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On the Puelchean and Tsonekan (Tehuelchean), the Atacameñan (Atacaman) and Chonoan,  
and the Charruan Linguistic Stocks of South America

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ON THE PUELCHÉAN AND TSONEKAN (TEHUELCHÉAN),  
THE ATACAMEÑAN (ATACAMAN) AND CHO-  
NOAN, AND THE CHARRUAN LINGUISTIC  
STOCKS OF SOUTH AMERICA

By ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN

I. PUELCHÉAN AND TSONEKAN

THE linguistic relationships of the numerous Indian tribes now or in times past inhabiting what constitutes at present the territory of the Argentine Republic have been the subject of much discussion, and widely divergent opinions have been expressed, even by good authorities, on some of the points involved. The very existence, indeed, of the Puelchean and Tsonekan or Tehuelchean as distinct families of speech has been denied and these languages attached to the Araucanian, etc. But the evidence in hand justifies the recognition of the *Puelchean* and *Tsonekan* as independent linguistic stocks, and they are so listed here.

*Puelchean*

The territory of the Puelchean stock lies in central and eastern Argentina, from the foot-hills of the Andes to the Atlantic Ocean—now particularly in the region between the Rio Colorado and the Rio Negro. Outes and Bruch (p. 105) define their area as follows: "At the time of the conquest, the Puelches occupied the Province of Buenos Aires (except the country of the Querandíes), the Government of the Pampa, the south of Mendoza, San Luis and part of Córdoba, and the region of the Government of Rio Negro lying between that river and the Rio Colorado. They were divided into three groups: Taluhets, Diuihets, and Chechehets." Concerning the affinities of the Indians known as "Puelches" much difference of opinion has prevailed. D'Orbigny sought to identify them with the ancient Querandíes, etc. Ludewig (*Lit. Amer. Abor. Lang.*, 1858, p. 155) notes their supposed relationship to "the wild Charruas." In 1891 Brinton (*Amer. Race*, p. 326) included them as a

branch of his Aucanian (*i. e.*, Araucanian) stock, but later (1892) seems to have believed in Tsonekan (Tehuelchean) affinities. Deniker (*Races of Man*, 1900, p. 74) regards the Puelches as a "new tribe, sprung from the Patagonians and the Araucans, with a strain of Guaycuru blood." Ehrenreich (1905) gives the Puelches an independent status. Schuller (1906) classifies the Puelches, Tehuelches, etc., all under the head of "Pampas," but incorrectly. The term "Pampas Indians," or simply "Pampas," is often synonymous with the whole or a part of the Puelchean stock, especially the ancient or extinct sections of it. The Diuihet and the Chechehet are termed "Pampas" by the Spanish writers. The burden of evidence in favor of the independent status of this stock has not changed essentially since Hale (in 1840), and, before him, d'Orbigny, distinguished the Puelches from the Tehuelches; and the Salesian missionary D. Milaneseo has again (1898) proved the utterly unrelated character of the Araucanian, the "Pampan," and the Tsonekan (Tehuelchean) languages. Outes and Bruch (1910, p. 105), however, still express the opinion that "the language of the Puelches, as yet not studied, seems to be a co-dialect of Patagonian or Tehuelche, but with considerable difference in vocabulary."

The most important literature concerning the Puelchean linguistic stock will be found in the following titles:

1. BARBARA, F. Usos y costumbres de los Indios Pampas y algunos apuntes históricos sobre la guerra de la frontera. Buenos Aires, 1856. Pp. 98.
2. —. Manual ò Vocabulario de la lengua Pampa y del estilo familiar. Buenos Aires, 1879. Pp. 178.
3. BRINTON, D. G. Studies in South American Native Languages. Phila., 1892. Pp. 67. Also in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, vol. xxx, 1892, pp. 45-105.
4. HALE, H. United States Exploring Expedition. During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, under command of Charles Wilkes. Vol. vi, Ethnography and Philology. Phila., 1846. Pp. xii, 666.
5. LAFONE-QUEVEDO, S. A. La raza pampeana y la raza guaraní, ò los indios del Rio de la Plata en el siglo XVI. *Congr. Científ. Lat.-Amer.* (Buenos Aires, 1900), vol. v, pp. 21 ff.
6. MILANESIO, D. La Patagonia. Lingua, industria, costumi e religione. Buenos Aires, 1898. Pp. 56.
7. D'ORBIGNY, A. L'Homme Américain (*Voy. d. l'Amér. Mérid.*, T. iv), Paris, 1839.
8. OUTES, F. F. Los Querandíes. Contribución al Estudio de la Etnografía Argentina. Buenos Aires, 1897. Pp. xii, 204.

