

Action on proposition No. 1113 was postponed until December 17th.

Prof. Cope exhibited some crania of Tahitians and made remarks on human dentition, after which a discussion ensued, participated in by Drs. Horn and J. Cheston Morris.

The President reported he had received and paid over to the Treasurer the Michaux rentes for July, \$133.07.

On motion, the Society subscribed to the "Journal of Morphology."

And the Society was adjourned by the President.

The Conception of Love in some American Languages.

By Daniel G. Brinton, M.D.

(Read before the American Philosophical Society, Nov. 5, 1886.)

"The words which denote love, describing a sentiment at once powerful and delicate, reveal the inmost heart of those who created them. The vital importance attached to this sentiment renders these beautiful words especially adapted to point out the exceeding value of language as a true autobiography of nations."

This quotation is from an essay by a thoughtful writer, Dr. Carl Abel, in which he has gathered from four languages, the Latin, English, Hebrew and Russian, their expressions for this sweet emotion, and subjected them to a careful analysis.* The perusal of his article has led me to make some similar examinations of American languages; but with this difference in method, that while Dr. Abel takes the languages named in the fullness of their development and does not occupy himself with the genesis of the terms of affection, I shall give more particular attention to their history and derivation as furnishing illustrations of the origin and growth of those altruistic sentiments which are revealed in their strongest expression in the emotions of friendship and love.

Upon these sentiments are based those acts which unite man

* *Linguistic Essays*, by Carl Abel, Ph.D. (London, 1882).

to man in amicable fellowship and mutual interchange of kindly offices, thus creating a nobler social compact than that which rests merely on increased power of defence or aggression. These sentiments are those which bind parent to child and child to parent, and thus supply the foundation upon which the family in the true significance of the term should rest. These are they which, directed toward the ruler or the state, find expression in personal loyalty and patriotic devotion. Surpassing all in fervor and potency, these sentiments, when exhibited in love between the sexes, direct the greater part of the activity of each individual life, mould the forms of the social relations, and control the perpetuation of the species. Finally, in their last and highest manifestations, these sentiments are those which have suggested to the purest and clearest intellects both the most exalted intellectual condition of man, and the most sublime definition of divinity.* These are good reasons, therefore, why we should scan with more than usual closeness the terms for the conception of love in the languages of nations.

Another purpose which I shall have in view will be to illustrate by these words the wonderful parallelism which everywhere presents itself in the operations of the human mind, and to show how it is governed by the same associations of ideas both in the new and old worlds.

As a preparation for the latter object, let us take a glance at the derivation of the principal words expressing love in the Aryan languages. The most prominent of them may be traced back to one of two ruling ideas, the one intimating a similarity or likeness between the persons loving, the other a wish or desire. The former conveys the notion that the feeling is mutual, the latter that it is stronger on one side than on the other.

These diverse origins are well illustrated by the French *aimer* and the English *love*. *Aimer*, from the Latin *amare*, brings us to the Greek *αμα*, *ομος*, both of which spring from the Sanscrit *sam*; from which in turn the Germans get their words *sammt*, along with, and *zusammen*, together; while we obtain from this root almost without change our words *similar* and *same*. Ety-

*I scarcely need say that I refer to the marvelous words of St. John: *ὁ μὴ ἀγαπῶν, οὐκ ἐγγὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗτις ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν* (1 John iv, 8); and to the *amor intellectualis*, the golden crown of the philosophy of Spinoza as developed in the last book of his *Ethica*.

mologically, therefore, those who love are alike; they are the *same* in such respects that they are attracted to one another, on the proverbial principle that "birds of a feather flock together."

Now turning to the word *love*, German *Liebe*, Russian *любовь*, *lubity*, we find that it leads us quite a different road. It is traced back without any material change to the Sanscrit *lobha*, covetousness, the ancient Coptic *ⲗⲓⲃⲉ*, to want, to desire. In this origin we see the passion portrayed as a yearning to possess the loved object; and in the higher sense to enjoy the presence and sympathy of the beloved, to hold sweet communion with him or her.

