelut.

There is here no repetitive phrase like padre de la patria, and it is therefore at once evident that this translation is false. Archimenceu may be taken as the equivalent for el valoroso, and it is worth remarking that in this sentence alone, and in both forms of it, the word mencey is

made to terminate in u instead of in y or i.

Tanaga guayoch, two words according to Viana, but only one according to Nuñez de la Peña. Guayoch is evidently the same as Guaya, "the soul," and the expression translated "died" must therefore be equivalent to some such phrase as "gave up the ghost." Hence it would appear probable that the termination ch here has some such sense as his. It is conceivable that the ch may be a mistake for th.

It is remarkable that in Palma the expression Yacaguare or Vacaguare is recorded to have meant "I wish to die." The  $r\acute{e}$  would therefore seem to be either a future or an optative, unless indeed it be only the equivalent of the ec or  $[y]\acute{e}$  of agonec or agone; perhaps both. Assuming aca and aga to be the same, the sound is very similar to

that of the Latin agere, and the sense would be some-

what that of agere vitam.

There remains the first syllable tan, which is thus placed in the light of a preformative indicating the past tense, and corresponding to the cha or ta which is found at the beginning of the past tense word chaconamet.

On the other words there is little to say.

No or na has the appearance of being the conjunction. Haya or haia contains the vowel a which is found in

the other words indicating the past tense.

Dir. In the next sentence, in which, as in this, occurs the expression "native-born," the word der occurs. There the expression is in the singular, here it is in the plural, and the syllable immediately following it is han, which may be the plural termination in en attached by mistake to the next word.

Hanido sahec (or fahet) chunga petut or pelut. In this last word it is evident that Viana has made a mistake by crossing his l, or Nuñez de la Peña by omitting to cross his t. If the latter, and the sense be "fatherless," there is some suggestion of a resemblance

to pater or father.

9. Chucar, guayoc archimencey reste Benchom sanec vander relac nazet zahañe. So Viera.

Chucar, guyet archimencey reste Bencom sanet vandet relac machet zahara. So Nuñez de la Peña.

Chusar, guaye archimencey reste Bencom sanat velac naset zabañec. So Viana.

They all translate alike, "Kill not thou the noble native-born brother of Bencom, who yields himself prisoner." The chief variant is that Viana totally omits the word vander, the last syllable of which may perhaps signify "native-born."

Chucar. It is remarkable that this word ends in ar, the syllable ar before guihon, "ships," in the phrase Arguihon, "see ships." It may therefore be a suffix of the second person imperative, and if so, the body of the

verb in Arguihon must be omitted.

Guayoc, guyet or guaye. This word is evidently "the

soul or life." It has also evidently got a suffix, but as the authors all give this differently, it is impossible to tell what it was. I conjecture that chucar guayoc may mean "spare his life," somewhat as tanagaguayoch means "he gave up his life." And the termination may be the same and mean "his."

Archimencey reste Bencom. The word reste, "protector," is omitted by all the translators, who also all apply the title Archimencey to the brother, and not to Bencom, of which I feel very doubtful.

Sanec, sanet or sanat, by an exhaustive process, ought

to be "brother."

Of vander I have spoken. I should have been inclined to suggest that van was a form of guan, and that der might have something to do with terra, the whole making the sense of "son of the soil," but I am deterred by the fact that in the preceding sentence, of which we have two texts, and in which occur the words "native" and dir, the dir is not preceded by anything of the nature of van.

Relac nazet (or machet or naset) zahañe, zahara or zabañec. The last word I take to be again caxna, "a slave." Nazet may be the same as nasethe or nasfthe and mean "become;" relac ought to conceal the relative pronoun, if there be one.

These complete the matter which has been before me so far as I have been able to use it for the purpose of any analysis either of vocabulary or grammar, and I will now proceed to summarize the results.