9. OUTES, F. F. *Etnografía Argentina. Segunda Contribución al Estudio de los Indios Querandies*. Buenos Aires, 1898.
10. — y BRUCH, C. *Los Aborígenes de la República Argentina*. Buenos Aires, 1910. Pp. 149. See pp. 105-106.
11. DE ROZAS, J. M. *Gramática y Diccionario de la lengua Pampa*. Ms. begun ca. 1868.

The Puelchean words cited by Brinton (pp. 49-50) are from d'Orbigny and Hale. The vocabulary given by d'Orbigny (p. 80) consists of 23 words. Hale has a Puelche vocabulary and sentences (pp. 653-656) in comparison with Tehuelche,—“Pampas and Tehuilche.” Pages 92-98 of Barbara's *Usos y Costumbres* treat of “the Indian language,” and some dialogues in Puelche and Spanish are given. In his *Manual*, Barbara gives rather extensive material. Father Milanese, who had been for fifteen years a missionary in southern Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, discusses the three languages, Araucanian, Tehuelche, and Pampa proper, all of which he recognizes as distinct from one another (the Puelche he terms “Pampa-Tehuelche” or “Pampa proper”). A comparative vocabulary of all three is given. At the Seventeenth International Congress of Americanists, held at Buenos Aires, May 16-21, 1911, Sr Adolfo Saldias of Buenos Aires, described briefly a manuscript grammar and dictionary of “the Pampa language,” which had come into his possession with other Mss. from the family of Gen. Rozas. The general, whose acquaintance with these Indians was of long standing, began this grammar and dictionary about 1868. The stock-name *Puelchean* is derived from *Puelche*, the name given to these Indians by their Araucanian neighbors, in whose language the term signifies “eastern people.”

#### *Tsonekan (Tehuelchean)*

The territory of the *Tsonekan* or *Tehuelchean* linguistic stock embraces the whole of Patagonia from the Rio Negro to the Straits of Magellan, over which these Indians have wandered for centuries. Formerly very numerous, they count now probably less than 2,000 souls.

The principal literature concerning the *Tsonekan* linguistic stock is contained in the following titles:

1. BRINTON, D. G. *The American Race*. N. Y., 1891. Pp. xvi, 392.

2. BRINTON, D. G. The Hongote Language and the Patagonian Dialects. In his *Studies in South American Native Languages* (Phila., 1892), pp. 45-52.
3. COX, G. E. Viaje en las regiones septentrionales de la Patagonía, 1862-1863. Santiago de Chile, 1863. Pp. viii, 273.
4. *Descripción de Puerto Deseado en la costa Patagónica con el vocabulario de los Patagones, 2 Diciembre, 1789.* Ms. in British Museum, forming pp. 42-49 of Add. 17, 631. Title given by de la Viñaza (*Bibl. Esp. d. Lenguas Indíg.*, 1892, p. 179).
5. *Diccionario de la lengua Patagónica.* Ms. (of end of 18th cent.), forming pp. 36-39, of Add. 17, 631, British Museum. Title given by de la Viñaza (p. 280).
6. FITZ-ROY, R. Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of his Majesty's Ships *Adventure* and *Beagle* between the Years 1826 and 1836, etc. Lond., 1839. 3 vols., Append. and Addend.
7. DE LA GRASSERIE, R. De la langue Tehuelche. *Internat. Amerik.-Kongr.*, XIV. (Stuttgart, 1904), 1906, pp. 611-647.
8. HALE, H. Op. cit.
9. LEHMANN-NITSCHKE, R. Verzeichnis der Wörterbücher der patagonischen Sprache. Append. B. of *Zur Vorgeschichte der Entdeckung vom Gryp-totherium bei Ultima Esperanza* in *Naturw. Wchnschr.*, xv, 1900, pp. 385-392, 409-414, 426-428 (*Naturwiss. Abhandl.*, Heft 29, Berlin, 1901, pp. 4-47).
10. —. Two Linguistic Treatises on the Patagonian or Tehuelche Language by Theophilus Schmid, Catechist of the Patagonian Missionary Society. Edited, with an Introduction, by Robert Lehmann-Nitsche. Buenos Aires, 1910. Pp. 58, 41.
11. LISTA, R. Viaje al país de los Tehuelches. Exploraciones de la Patagonía austral. Primera parte. Buenos Aires, 1879. Pp. 82.
12. —. Mis exploraciones y descubrimientos en Patagonía, 1877-1878. Buenos Aires, 1880.
13. —. Una raza que desaparece. Los indios Tehuelches. Estudio etnológico sobre los Tehuelches, según observaciones propias. Buenos Aires, 1894. Pp. 125.
14. —. Lenguas argentinas. Los Tehuelches de la Patagonía. *Anales de la Soc. Científ. Argent.* (Buenos Aires), 1896.
15. VON MARTIUS, C. F. P. Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas zumal Brasiliens. Bd. II. Sprachenkunde. Wörtersammlung Brasilianischer Sprachen. Leipzig, 1867. Pp. xxi, 548.
16. MILANESIO, D. Op. cit.
17. MITRE, B. Catálogo razonado de la Sección Lenguas Americanas. Con una Introducción de Luis María Torres. Tomo I. Buenos Aires, 1909. Pp. xliii, 411.
18. MORENO, F. P. Recuerdos de viaje en Patagonía. Montevideo, 1882. Pp. 46.

19. MORENO, F. P. *Viaje a la Patagonía austral*. Vol. I. Buenos Aires, 1879. Pp. viii, 460, iv.
20. MÜLLER, F. *Die Sprache der südlichen Tehuel-het (Tsoneka)*. *Grundr. d. Sprachwiss.*, II Bd., I Abt. Wien, 1882. Pp. 424-428.
21. MUSTERS, G. C. *At Home with the Patagonians. A Year's Wanderings over Untrodden Ground from the Straits of Magellan to the Rio Negro*. Lond., 1871. Pp. 320. Sec. Ed. (Lond., 1873). Pp. xix, 340.
22. D'ORBIGNY, A. *Op. cit.*
23. —. *Vocabulaire de la langue des Tehuelches*. Ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It has been published by de la Grasserie, R. (q.v.).
24. OUTES, F. F. y BRUCH, C. *Los Aborígenes de la República Argentina*. Buenos Aires, 1910. Pp. 149. See pp. 11-129.
25. PIGAFETTA, A. *Premier voyage autour du monde, sur l'escadre de Magellan, pendant les années 1519, 20, 21 et 22*. Paris, l'an IX (1800). Pp. lxiv, 416.
26. PLATZMANN, J. *Der Sprachstoff der patagonischen Grammatik des Theophilus Schmid. Mit einer Karte des südlichen Amerika*. Leipzig, 1903. Pp. 130. See Lehmann-Nitsche, R.
27. *Raccolta di documenti e studi pel quarto centenario dalla scoperta dall' America*. Parte v, vol. III. Roma, 1894.
28. SCHMID, T. *Vocabulary and Rudiments of Grammar of the Tsoneka Language*. Bristol (Eng.), 1860. Pp. iv, 47.
29. —. *Tehuelche Grammar*. Ms. (English), pp. 40. Also Spanish translation (pp. 4). Both printed in Mitre (q.v.).
30. —. See Lehmann-Nitsche, R.; Platzmann J.
31. VIEDMA, A. *Diario de viaje a la costa patagónica*. In *de Angelis, P.*: *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de la Provincia del Rio de la Plata.*, 6 vols. Buenos Aires, 1835-1837. Also new ed., 1900-1905. See vol. VI.