A class of ideas closely akin to this are conveyed in such words as "attached to," "attraction," "affection," and the like, which make use of the figure of speech that the lover is fastened to, drawn toward, or bound up with the beloved object. We often express this metaphor in full in such phrases as "the bonds of friendship," etc.

This third class of words, although in the history of language they are frequently of later growth than the two former, probably express the sentiment which underlies both these, and that is a dim, unconscious sense of the unity which exists throughout all objective nature, a unity which is revealed to man most perfectly in the purest and highest love, which at its sublimest height does away with the antagonism of independent personality and blends the *I* and the *Thou* in a oneness of existence.

Although in this, its completest expression, we must seek examples solely between persons of opposite sex, it will be well to consider in an examination like the present, the love between men, which is called friendship, that between parents and children, and that toward the gods, the givers of all good things. The words conveying such sentiments will illustrate many features of the religious and social life of the nations using them.

I. *The Algonkin.*

I begin with this group of dialects, once widely spread throughout the St. Lawrence valley and the regions adjoining; and among them I select especially the Cree and the Chipeway, partly because we know more about them, and partly because they probably represent the common tongue in its oldest and

purest type. They are closely allied, the same roots appearing in both with slight phonetic variations.

In both of them the ordinary words for love and friendship are derived from the same monosyllabic root, *sak*. On this, according to the inflectional laws of the dialects, are built up the terms for the love of man to woman, a lover, love in the abstract, a friend, friendship, and the like. It is also occasionally used by the missionaries for the love of man to God and of God to man.*

In the Chipeway this root has but one form, *sagi*; but in Cree it has two, a weak and a strong form, *saki* and *sakk*. The meaning of the latter is more particularly to fasten to, to attach to. From it are derived the words for string or cord, the verbs, "to tie," "to fasten," etc.; and also some of the coarsest words to express the sexual relation.† Both these roots are traced back to the primary element of the Algonkin language expressed by the letters *sak* or *s—k*. This conveys the generic notion of force or power exerted by one over another,‡ and is apparently precisely identical with the fundamental meaning of the Latin *afficio*, "to affect one in some manner by active agency,"§ from which word, I need hardly add, were derived *affectus* and *affectio* and our "affection;" thus we at once meet with an absolute parallelism in the working of the Aryan Italic and the American Algonkin mind.

The Cree has several words which are confined to parental and filial love and to that which the gods have for men. These are built up on the dissyllabic radical *espi* or *aspi*, which is an instrumental particle signifying "by means of, with the aid of."|| Toward the gods, such words refer to those who aid us; toward children those whom their parents aid; and from children toward parents, again those from whom aid is received.

*Chipewa: *nin sagiwe*, I love; *sagiiwewin*, love; *saiagiwed*, a lover.

Cree: *sakihituwin*, friendship; *manitowi sakihewewin*, the love of God. The words from the Chipeway are from Baraga's *Otchipwe Dictionary*; those from the Cree from Lacombe's *Dictionnaire de la langue des Cris*, except when otherwise noted.

†Chipeway: *sagibidjigan*, a string or cord.

Cree: *sakkappitew*, he fastens, he ties; *sakkahigan*, a nail; *sakkistiwok*, coeunt, copulati sunt.

‡See Joseph Howse, *Grammar of the Cree Language*, p. 165.

§See the remarks in Andrews' *Latin Lexicon*, s. v.

||Cree: *espiteyimit kije-manito*, for the love of God; *espiteyimatijk*, for the love of the children.

For love between men, friendship, the Cree employs some words from the radical *sâki*; but more frequently those compounded with the root *wit* or *witch*, which means "in company with,"* and is the precise analogue of the syllable *com* (Latin, *con*) in the English words companion, comrade, compeer, confederate, etc.; it conveys the idea of association in life and action, and that association a voluntary and pleasure-giving one.

In the Chipeway there is a series of expressions for family love and friendship which in their origin carry us back to the same psychological process which developed the Latin *amare* from the Sanscrit *sam* (see above). They may be illustrated by the melodious term which in that dialect means both friendship and relationship, *inawendawin*. This is an abstract verbal noun from the theme *ni inawa*, I resemble him, which is built up from the radicle *in*. This particle denotes a certain prevailing way or manner, and appears both in Cree and Chipeway in a variety of words.† The principle of similarity is thus fully expressed as the basis of friendship. To see how apparent this is we have but to remember the English "I like him," *i. e.*, there is something in him *like* me.