## The Article.

Marin y Cubas remarks generally of all the natives of the Canary Archipelago that "they begin most words with the letter T, the accent of which they pronounce, but without finishing it; and this is especially the case in Tenerife." Accordingly, we find in all these vocab-

ularies a great many words beginning with T, but in that of Tenerife a very considerable number beginning with ach or ch, or some closely similar sound, and we find the same word beginning with one or the other, as Chenerfe and Chenerife for Tenerife. It seems to me evident therefore that this is a softened or modified sound of t, like that in the English termination -tion. The exact sound is perhaps rather difficult to settle. There are two cases of atch, as though to emphasize the t sound, but there are still more of ac. Assuming the c to have been written for s, I think that a Spaniard would have been not unlikely to represent the English sound of sh (as in -tion) by c as well as by ch; and there may have been provincial varieties of pronunciation. That this t, modified or not, was the definite article, I confess I have no doubt. This seems to me clear from the way in which we find the same word with it or without it, and even the Spanish word ano provided with this prefix in order to express "the year." There appears also to have been in this article no distinction of gender, at any rate in the sense of sex, as we find equally Achimayec, "the mother," and Achicuca, "the son."

As to its vocalization, the majority of the words simply begin with ch followed by a vowel, but in many we have such a form as Achi and sometimes Ach followed by a consonant. I fancy that the sound was very obscure, and indeed Marin y Cubas says that "all these islanders pronounce with their tongues striking against their palates as if they were stammering or had an impediment of speech," and Viera says that "the sounds were short, and they pronounced from the back of their throats, like Africans." With regard to the vocalization of the prefix t, I may recall the fact that the Coptic definite article in T seems to be vocalized indifferently as et or f, and when it becomes aspirated into o in the Memphitic dialect, it is not always followed by a vowel. This Coptic article T is, however, exclusively feminine, and in the more ancient Egyptian is not prefixed but suffixed. The closest parallel to the Tenerifan article with which I am

acquainted is the English definite article the, with its aspirated t vocalized by a following e, which indeed is sometimes elided before another vowel in poetry or in some provincial dialects. The English article also, like the Tenerifan, sometimes appears as an unaspirated t, as is indeed often the case in Yorkshire, and is perhaps its old form, analogous to that of the Greek article.

#### The Noun.

It is to be observed that a large number of the nouns end in vowels, and that the tendency to so terminate them would be much less strong in a Spanish than in an Italian writer. At the same time, the recorded words can hardly be deemed free from the results of such a tendency. Thus, Viana gives Bencomo in his translation of the exclamation in honour of Bencom, although he gives Bencom in the text.

The words cuca and cucaha show that a regular feminine was formed from the masculine by the addition of ha, although they also show that the masculine itself sometimes, as in Latin, ended in a. There seems, moreover, to have been rather a tendency to end feminine proper names in a. Thus, Bencom had a son called Deriman and a daughter called Dacil, but his wife was named Sañagua and another daughter Ramagua, while the daughter of Raito, Prince of Anaga, was called Guacimara. But with the exception of this tendency I have noticed nothing like sex-terminations.

I have already noticed the preformative hu which distinguished the divine dog Hucancha from an ordinary dog; and the postformative to by which Menceyto, "the Most High," is distinguished from Mencey, "a Prince," and which probably appears also in such words as Chamato and Chivato, (with a possible form -ta, as in Guayota and Orotava). This formative -to (and perhaps -ta) seems therefore to me to be of the nature of a superla-

tive, or of such a termination as the Italian -one.

Of plurals there are a certain number in s, such as Hecirmas, "stockings." But I am inclined to attribute

these merely to Spanish writers as an introduction from their own language, somewhat as we might find an Englishman in speaking of Wales talk of Eisteddfods instead of Eisteddfodau. I have given some grounds for believing that the real plural was in an, en, or -n. I confess I was astonished at this, because I knew of it only in German and in a few English words mostly referring to pairs, and I had always looked upon it as a survival of the dual which had in German, as in some Greek and Gaelic words, come to be used as a plural. My surprise was reduced by finding it in Berber. At the same time, I do not think it impossible that there may have been a dual in -en (so in Palma tigotan, "the heavens," like the Hebrew shamayim; and in Hierro Eraoranhan may have really signified the two deities there worshipped, as ταῖν θεαῖν in the inscriptions at Eleusis refers to the two great goddesses) and a plural in s, as we have in English, sing. shoe, dual, shoon, plural, shoes, or sing. eye, dual, e'en, and plural, eyes.