The first linguistic record of the Tsonekan or Tehuelchean stock is the vocabulary taken down by Pigafetta in 1520, in connection with the Magellan expedition round the world, but not actually printed till 1800, and then rather incorrectly. In 1894, however, as part of the celebration of the quatercentenary of the discovery of America by Columbus, a good reprint, based upon the Ms. in the Ambrosian Library, was published at Rome. It was long practically the only Tsonekan data accessible. Viedma, governor of the Patagonians, collected, in 1780, at San Julian Bay (the place of origin of Pigafetta's list), a vocabulary of 285 "Patagonian words." In 1829 d'Orbigny obtained a vocabulary of 23 words from "the Patagonians or Tehuelches" on the Rio Negro; and, on comparing these with the words of Pigafetta, recognized (p. 215) the identity

of the Tehuelche and the Patagonians. More recently R. Lista, with a vocabulary of 145 words, obtained by him, made a similar comparison of the lists of Pigafetta, Viedma, d'Orbigny, and Musters, thus clinching the identification of d'Orbigny. Musters' vocabulary of 222 words and 17 phrases was collected from the northern Tehuelches. Lista's *Viaje* contains a brief vocabulary (some 60 words) from the region of the Rio Shehuen, near Santa Cruz; his *Una raza que desaparece* "a vocabulary and phraseology (some 215 words and 60 phrases) of the Tsoneca or Tehuelche language"; his *Lenguas Argentinas*, a comparative study of the various vocabularies of the Puelche and Tehuelche tongues; his *Mis Exploraciones*, a vocabulary of some 140 words. Moreno's *Viaje* contains a "Vocabulario Castellano Tehuelche, Ahoneckenke ò Tzoneca" of 624 words, obtained from the Indians about Argentina Lake, near Santa Cruz. In his *Recuerdos* he gives a vocabulary of the Gennaken, a language thought by him to be "the ancient Pampean," and distinct from Tehuelchean (Tsonekan) and Araucanian,—some 40 Gennaken words are reprinted by Mitre (pp. 214 et seq.). Cox gives a comparative vocabulary of northern Tehuelche and Araucanian—some writers, with de la Grasserie (p. 612), say that the "northern Tehuelches" are Puelchean, not Tsonekan, but no Puelchean tribes really belong south of the Rio Negro. The "Patagonian" vocabulary in von Martius was obtained from D. Fel. Bauza, a Spaniard. Brinton's Tsonekan material (*Amer. Race*, p. 364) is from von Martius, d'Orbigny, Musters, and Lista; that in the paper of 1892 is from d'Orbigny, Hale, von Martius, Musters, Lista, Pigafetta, and the British Museum Mss., all brief vocabularies. Hale's Tsonekan material consists of a vocabulary of some length, and that in Fitz-Roy numbers 53 words only. Müller's grammatical sketch was based upon the notes of Schmid. De la Grasserie prints the vocabulary (pp. 613–625) of the d'Orbigny Ms., which is quite extensive. He also publishes the vocabularies of Lista, von Martius, Musters, Melanesio and those given by Brinton; likewise the grammatical sketch of F. Müller. This makes his article valuable for those not having access to some of the original works cited. Mitre, in his *Catálogo, résumés*, in the section on Tehuelche, the Ms. grammar of Schmid (pp. 199–211), obtained through the