The feebler sentiment of merely liking a person or thing is expressed in the Chipeway by a derivative from the adjective *mino*, good, well, and signifies that he or it seems good to me.‡

The highest form of love, however, that which embraces all men and all beings, that whose conception is conveyed in the Greek *αγάπη*, we find expressed in both the dialects by derivatives from a root different from any I have mentioned. It is in its dialectic forms *kis*, *keche*, or *kiji*, and in its origin it is an intensive interjectional expression of pleasure, indicative of what gives joy.§ Concretely it signifies what is completed, permanent, powerful, perfected, perfect. As friendship and love yield the most exalted pleasure, from this root the natives drew a fund of words to express fondness, attachment, hospitality, charity;

*Cree: *ni wiljiwâgan*, my friend; *witchettuwin*, a confraternity, or society.

†Chipeway: *inawema*, I am his relative, or, his friend.

Cree: *ijindkusiw*, he has such an appearance. This particle of similarity is considered by Howse to be "one of the four primary generic nouns" of the Algonkin language. *Grammar of the Cree Language*, p. 135.

‡Chipeway: *nin minonima*, I like (him, her, it).

§See Howse, *Grammar of the Cree Lang.*, p. 175. *Keche* (*kees*) as an interjection of pleasure, he considers in antithesis to *ak* (compare German *ach!*) as an interjection of pain, and cites abundant examples.

and from the same worthy source they selected that adjective which they applied to the greatest and most benevolent divinity.*

II. *The Nahuatl.*

The Nahuatl, Mexican or Aztec language was spoken extensively throughout Mexico and Central America, and every tribe who used it could boast of a degree of culture considerably above that of any of the Algonkin communities. Such being the case, it is rather surprising to note how extremely poor in comparison is the Nahuatl in independent radicals denoting love or affection. In fact, there is only one word in the language which positively has this signification, and it, with its derivatives, is called upon to express every variety of love, human and divine, carnal and chaste, between men and between the sexes.

This word is *tlazótlā*, he loves. It is no easy matter to trace its history. By well known laws of Nahuatl etymology we know that the root is *zo*. We have from this same root several other words of curiously diverse meanings. Thus, *izo*, to bleed, to draw blood, either for health, or, as was the custom of those nations, as a sacrifice before the idols; *izoliui*, to grow old, to wear out, applied to garments; *tlazotl*, to offer for sale at a high price; and *zozo*, to string together, as the natives did flowers, peppers, beads, etc. Now, what idea served as the common starting-point of all these expressions? The answer is, that we find it in the word *zo* as applied to a sharp-pointed instrument, a thorn, or a bone or stone awl, used in the earliest times for puncturing or transfixing objects. From this came *zozo*, to transfix with such an instrument and string on a cord; *izoliui*, to be full of holes as if repeatedly punctured and thus worn out; and *izo*, to bleed, because that was done by puncturing the flesh with the thorns of the maguey or sharp obsidian points.†

*Chipeway: *nin kijewadis*, I am amicable, benevolent; *kijewadisiwin*, charity, benevolence, benignity, compassion; *kije manitowin*, Godhead, divine nature.

Cree: *kisatew*, he is devoted to (him, her); *kisew*, she loves (her children); *kisewatisiwin*, charity, the highest virtue; *kise manito*, "l'esprit charitable, Dieu," and numerous others.

†The following words and meanings are from Carochi's Grammar and Molina's Dictionary of this tongue:

ço, punzar, sangrar.

çoço, ensartar, como flores, cuentas, etc.

ço'ica, estar ensartada la cuenta, etc.

llaçoll, cosa ensartada.

The original meaning of *zo*, a pointed tool or awl, is not given by Molina, but is repeatedly expressed in the phonetic picture writing of the Aztecs.