For case-endings I have looked very carefully, but I have observed nothing which I should be willing to suggest with any confidence as such. They do not exist in Spanish, and would therefore have been peculiarly liable to be omitted or confounded by imperfectly educated Spanish writers, especially if the latter found the whole pronunciation obscure, and entertained the idea that the language was indeclinable. Tanagaguayoch archimenceu, "the Prince died." Here archimenceu can hardly be otherwise than a nominative, and in this sentence alone it ends in u. Thus also some words which seem to be genitive end in o, i, or y, such as Quebehi Bencomo, "the Majesty of Bencom," Guayaxiraxi, "the soul of the sky," and archimencey, if I am right in suggesting that Chucar guayoc Archimencey means "spare the life of the Prince." Again, in the formula, Agoñe yacoron, assuming it to mean "I swear, O God," there may be a vocative in y after the manner of the Arabic And if in the phrase gerage sote we are to see in sote anything in common with the Latin subter (Italian sotto and Spanish soto), the terminal e of gerage may be a sort of ablative or locative. But the material is too scanty and uncertain to warrant any conclusion. At the same time, I must also confess that I have entirely failed to notice any clear trace of the prepositions by which the place of case-endings is taken in so many languages or by which the meaning of such terminations is limited

and emphasized.

As to numerals, Dr. Chil truly observes that no one of the authors cited by him says a single word implying that the inhabitants of Tenerife had any system of numeration whatsoever. That some such thing must have existed is evident to common sense, but it seems only too possible that all trace of it has perished. Such is the opinion of Dr. Chil, so far as his investigations have hitherto led him. The only thing which has struck me as possibly connected with numbers is the fact that the six captains who accompanied the King were called the Sigones and the four counsellors the Guanames, the beginnings of which words are slightly suggestive of sex and quatuor. The temptation to diverge into the numerals of Grand Canary is considerable. I shall, however, restrict myself to Tenerife, and only remark with regard to Canary, as a circumstance possibly suggestive of changes of race and language, that the numerals given by Nicolas da Recco in the middle of the fourteenth century differ so totally from those given by Abreu Galindo that I can hardly regard them as belonging to languages of the same family.1

# The Verb.

As regards the verb, we have two specimens of the first person present, viz., Guayohec, "I become," or "live," and Agonec, "I swear." In both cases the termination is ec. As the latter of the two words is also

As illustrating a possible change of language it may be worth while to yield to the temptation above indicated, so far as to give these two sets of numerals, especially as Mr. Max Müller favours me with a note showing that the first set, made in Canary by the pilot Nicolas da Recco in the expedition of Angiolino de Tegghia de Corbizzi in 1341, are ascribed,

represented by  $Ago\tilde{n}e$ , it is evident that the terminal consonantal sound was either very indistinct in itself or very obscure to the Spanish ear. This ec is at once suggestive of the Latin ego. And it is of little importance for philological purposes whether it was sounded ec, which more nearly approximates to ego, or es, which would assimilate it to the isch used instead of ich in certain parts of Germany, or whether the sound resembled that of the corresponding Berber termination in  $\dot{\varepsilon}$ , since the sound of the Arabic  $\dot{\varepsilon}$  is almost exactly the same as that given by the Greeks to the  $\gamma$  in  $\dot{\varepsilon}\gamma\dot{\omega}$ . Moreover, if we accept a variant of Berthelot, and read  $Ago\tilde{n}ey$ , this would only identify the suffix with the Coptic or Shemitic first persons, the Latin first persons perfect in i, and the English pronoun I.

Of the second person singular present we have no instance, but it is possible that we have one in the past, since Espinosa renders Macoñanaet (Chil, 40) by "thou hast made thyself great." This is, it must be confessed, very weak, because his text in this very passage is elsewhere (Chil, 49) represented by Chasonamet; but it has to be remarked that where he gives the same word in the third person (I stay not to discuss whether singular or plural) he adds an h to the t; moreover, the second person termination in t has the support of zahañat for "thy vassal"; and the termination itself has the inherent

in a MS. of John Boccaccio, published at Milan in 1830, not only to Canary but also to the "altre Isole oltre Ispania nell' oceano"—as though including Tenerife. This first list is as follows:

| Nait = 1      | Satti = 7          | Amierat-marava = 13 |
|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Smetti = 2    | Tamatti = 8        | Acodat-marava = 14  |
| Amelotti = 3  | Aldamarava = 9     | Simusat-marava = 15 |
| Acodetti = 4  | Marava = 10        | Sesatti-marava = 16 |
| Samusetti = 5 | Nait-Marava = 11   |                     |
| Sasetti = 6   | Smatta-maraya = 12 |                     |