missionary Bridges, and gives (pp. 218-258) a Spanish version of this grammar, which he also prints at length in English (pp. 259-298) with a Tehuelche-Spanish and Spanish-Tehuelche vocabulary made up from Schmid's grammar. This he states (p. 199) to be "the only grammar of the Tehuelche language in existence." The *Vocabulary and Rudiments of Grammar of the Tsoneca Language* (1860), mentioned by Musters, is referred to by Lehmann-Nitsche in these terms (p. 13): "After the most diligent search I am obliged to confess that I have not been able to discover a single copy of this publication." Two Ms. copies, however, are known to exist: Dr J. Platzmann's facsimile reproduction, and another, formerly in the collection of F. Müller, but now belonging to Dr K. von den Steinen. From his copy Dr Platzmann produced the rearranged *Sprachstoff* (1903), of which Dr Lehmann-Nitsche says (p. 14): "In this arrangement Platzmann was anything but successful; in place of Schmid's able summary the subject matter is split up into two parts, one in Patagon-German-Latin, and the other in German-Spanish-English-Patagon, both in alphabetical order, without any reference to the original which had been so altered in its form." Platzmann's facsimile of Schmid's Vocabulary, etc., is now in the library of Dr Lehmann-Nitsche. The "Two Linguistic Treatises" of Schmid, published in 1910 by Dr Lehmann-Nitsche, are the *Vocabulary and Rudiments of Grammar of the Tsoneca Language*" (pp. 17-58) and (pp. 1-41) the *Grammar of the Tsoneca Language*, from the Mitre Ms. One of the teachers of Schmid in Patagonian, as Dr Lehmann-Nitsche notes (p. 7), was the Indian Casimiro, mentioned by Capt. Musters. With this publication of Dr Lehmann-Nitsche, the valuable data of Schmid, relating to the language of the southern Tehuelches, becomes accessible to scholars. The Tsonekan language is of some interest to students of Shakespeare, since Caliban's "dam's god, Setebos," in *The Tempest*, is a Patagonian deity, the name having evidently been taken from Pigafetta. The stock-name *Tsonekan* is derived from *Tsoneka* (*Tsoneca*), or *Tsonek*, *Chonek*, etc., the term by which they call themselves, said to signify "men," "people." The name *Tehuelche* (see *Puelche*) is of Araucanian origin and signifies "southerners."



## II. ATACAMEÑAN AND CHONONAN

The *Atacameñan* and *Chononan* languages are now, in all probability, completely extinct, although descendants of the Indians, who once spoke them, continue to exist in small numbers in certain parts of the areas concerned. The linguistic relationships of the tribes inhabiting the littoral of the Pacific, in this region, have been by no means clearly established, and other stocks than those generally recognized may also have flourished there.

*Atacameñan (or Atacaman)*

The territory of the *Atacameñan* or *Atacaman* linguistic stock included the region around Atacama, from about 19° to 24° s. lat., the southwestern portion of this area, however, being occupied by another independent stock, the *Changoan*. This part of South America, especially the eastern and southern sections, is archeologically and ethnologically important as the ancient seat of the so-called "*Atacameñan* (*Atacaman*) culture," recently investigated by Count de Créqui-Montfort and others. Boman (p. 58) attributes to the ancient Atacama remains in the Puna de Jujuy, Santa Catalina, Rinconada, Cochino, and Casabindo, going so far as to recognize "one people inhabiting the great zone between the Argentina Puna and the Pacific Ocean." The modern representatives of the old Atacama seem to be the Indians (not, however, "miserable fishermen," as Brinton says) calling themselves *Likan-antai* ("the people") and their language *Cunza* ("our"), surviving to the number of two or three hundred at San Pedro de Atacama, Toconao, Sóncor, Cámar, Socaire, Peine, etc. Of these, according to Vaisse (p. 10), only about 25 could speak their mother-tongue in 1895; and in 1911 Echeverría y Reyes reports the language as entirely extinct. The Atacama of Chiu-chiu seem to have altogether disappeared. The *Atacameñan* tongue was, as von Tschudi reports, spoken in the second half of the nineteenth century at Calama (formerly called Atacama Baja), Chiu-chiu, and Antofagasta. Moore, by means of place-names, sought to trace the *Atacameñan* tongue from Cobija on the coast to Purilari in the interior. The name *Likan-antai*, "people of the village," refers to San Pedro de Atacama, the village *par excellence*. In the Puna de Jujuy, according to Boman (p. 64),

real Atacameñan names are rare. The number of Atacameños was estimated by d'Orbigny (p. 151) at 7,348, of whom 5,406 were in the province of Tarapaca, and 1,942 in Atacama. Bertrand in 1884 gives the Indian population of the Atacama Desert and the Puna de Atacama as about 4,000, of whom perhaps half were Atacameños and the remainder Changos and Bolivian Indians. The Atacameños of Tarapaca have been absorbed by the Aymará.