But how do we bring these into connection with the sentiment of love and its verbal expression? We might indeed seek an illustration of the transfer from classical mythology, and adduce the keen-pointed arrows of Cupid, the darts of love, as pointing out the connection. But I fear this would be crediting the ancient Nahuas with finer feelings than they deserve. I gravely doubt that they felt the shafts of the tender passion with any such susceptibility as to employ this metaphor. Much more likely is it that *tlazólla*, to love, is derived directly from the noun *tlazôll*, which means something strung with or fastened to another. This brings us directly back to the sense of "attached to" in English, and to that of the root *saki* in Algonkin, the idea of being bound to another by ties of emotion and affection.

But there is one feature in this derivation which tells seriously against the national psychology of the Nahuas: this their only word for love is not derived, as is the Algonkin, from the primary meaning of the root, but from a secondary and later signification. This hints ominously at the probability that the ancient tongue had for a long time no word at all to express this, the highest and noblest emotion of the human heart, and that consequently this emotion itself had not risen to consciousness in the national mind.

But the omissions of the fathers were more than atoned for by the efforts of their children. I know no more instructive instance in the history of language to illustrate how original defects are amended in periods of higher culture by the linguistic faculty than this precise point in the genesis of the Nahuatl tongue. The Nahuas, when they approached the upper levels of emotional development, found their tongue singularly poor in radicals conveying such conceptions. As the literal and material portions of their speech offered them such inadequate means of expression, they turned toward its tropical and formal portions, and in those realms reached a degree of development in this direction which far surpasses that in any other language known to me.

In the formal portion of the language they were not satisfied with one, but adopted a variety of devices to this end. Thus: all verbs expressing emotion may have an intensive termination suffixed, imparting to them additional force; again, certain prefixes indicating civility, respect and affection may be employed

in the imperative and optative moods; again, a higher synthetic construction may be employed in the sentence, by which the idea expressed is emphasized, a device in constant use in their poetry; and especially the strength of emotion is indicated by suffixing a series of terminations expressing contempt, reverence or love. The latter are wonderfully characteristic of Nahuatl speech. They are not confined to verbs and nouns, but may be added to adjectives, pronouns, participles, and even to adverbs and postpositions. Thus every word in the sentence is made to carry its burden of affection to the ear of the beloved object!

Add to these facilities the remarkable power of the Nahuatl to impart tropical and figurative senses to words by the employment of rhetorical resources, and to present them as one idea by means of the peculiarities of its construction, and we shall not consider as overdrawn the expression of Professor De la Rosa when he writes: "There can be no question but that in the manifestation in words of the various emotions, the Nahuatl finds no rival, not only among the languages of modern Europe, but in the Greek itself."*

The Nahuatl word for friendship is *icniuhkli*. This is a compound of the preposition *ic*, with; the noun-ending *kli*; and the adverbial *yuh*, or *noyuh*, which means "of the same kind." The word, therefore, has the same fundamental conception as the Latin *amicus* and the Cree *inawema*, but it was not developed into a verbal to express the suffering of the passion itself.†

III. The Maya.

The whole peninsula of Yucatan was inhabited by the Mayas, and tribes speaking related dialects of their tongue lived in Guatemala, Chiapas, and on the Gulf Shore north of Vera Cruz. All these depended chiefly on agriculture for subsistence, were builders of stone houses and made use of a system of written records. Their tongue, therefore, deserves special consideration as that of a nation with strong natural tendencies to development.

In turning to the word for love in the Maya vocabulary we are

* *Estudio de la Filosofía y Riqueza de la Lengua Mexicana*. Par Agostin de la Rosa, p. 78 (Guadalajara, 1877).

† There is another word in Nahuatl of similar derivation. It is *pohui*, to make much of a person, to like one. The root is *po*, which carries with it the idea of sameness, similarity or equality; as *itelpocapo*, a boy like himself. (Paredes, *Promptuario Manual Mexicano*, p. 140.)

at once struck with the presence of a connected series of words expressing this emotion, while at the same time they, or others closely akin to them and from the same root, mean pain, injury, difficulty, suffering, wounds and misery. Both are formed by the usual rules from the monosyllable *ya*.* Were the ancient Mayas so sensitive to love's wounds and the pangs of passion as to derive their very words for suffering from the name of this sentiment?