On the other hand, Abreu Galindo gives as Canariote numerals:

| and the state of t |                  |                   |  |
|--|------------------|-------------------|--|
| Been = 1   | Set = 8          | Lini-linago = 22  |  |
| Lini = 2   | $A\cot = 9$      | Amiago = 50       |  |
| Amiat = 3  | Marago = 10      | Beni-amiago = 51  |  |
| Arba = 4   | Beni-marago = 11 | Lini-amiago = 52  |  |
| Cansa = 5  | Lini-marago = 12 | Beemaragoin = 100 |  |
| Sumeus = 6   | Linago = 20      | Limaragoin = 200  |  |
| Sat = 7  | Beni-linago = 21 |                   |  |

probability derived from its similarity to the Latin tu,

tuus, English, thou, thy, &c.

Of the third person there are more examples, but the difficulties are almost greater, owing to the variants. It must be confessed that, like the words which seem to represent the second person, it also appears to end in t in every case (not including the two exclamations, where, if there is a verb at all, it would be an imperative) except in four sentences, of which two have variants. the sentence "He has died and left the natives orphans." Tanagaguayoch, seemingly "He-has-died," is practically the same in both texts, and both also give a word in t petut or pelut, as the last, but one has sahec while the other has fahet in the body of the sentence. (2) nonhunhabet, which seems to have some such meaning as "he ruled," has a variant of nun habec. (3) The important distinction is that of Espinosa, who, while he renders Maconanaet or Chaconamet by the second person, carefully gives chaconameth with the added h, as the third. (4) The reading of Webb and Berthelot, nasethe, for the totally unpronounceable nasfthc, attributed, perhaps only by the printer, to Viana, gives the same third person termination in th—to be pronounced, as I have already remarked, like the th in pothouse. Now, this word I can hardly fail, associated as both are with zahaña, and identical as seems to be their probable meaning, to consider the same as naset or nazet in the sentence regarding the brother of Bencom. This mistake once discovered may explain others, even without resorting to the theory of orthographical or typographical errors, and, under the circumstances, I hazard the conjecture that the third person singular ended in th. It is hardly necessary to point out the coincidence with the Latin or German termination in t or the English in th.

Of the plural forms of the verb I have found no trace. It is true that Marin y Cubas and Espinosa render Menceyto Acoran by "this King and God," and "this King and this God," so that, were these translations correct, the verb following would be necessarily in the plural.

But it is so evident that the phrase in question simply consists of two titles in apposition, and signifies "Gop most high," that the question is not worth discussion.

Of the past tense there are two instances. One of these is in the double sentence "he died . . . and left." I have already pointed to the probability of Tan being a prefix indicating the past. The other is the tiresome word Chasonamet, etc., where it is at least probable that the Cha is only Ta with the common modification of the t. The n in tan may therefore be a sound inserted for the sake of euphony to separate the two a's. I have only to add that in these words and in haya and fahet or sahec, which look very like parts of the verb, is to be noticed the a which is the Coptic auxiliary in the past tense.

Of the imperative there are seemingly at least two instances. One of these is Arguihon, "see ships," the old name of Santa Cruz, in which we know that guihon means ships, so that ar must be the verb. The other is Chucar or Chusar, in the sentence as to sparing the life of Bencom's brother. It is remarkable that ar is the common feature, and I am hence led to the conclusion that this is a formative of the imperative, and that in Arguihon the real body of the verb has been omitted by ignorance and unintelligence. An imperative in ar is suggestive of the imperative form in the Latin passive and deponent verbs.

To these may be conjecturally added Achit in the exclamation in honour of Bencom and echey in that about "living to be a slave." Echey is avowedly not in the second person, nor is Achit, though I confess that the termination in t looks to me rather like it, and as if the meaning

were "Life to thee."