The purest Atacameños are to be found in San Pedro de Atacama. The most important literature concerning the Atacameñan (Atacaman) linguistic stock will be found in the following titles:

1. BOMAN, E. *Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine et du Désert d'Atacama*. Tome I. Paris, 1908. Pp. xi, 388. See pp. 38-67.
2. BRESSON, A. *La Tierra y sus Habitantes*. Vol. I. Barcelona, 1878.
3. BRINTON, D. G. *The American Race*. N. Y., 1891. Pp. xvi, 392.
4. DE CRÉQUI-MONTFORT, G. *Fouilles dans la nécropole pré-hispanique de Calama*. *Les anciens Atacamas*. *Intern. Amerik.-Kongr.*, XIV (Stuttgart, 1904), 1906, pp. 351-364.
5. DARAPSKY, L. *Estudios lingüísticos americanos*. *Bol. Inst. Geogr. Argent.* (Buenos Aires), vol. XII, 1889, pp. 368-380.
6. ECHEVERRÍA Y REYES, A. *Noticias sobre la lengua Atacameña*. Santiago de Chile, 1890. Pp. 28.
7. ——. *Noticias sobre la extinguida lengua Cunza*. Brief abstract of a paper read at the Seventeenth Intern. Congr. of Americanists, Buenos Aires, 1910. In Lehmann-Nitsche: *Sumarios de las Conferencias y Memorias*, etc. Buenos Aires, 1910.
8. MAGLIO, B. *La Lengua de los naturales de Atacama*. Santiago, 1890. Pp. 20.
9. MOORE, T. H. *Vocabulaire de la langue Atacameña*. *Congr. Intern. d. Amér.*, 2e Sess. (Luxemb., 1877), 1878, vol. II, pp. 44 ff.
10. PHILIPPI, R. A. *Reise durch die Wüste Atacama*. Halle, 1860.
11. SAN ROMAN, F. J. *La lengua de los naturales de Atacama*. Santiago, 1890. Pp. 20.
12. VON TSCHUDI, J. J. *Reisen durch Süd-America*. 5 Bde. Leipzig, 1866-1869.
13. VAÏSSE, E. F., HOYOS, F., y ECHEVERRÍA Y REYES, A. *Glosario de la Lengua Atacameña*. Santiago, 1896. Pp. 36.

Bresson (vol. I, p. 887) gives a vocabulary of 23 words obtained during his visit to Bolivia in 1870. Philippi's list (p. 56) is of 60 words. The vocabulary in San Roman contains 148 new words,—the author had the assistance of Father B. Maglio, formerly priest at San Pedro de Atacama. Some grammatical data and a vo-

cabulary of 140 words are given in Moore. Von Tschudi (vol. v, 1869, p. 77) has a vocabulary of 41 words. Echeverría y Reyes' monograph of 1890 contains an Atacameñan vocabulary of 239 words. Brinton's vocabulary (p. 348) of 21 words is from Philippi, von Tschudi, Moore, and San Roman. Darapsky seeks to ally the Atacameñan with Aymaran, but with no success. The *Glossary* of Vaïsse, Hoyos, and Echeverría y Reyes, lists, including numerous geographical names, some 1100 Atacameñan words being the most extensive record of the linguistic material of the stock in existence.

The stock-name *Atacameñan* is derived from *Atacameño*, the Spanish designation of an Indian of this tribe (*Atacameña*, the language), signifying "belonging to, native of, *Atacama*." The etymology of the place-name *Atacama* (town, desert, province, etc.) is uncertain. In Vaïsse (pp. 13-14) the origin is discussed at length, without any of the suggested etymologies from Quechuan or Atacameñan being approved or adopted.