No; that solution is too unlikely for our acceptance. More probable is it that we have here an illustration of the development of language from interjectional cries. In fact, we may be said to have the proof of it, for we discover that this monosyllable *ya* is still retained in the language as a verb, with the signification "to feel anything deeply, whether as a pain or as a pleasure."† Its derivatives were developed with both meanings, and as love and friendship are the highest forms of pleasure, the word *ya* in its happier senses became confined to them.

It seems to have sufficed to express the conception in all its forms, for the writers in the language apply it to the love of the sexes, to that between parents and children, that among friends, and also to that which men feel toward God, and that which He is asserted to feel toward men.‡

The Mayas, therefore, were superior to the Nahuas in possessing a radical word which expressed the joy of love; and they must be placed above even the early Aryans in that this radical was in significance purely psychical, referring strictly to a mental state, and neither to similarity nor desire.

It is noteworthy that this interjectional root, although belong-

* Thus :

ya or *yail*, love; pain, sickness, a wound; difficult, laborious,

yate, to love.

yacunah, to love.

yaili, painfully, laboriously.

yalal, to taste; to have relations with a woman.

yatzil, love, charity; something difficult or painful.

† "*ya*: sentir mucho una cosa.

yamab: sin sentir [the *ma* is the negative].

Diccionario Maya-Español del Convento de Motul. (MS. in my possession)

‡ Thus:

yahtetabal cah tumen Dios, we are loved by God.

u yacunah Dios toon, the love of God to us.

yacunahil Dios, the love with which God is loved.

mehenbil yacunah, filial love.

bakil yacunah, carnal love.

All from the *Diccionario de Motul* (MS.).

ing to the substructure of the language, does not appear with the meaning of love in the dialects of the Maya stock. In them the words for this sentiment are derived from other roots.

Thus among the Huastecas, residing on the Gulf of Mexico, north of Vera Cruz, the word for love is *canezal*. It is employed for both human and divine love, and also means anything precious and to be carefully guarded as of advantage to the possessor.* There is no difficulty in following its development when we turn to the Maya, which preserves the most numerous ancient forms and meanings of any dialect of this stock. In it we discover that the verb *can* means "to affect another in some way, to give another either by physical contact or example a virtue, vice, disease or attribute."† Here again we come upon the precise correlative of the Latin *afficio*, from which proceeds our "affection," etc.

The Guatemalan tribes, the principal of which were and are the Quiches and Cakchiquels, did not accept either *ya* or *can* as the root from which to build their expressions for the sentiment of love. In both these dialects the word for to love is *logoh*. It also means "to buy," and this has led a recent writer to hold up to ridicule the Spanish missionaries who chose this word to express both human and divine love. Dr. Stoll, the writer referred to, intimates that it had no other meaning than "to buy" in the pure original tongue, and that the only word for the passion is *ah*, to want, to desire.‡ In this he does not display his usual accuracy, for we find *logoh* used in the sense "to like," "to love," in the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, written by a native who had grown to manhood before the Spaniards first entered his country.§

* Thus:

tatu canel ixallè, my beloved wife.

ma a canezal a Dios, dost thou love God?

Diccionario Huasteco Español, por Carlos de Tapia Zenteno (Mex., 1767).

† A number of examples are given in the *Diccionario de Motul* (MS.).

‡ "Der blosse Begriff derjenigen Liebe, welche das lateinische Zeitwort *amare* ausdrückt, dem Cakchiquel Indianer fremd ist." *Zur Ethnographie der Republik Guatemala*. Von Otto Stoll, M.D., p. 146 (Zurich, 1884).

§ *Xelogox ka chiri ruma Akahal vinak*, "they were loved by the Akahal men." *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, p. 126 (Vol. VI of Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature). In the Quiche *Popol Vuh* the word has the same meaning as (page 102):

chi log u vach, their beloved face.

In fact, the word Dr. Stoll gives as that now usual among the Cakchiquels for "to love"=to desire, in the *Popol Vuh* is applied to the price paid for wives (p. 304):

rahil pu mial, the price of their daughters.

This word may be a derivative from the Maya *ya*, above mentioned.