## The Pronoun.

The variety of terminations in the words, much as these may be caused by phonographic, clerical, or typographical blunders, and the apparent absence of any other indication, induces me to consider that the personal pronoun may have been generally represented, not only in the verbs, but also in the nouns, by suffixes, as in Coptic. This, if the phrase be correctly given, is clearly the case in zahañat, "thy slave," where the t is a suffix indicating the second person singular. There may be a similar trace of a suffix of the third person in such words as quañac, quagnat, qouanac, and quanoth indicating the people or the state, and in guayoch, guayoc, guyet, and guaye, which seem to mean "life"; and I have already suggested that the termination may have been th. But the variants before me are so great that I do not feel that they warrant a conclusion. With regard to plurals, I have also remarked that Queviliera is said by Glas to have meant "your highness," and, since it is clearly formed from Quebehi, it follows, if Glas' statement is true, that era or iera is a pronominal suffix meaning "your."

# The Conjunction.

There is one syllable, viz., no or na, which has the appearance of the conjunction. The mistake of n for u in transcripts is so common that I am inclined to suggest that the original may have been uo or ua, and cognate with the Coptic oros, the Hebrew, the Arabic, and the Harakta-Berber. But at the same time we must not forget the Latin que.

I now add, for the sake of comparison with Berber, from Basset's Manuel de Langue Kabyle, a few notes upon the grammatical points above mentioned. The reader will be able to judge for himself, by the divergence or similarity, whether the latter justifies the identification of Tenerifan with Berber, or whether the points in question are too few or too much shared with other languages, to lead to such a conclusion. In Kabyle then:—

There is no article of any sort or kind. (P. 55.)

The nouns, as far as I have observed, seem in the

great majority of cases to terminate in consonants.

The feminine is formed from the masculine by prefixing and suffixing th (Greek  $\theta$ ) and this is the ordinary rule for feminine words. (55, 6.)

There are no formatives of size except a diminutive (57, 8) and no superlative, and the comparative is formed by construction, though *ai* may sometimes be prefixed to the adjective. (68.)

The plural is formed by a modification of the vowels and by suffixing -n, an, en, or in. (63—5.) There is no dual.

There are no case-endings. The genitive is sometimes indicated by mere juxta-position (somewhat, I presume, as we talk of the Taff Vale Railway) and the vocative has sometimes the prefix a or ai. The rest is all done by

prepositions, much as in English. (61, 2.)

In the verbs, the suffix of the first person singular is the sound represented in Arabic by  $\dot{\varepsilon}$ . The second person is formed by prefixing  $th(\theta)$  and adding  $\dot{\omega}(dh)$ . The third by prefixing y in the masculine and  $th(\theta)$  in the feminine. (26.) The past is formed by prefixing the particle ay to the verb. (27.) In the imperative the second person alone seems to exist: in the singular it consists of the pure root: in the plural  $th(\theta)$  is suffixed to the masculine and mth to the feminine. (26.)

The pronominal suffixes are ou or you ("my"); k, ik, ek, (m.) m, im, em (f.) ("thy"); s, is, es ("his or her"); ennagh (¿) ("our"); ennouen (m.) enkount (f.) ("your"); ensen

(m.) and ensent (f.) "their." (12, 13.)

As to conjunctions, "and" is usually ad, ed, or d, but I find in M. Basset's edition of Loquan's Fables (372) that oo (,) is used in the Harakta dialect.

With regard to the American theory, the Carib would be the language which, on account of geographical proximity, would first suggest itself. I have examined the list of Carib words extracted by Messrs. Webb and Berthelot from Col. Codazzi's Resumen de la Geographie de Venezuela, and printed by them in a parallel column with Canariote words. Some of these Venezuelan words begin with Ch and others with Gu, and they all end with vowels or s. But their weakness for the intended purpose consists in the fact that none of them mean the same things as the Canariote words. Many of them are placenames of unknown meaning, and where the meanings are known they are never the same. Thus, guayre in Canariote (it is not known to be a Tenerifan word) is a social title, and guaire in Venezuelan is the name of a stream: harimaguada in Tenerifan means "a nun," and in Venezuelan Arimagua signifies "mountains." It is not worth while going on.