#### *Chonoan*

The territory of the Chonoan linguistic stock included the Archipelago of Chonos and the adjacent regions of the Chilean coast, from about 44° to 25° s. lat. The original inhabitants of the Chonos Islands have been thought to be extinct, but Dr C. Martin, as Brinton notes (*Amer. Race*, p. 327), states that the Huaihuenes Indians of the Chonos Islands "were transported in 1765 to the island of Chaulanec, where their posterity still survive." But all linguistic data from Chiloe are Araucanian. Other attempts to colonize the Chonos seem to have been made also by the missionaries, as *e. g.*, on the island of Huar, and on the large island of Chiloe. D'Orbigny classed the Chonoan language as Araucanian, as did likewise Poeppig. Brinton (*Amer. Race*, p. 327) made the Chonos members of his Aucanian (*i. e.*, Araucanian) stock, but observes also that "the language of the Chonos is said to be quite different from that of the Araucanians." Dr Rodolfo Lenz (*Dicc. etimol.*, p. 312) is of opinion that the Chonos were different in language from the Mapuche or Araucanians, and may have resembled the southern Tehuelche and Onas.

The not very extensive literature concerning the Chonoan linguistic stock includes the following titles:

1. BRINTON, D. G. *The American Race*. N. Y., 1891. Pp. xvi, 392.
2. ESTEVAN, M. *Vocabulario de la Lengua Chona* (ca. 1612). Ms. cited by Lozano in his *Historia*. Father Estevan is also said to have composed sermons in the Chonoan tongue. See Mitre, *Catálogo*, p. 157.
3. FALKNER, T. *A Description of Patagonia, etc.* Herefort, 1774. Pp. 144.
4. FITZ-ROY, R. *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of his Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle between the Years 1826 and 1836, etc.* 3 vols. Add. and App. Lond., 1839.
5. HYADES, P. et DENIKER, J. *Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, 1882-1883. Tome VII. Anthropologie, Ethnographie.* Paris, 1891. Pp. vii, 423.
6. MARTIN, C. *Ueber die Eingeborenen von Chiloe.* *Ztschr. f. Ethnol.*, vol. IX, 1877, pp. 161-181, 317-330.
7. MITRE, B. *Catálogo razonado de la Sección Lenguas Americanas. Tomo I.* Buenos Aires, 1908. Pp. xliii, 411. See p. 157.
8. POEPPIG, E. *Reise in Chili und Peru.* 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1836.

In the vocabularies of the Fitz-Roy expedition are included three words of the language of the Chonos Indians, which seem to be all the published material extant. The testimony of Lozano, Estevan, Rosales, J. G. Marti, etc., cited by Mitre (p. 167) counts for the independent character of the Chonoan language.

The stock-name *Chonoan* is derived from *Chonos*, the appellation by which the Indians after whom the islands inhabited by them were called the Archipelago de los *Chonos*, were known to the early missionaries, etc., of Chile. According to Lenz (*Dicc. etimol.*, p. 312), *Chono* is probably the name given by these Indians to themselves. Its etymology is quite uncertain.

### III. CHARRUAN

In its greatest extent, the territory occupied by the *Charruan* stock embraced the region from the Paraná to the sea-coast, between the mouth of the La Plata and the Laguna dos Patos, including thus all of modern Uruguay and somewhat beyond. But there has been great difference of opinion as to the status of the Charrúas and the character of their language. Brinton, in 1891, classed them as an independent stock, but later (1898) suggested Tupi relationship, while Lafone-Quevedo (1897) and Schuller (1906) list the Charrúas as Guaycuruan. Ameghino, as far back as 1881, considered them Guaraní (or Tupian). Ludewig (*Lit. Abor. Amer. Lang.*, 1848, p. 155) reports that "the wild Charrúas" were related

to the Puelches; and some have sought to connect them with the Araucanian stock. Outes and Bruch (1910, p. 90) cite the opinion of d'Orbigny that the Charruan language was related to Puelchean, an idea based upon the fact of "its harsh and guttural character." Finck (*Die Sprachst. d. Erdkr.*, 1909, p. 101), admits the Charruan (his *tsarruaisch*) as independent, and, on the whole, we may consider Brinton's first opinion justified and rank Charruan as an independent linguistic stock.