That the verb *logoh* means, both in origin and later use, "to buy," as well as "to love," is undoubtedly true. Its root *logh* is identical with the Maya *loh*, which has the meanings "to exchange, to buy, to redeem, to emancipate." It was the word selected by the Franciscan missionaries to express the redemption of the world by Christ, and was applied to the redemption of captives and slaves. It might be suggested that it bears a reference to "marriage by purchase;" but I think that "to buy," and "to love," may be construed as developments of the same idea of *prizing highly*. When we say that a person is *appreciated*, we really say that he has had a proper price put upon him. The Latin *carus*, which Cicero calls *ipsum verbum amoris*,* means costly in price as well as beloved; and the tender English "dear" means quite as often that the object is expensive to buy, as that we dote very much upon it. Nor need we go outside of American languages for illustrations; in Nahuatl *tlazóti* means to offer for sale at a high price, and in Huasteca *canel*, from the same root as *canezal*, to love, means something precious in a pecuniary sense, as well as an object of the affections. Other instances will present themselves when we come to examine some of the South American tongues. But from what I have already given, it is evident that there is nothing contradictory in the double meaning of the verb *logoh*.

IV. The Qquichua.

The ancient Peruvians who spoke the Qquichua language had organized a system of government and a complex social fabric unsurpassed by any on the continent. The numerous specimens of their arts which have been preserved testify strongly to the licentiousness of their manners, standing in this respect in marked contrast to the Aztecs, whose art was singularly pure. It must be regarded as distinctly in connection with this that we find a similar contrast in their languages. We have seen that in the Nahuatl there appears to have been no word with a primary signification "to love," or any such conception. The Qquichua, on the contrary, is probably the richest language on the continent, not only in separate words denoting affection, but in modifications of these by imparting to them delicate shades

* *De Naturâ Deorum*, I, 44.

of meaning through the addition of particles. As an evidence of the latter, it is enough to cite the fact that Dr. Anchorena in his grammar of the tongue, sets forth nearly six hundred combinations of the verb *munay*, to love!*

The Qquichua is fortunate in other respects; it has some literature of its own, and its structure has been carefully studied by competent scholars. It is possible, therefore, to examine its locutions in a more satisfactory manner than is the case with most American languages. Its most celebrated literary monument is the drama of *Ollanta*, supposed to have been composed about the time of the conquest. It has been repeatedly edited and translated, most accurately by Pacheco Zegarra.† His text may be considered as the standard of the pure ancient tongue.

Of Qquichua words for the affections that in widest use is the one above quoted, *munay*. It is as universal in its application as its English equivalent, being applied to filial and parental love as well as to that of the sexes, to affection between persons of the same sex, and to the love of God. No other word of the class has such a wide significance. It ranges from an expression of the warmest emotion down to that faint announcement of a preference which is conveyed in the English "I should prefer."‡

On looking for its earlier and concrete sense we find that *munay* expressed merely a sense of want, an appetite and the accompanying desire of satisfying it, hence the will, or the wish, not subjectively, but in its objective manifestation. § Therefore it is in origin nearly equivalent to the earliest meaning of "love," as seen in the Sanscrit and the Coptic.

While *munay* is thus to love on reasonable grounds and with definite purpose, blind, unreasoning, absorbing passion is ex-

* *Gramática Quechua*, por Dr. J. D. Anchorena, pp. 163-177 (Lima, 1874).

† *Ollant'ay: Drame en vers Quechuas du Temps des Incas*. Traduit et commenté par Gavino Pacheco Zegarra, (Paris, 1878).

‡ Thus, from the *Ollanta*:

Ollantaytan munareccanqui, thou lovest Ollanta! (line 277).

munacuscacallay, my well beloved! (the Inca to his daughter, line, 314).

munayman, I should prefer (line 1606).

Holguin, in his *Vocabulario de la Lengua Qquichua*, gives:

Dios munay, the love of God.

munaricuy, unchaste love.