With regard to grammar, I have consulted the Grammaire Caraibe published at Auxerre in 1667 by the Dominican Friar Raymond Breton at the expense of M. Claude Lecler, and republished at Paris in 1878, with an introduction by M. Lucien Adam, who devotes himself in great part to controverting the grammatical doctrines

of the author.

Breton (p. 7) asserts that there was an article varying in gender and case—nominative and accusative masculine l, feminine t; plural, common nh, &c. Adam (x.) contends that what Breton calls the article is a set of pronouns.

The words seem almost invariably to end in vowels.

Breton asserts (9—11) that there were three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter or common. Adam (xii.) denies this, but admits two classes—virile (of men only) and metavirile (of gods, women and everything else) and adds that the "pronominal" characteristics of the virile were i, e, l, li, and ri, and those of the metavirile o, ou, t, num, rou, e.g., aparouti, "murderer," aparoutou, "murderess."

There seem to have been no formatives. The degrees of comparison were expressed by auxiliary words, except a superlative formed by lengthening or doubling the accented vowel of the positive.

There were various forms of the plural. For that of

nouns, the commonest is the addition of -ium, -yum, -iem, or em. There was no dual.

The place of case-endings was usually taken by other devices (as in English), but there was a seemingly regular locative in -ta.

The verb appears to have been very complicated. It was conjugated with the help of three auxiliaries, roughly answering to the English do, have, and will. It had pronominal prefixes, which were: sing. 1st p. n-, 2nd p. b-, 3rd p. masc. l-, fem. t-; plural, 1st p. oua-, 2nd p. h-, 3rd p. nha-. The imperative has only a present, and was formed by a (instead of i "do") and the pronominal prefixes, which are increased in the plural, ouaman="let us —," homan="do ye —," nhaman="let them —." The language possessed pronominal suffixes. They are farther modifications of the forms already given as pronominal characteristics and prefixes.

The conjunctions were very numerous, among the

commonest copulars being aca, kia, and kiaya.

Having in mind the opinion of Mr. Glas as to Peruvian, I turned in that direction. The literature bearing upon the Peruvian or Quíchua language is very large, and, like the rest of the literature bearing upon American philology, reflects great credit upon the culture of Spanish scholars. As the most recent, I used the Manual del Idioma General del Perú, published at Cordoba, in 1889, by the Rev. Michael Mossi, Vicar of Atamizki in Argentina. The subject is not a light one, and both it and the peculiar scientific method used in treating it were novel to me, so that I may have missed some points, but, using the same terms I have hitherto employed, the following is, I hope, a fair summary of the points corresponding to those which I have discussed with regard to the Tenerifan.

There is no article of any sort or kind.

The nouns, as far as I have observed, seem in a great many cases to terminate in the vowel a.

There is no distinction of gender whatever in any part of speech.

There are a very large number of formatives, of which zapa (p. 66) indicates bigness, chekhamanta and huañuy give a superlative sense, and Haycay is used to form a kind of comparative. The adjectives themselves are indeclinable.

The plural is formed by adding *cuna* to the singular, except with some special classes of nouns, one of which is that of things in pairs, when a sort of dual is formed

with purap.

In English we indicate the cases other than the nominative and possessive by means of words placed before, which are accordingly called prepositions. In Quíchua this is done with the so-called ablative, but the qualifying words follow instead of preceding, and Mossi accordingly calls them postpositions. The genitive, dative, and accusative have case-endings, unless indeed these ought not also to be more properly called postpositions, especially in the dative, where there are two, signifying respectively to (towards) and for. These case-endings are, gen. p or pa, dat. man or pac, acc. ta or cta. They are the same for both singular and plural. There is only one declension. In the case of nouns in apposition only the principal one is declined, the others being then treated as adjectives, or, as we should say, "King John's crown," declining John but not King.

There is only one conjugation for verbs, and it seems to be beautifully developed, as though upon a purely logical basis, like an ideal generated from a philosopher's thought. It has Forms, as in the Shemitic or Slavonic languages. In this conjugation, whatever the verb, the forms are all arranged or encrusted upon one framework, viz., the auxiliary verb ca, "to be," the conjugation of which occupies thirty-six pages of Mossi's book. I am only concerned with the terminations, which are practically the same in every tense,—1st p. -ni, 2nd p. -nki, 3rd p. -n; 1st p. pl. -nchic or -ycu, 2nd p. -nkichic, 3rd p. -ncu. The perfect inserts -rkha before the termination; the imperfect is formed from the perfect by prefixing cach. The imperative has a present, a simple

imperfect future, and two compound perfects future, all with their numbers and persons. In the present,

the 2nd p. sing. terminates in -ay, pl. -ychic.

As to pronouns, "I" is nokha; "thou," cam; "he (or she)," pay. They are declined, and their plurals formed, regularly, just as though they were nouns. Possession is indicated by pronominal suffixes, as in the Shemitic languages, and in Berber, Coptic, &c. These are -y ("my"), -yki ("thy"), -n ("his or her"), -nchic or -ycu ("our"), -ykichic ("your"), -n or -ncu ("their.") There are also some accusative pronominal suffixes somewhat resembling those in the languages just named. They are -yki ("I to thee"), -huanki ("thou to me"), -huan ("he or she to me"), -sunki ("he or she to thee"), -ykichic ("I to you"), -huankichic ("you to me"), -huancu ("they to me"), and -sunkichic ("he or she to you.")

There are numerous conjunctions, of which the sim-

plest are pas and huan.

While I admit that there are some points in common, I must also confess that I fail to see much in this to justify the idea of Mr. Glas that the Tenerifan language was Quíchua. It is possible that some one who has a knowledge of Quíchua wider than mine may be of a different opinion, or that there may be some other American language which may present conclusive points of identity. For myself, I hardly think it would have been worth my while, even had I had the time, to undertake so vast a task as an examination of all American grammars for the sake of a chance which seems to me so remote. And this especially while it is possible, as it still is, that the whole question may be solved by the discovery of some document such as a grammar or dictionary made by or for some missionary, some state paper such as a treaty, or the deposition of some witness, or a catechism, or even some old ritual containing those portions of the services for Baptism and Marriage which are used in the vulgar tongue. Even failing all these, I think it can hardly be doubted, from the results already attained by one or two labourers, that much awaits the investigator in this field. It is a source of profound satisfaction that the question is now receiving attention from natives of the Archipelago at once so patriotic, so intelligent, so industrious, and so cultured as the gentlemen whom I have named, and others. And it is matter of thankfulness to foreigners that their courtesy equals their culture.

In the meanwhile, I am not unconscious that while I have suggested certain Aryan analogies, especially in the vocabulary, certain grammatical forms which I have indicated as possible, such as a definite article in t, feminines in a, and pronominal suffixes to nouns and verbs, might also be interpreted as pointing rather in the same direction as Coptic, and thus partially coinciding with the Berber theory, at least as regards an Hamitic origin. Some one who possesses a greater familiarity with the Egyptian vocabulary than I can claim, may be able to go farther in this direction. Some one who knows more of comparative Aryan grammar than I do, may perhaps go farther in another.

This paper is now ended. I desire to express my indebtedness to Mr. Birch, and to the gentlemen whom he visited in the Canaries, for all that they have done to help me in writing it. In some excuse for its many deficiencies, which are my own, I may perhaps be permitted to remark that it has been written under difficulties of health, of journeys, and above all, of much business. Of these deficiencies I am very conscious. I know that I have not made as much as can be made of the materials in my hands, especially the names of places.

I will only conclude by saying once more that my object in compiling this paper has not been to advocate any theory of my own, and still less to make a controversial attack upon those of others, but merely to analyze and comment upon some facts, in the hope of attracting to the subject the attention of some better qualified than myself, and by whom it may consequently be treated with results more satisfactory than mine. It may be a convenience to the English reader to mention that the full title of the work so frequently quoted in the preceding pages, and upon which they are mainly based, is Estudios Históricos, Climatológicos y Patológicos de las Islas Canarias, por D. Gregorio Chil y Naranjo, Doctor en Medicina y Cirujía, &c., &c., and that the agents for its sale are at—

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