§ Holguin (u. s.) gives the definitions:

munana, la voluntad que es potentia.

munay, voluntad, el querer, el gusto, appetito ó amor que es acto.

pressed by *huaylluni*. This is nearly always confined to sexual love, and conveys the idea of the sentiment showing itself in action by those sweet signs and marks of devotion which are so highly prized by the loving heart. The origin of this word indicates its sentient and spontaneous character. Its radical is the interjection *huay*, which among that people is an inarticulate cry of tenderness and affection.*

The verb *lluylluy* means literally to be tender or soft, as fruit, or the young of animals; and applied to the sentiments, to love with tenderness, to have as a darling, to caress lovingly. It has less of sexuality in it than the word last mentioned, and is applied by girls to each other, and as a term of family fondness. It is on a parallel with the English "dear," "to hold dear," etc.†

In the later compositions in Quichua the favorite word for love is *ccuyay*. Originally this expression meant to pity, and in this sense it occurs in the drama of *Ollanta*; but also even there as a term signifying the passion of love apart from any idea of compassion.‡ In the later songs, those whose composition may be placed in this century, it is preferred to *munay* as the most appropriate term for the love between the sexes.§ From it also is derived the word for charity and benevolence.

As *munay* is considered to refer to natural affection felt within the mind, *mayhuay* is that ostentatious sentiment which displays itself in words of tenderness and acts of endearment, but leaves it an open question whether these are anything more than simulated signs of emotion.||

This list is not exhaustive of the tender words in the Quichua; but it will serve to show that the tongue was rich in them, and that the ancient Peruvians recognized many degrees and forms of this moving sentiment.

* From the *Ollanta*:

Huay ccoyallay, Huay mamallay,

Ay, huayllucuscay ccosallay.

Oh, my queen! Oh, my mother!

Oh, my husband so beloved! (305, 306).

These lines show both the word and its derivation.

† From the *Ollanta*:

Na llulluspa, caress thee, are fond of thee (934).

‡ From the *Ollanta*:

ccuyaccuscallay, my beloved one (1758).

ccuyaska, compassionate (1765).

§ See the Quichua love songs, *harahui* and *huaynu*, as they are called, given by Anchorena in his *Gramática Quechua*, pp. 131-135.

|| See Holguin, *Vocabulario Quichua*, s. v., *mayhuay* and *mayhuayccuni*.

What is also noteworthy is the presence in this language of the most philosophical term for friendship in its widest sense that can be quoted from any American language. It is *runaccuyay*, compounded of *ccuyani*, mentioned above, and *runa*, man — the love of mankind. This compound, however, does not occur in the Ollanta drama, and it may have been manufactured by the missionaries. The usual term is *macy*, which means merely “associate,” or *kochomacy*, a table-companion or *convive*.

V. *The Tupi-Guarani.*

The linguistic stock which has the widest extension in South America is that which is represented in Southern Brazil by the Guarani, and in Central and Northern by the Tupi or Lingoa Geral. The latter is spoken along the Amazon and its tributaries for a distance of twenty-five hundred miles. It is by no means identical with the Guarani, but the near relationship of the two is unmistakable. The Guarani presents the simplest and more primitive forms, and may be held to present the more archaic type.

The word for love in the Guarani is *aihu*, in another form *haihu*, the initial *h* being dropped in composition. This expression is employed for all the varieties of the sentiment, between men, between the sexes, and for that which is regarded as divine.* For “a friend,” they have no other term than one which means a visitor or guest; and from this their expression for “friendship” is derived which really means “hospitality.”†

Verbal combinations in Guarani are usually simple, and I do not think we can be far wrong in looking upon *aihu* as a union of the two primary words *ai* and *hu*. The former, *ai*, means self or the same; and the latter, *hu*, is the verb to find, or, to be present.‡ “To love,” in Guarani, therefore, would mean, “to find oneself in another,” or, less metaphysically, “to discover in

*Thus:

Tupa nande raihu, God loves us.

Tupa nande haihu, the love which we have for God.

ahaihu, I love her, (him, it).

†*yecotiaha*, friend; compounded of *coti*, a dwelling, and *aha*, to go, = a goer to a dwelling, a visitor. This, and the other Guarani words given, are taken from Ruiz de Montoya's *Tesoro de la Lengua Guarani* (ed. Vienna, 1876).

‡ Another possible derivation would be from *ahii*, desire, appetite (Spanish, *gana*); and *hu*, in the sense of being present. This would express a longing, a lust, like love (see above).

another a likeness to oneself." This again is precisely the primary signification of the Latin *amare*; and if the sentiment impressed in that way the barbarous ancient Aryans, there is no reason why it would not have struck the Guaranis in the same manner.

In the Tupi or *Lingua Geral* the word for love is evidently but a dialectic variation of that in the Guaraní. It is given by some authors as *çaiçu*, plainly a form of *haihu*; and by others as *çauçu*.^{*} These forms cannot be analyzed in the Tupi itself, which illustrates its more modern type.

There are other dialects of this wide-spread stem, but it would not be worth while to follow this expression further in its diverse forms. It is interesting, however, to note that which appears in the Arawack, spoken in Guiana. In that tongue to love is *kanisin*, in which the radical is *ani* or *ansi*. Now we find that *ani* means "of a kind," peculiar to, belonging to, etc. Once more it is the notion of similarity, of "birds of a feather," which underlies the expression for the conception of love. †

Conclusions.

If, now, we review the ground we have gone over, and classify the conceptions of love as revealed in the languages under discussion, we find that their original modes of expression were as follows:

1. Inarticulate cries of emotion (Cree, Maya, Qquichua).
2. Assertions of sameness or similarity (Cree, Nahuatl, Tupi, Arawack).
3. Assertions of conjunction or union (Cree, Nahuatl, Maya).
4. Assertions of a wish, desire or longing (Cree, Cakchiquel, Qquichua, Tupi).

These categories are not exhaustive of the words which I have brought forward, but they include most of them, and probably

^{*} I find *çaiçu* given by Dr. Couto de Magelhaes in his *Curso da Lingua Geral segundo Oltendorf* (Rio de Janeiro, 1876); *saisu* by Dr. Amaro Cavalcanti in *The Brazilian Language and its Agglutination* (Rio Janeiro, 1883); *çauçub* by Dias, *Diccionario da Lingua Tupy* (Leipzig, 1858) and by Dr. E. F. França in his *Chrestomathia da Lingua Brasilica* (Leipzig, 1859).

† "*Ani*, es gehört, ist eigen; *ta ani*, nach seiner Art." *Arawackisch-Deu'ches Wörterbuch*. This dictionary, published anonymously at Paris, in 1882, in Tome viii, of the *Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine*, is the production of the Moravian Missionary, Rev. T. S. Schuhmann. See *The Literary Works of the Foreign Missionaries of the Moravian Church*. By the Rev. G. H. Reichelt. Translated and annotated by Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz; p. 13 (Bethlehem, 1886).

were this investigation extended to embrace numerous other tongues, we should find that in them all the principal expressions for the sentiment of love are drawn from one or other of these fundamental notions. A most instructive fact is that these same notions are those which underlie the majority of the words for love in the great Aryan family of languages. They thus reveal the parallel paths which the human mind everywhere pursued in giving articulate expression to the passions and emotions of the soul. In this sense there is a oneness in all languages, which speaks conclusively for the oneness in the sentient and intellectual attributes of the species.

We may also investigate these categories, thus shown to be practically universal, from another point of view. We may inquire which of them comes the nearest to the correct expression of love in its highest philosophic meaning. Was this meaning apprehended, however dimly, by man in the very infancy of his speech-inventing faculty?

In another work, published some years ago, I have attempted a philosophic analysis of the sentiment of love. Quoting from some of the subtlest dissectors of human motive, I have shown that they pronounce love to be "the volition of the end," or "the resting in an object as an end." These rather obscure scholastic formulas I have attempted to explain by the definition: "Love is the mental impression of rational action whose end is in itself."* As every end or purpose of action implies the will or wish to obtain that end, those expressions for love are most truly philosophic which express the will, the desire, the yearning after the object. The fourth, therefore, of the above categories is that which presents the highest forms of expression of this conception. That it also expresses lower forms is true, but this merely illustrates the evolution of the human mind as expressed in language. Love is ever the wish; but while in lower races and coarser natures this wish is for an object which in turn is but a means to an end, for example, sensual gratification, in the higher, this object is the end itself, beyond which the soul does not seek to go, in which it rests, and with which both reason and emotion find the satisfaction of boundless activity without incurring the danger of satiety.

* *The Religious Sentiment, its Source and Aim; a Contribution to the Science and Philosophy of Religion*, p. 60, (New York, 1876).



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