Brinton (*Amer. Race*, 1891, p. 317) listed the following tribes as belonging to the Charruan stock:

*Bohanes*. On the Paraguay near the Rio Negro.

*Chanes*. Adjacent to the Bohanes.

*Charruas*. On the coast east of the Rio Uruguay.

*Guenoas*. East of the Uruguay.

*Martidanes*. East of the Uruguay.

*Minuanes*. Between the Uruguay and Paraná.

*Yaros*. On the east bank of the Uruguay.

This classification follows largely Hervas. The real Charrúas of Uruguay, like those of Corrientes and the Minuanes of Entre Rios in Argentina, the Bohanes, Yaros, etc., are now all extinct, according to Araújo and other authorities, although Deniker (*Races of Man*, 1900, p. 572) states that the hybrid descendants of the Chanásés, Querandíes, etc., known as the Talhuet, "were still fairly numerous in 1860 between Buenos Aires and Rio Negro," and in this remnant the old Charrúas may have had some share. In the terrible wars of extermination waged against the aborigines of Uruguay in 1830-1832 few of the Charrúas escaped capture or death. The "last of the Charrúas" (two men and two women) were exhibited in Paris in 1830 as "wild men," dying there some time afterwards. Uruguay has become what Araújo calls "an American country without Indians." Considerable of the former aboriginal element has, however, been absorbed into the white population.

The principal literature concerning the Charrúas will be found in the following titles:

1. ARAÚJO, O. El ultima Charrúa. Article in *El Iris* (San Eugenio del Cuarcim) Año I, 2a epoca, num. 6, domingo de diciembre de 1905.

2. ARÁUJO, O. Significado de la voz "Uruguay." *Anales de Instrucción Primaria* (Montevideo), vol. v, 1908, pp. 762-767.
3. —. Un país americano que no tiene Indios. *Ibid.*, vol. vi, 1909, pp. 114-119.
4. —. *Diccionario geográfico del Uruguay*. Montevideo, 1900. Pp. 1006.
5. *Arrivée de quatre sauvages Charrua*, etc. Paris, 1830.
6. BAUZA, F. *Habitantes primitivos del Uruguay*. Montevideo, 1895.
7. BRINTON, D. G. *The American Race*. N. Y., 1891, Pp. xvi, 392.
8. —. *The Linguistic Cartography of the Chaco Region*. Philadelphia, 1898. Pp. 30.
9. CAMAÑO, —. *Catecismo brevisimo en la lengua Cuënoa*. Mentioned by Hervas (q.v.).
10. FIGUEIRA, J. H. Los primitivos habitantes del Uruguay, at pp. 131-147 and 154-156 of *El Uruguay en la exposición histórico-americana de Madrid*. Montevideo, 1892. Also pamphlet with same title (Montevideo, 1894. Pp. 44).
11. GRANADA, D. *Vocabulario Rioplatense Razonado*. Seg. ed. Montevideo, 1890, pp. 411.
12. GRANADA, D. *El idioma nacional*. Montevideo, 1900.
13. HERVAS, L. *Catálogo de las lenguas conocidas*, etc. Vol. i. Madrid, 1800.
14. —. *Saggio pratico*, etc. Cesena, 1787.
15. KERSTEN, L. *Die Indianerstämme des Gran Chaco bis zum Ausgange des 18. Jahrhunderts*. *Internat. Arch. f. Ethnogr.* (Leiden), vol. xvii, pp. 1-80.
16. LAFONE-QUEVEDO, S. Los Indios Chanás y su Lengua, con Apuntes sobre los Querandíes, Timbúes, Yarós, Boanes, Guënoas ó Minuanes, y un mapa etnico. *Bol. d. Inst. Geogr. Argent.* (Buenos Aires), vol. xviii, 1897, pp. 115-154.
17. —. "La Raza Americana de Brinton." *Estudio critico*. *Ibid.*, vol. xiv, 1894, pp. 500-528.
18. —. *Progresos de la Etnología en el Rio de la Plata durante el año de 1899*. *Ibid.*, vol. xx, 1899, pp. 1-64.
19. LOZANO, P. *Historia de la Conquista del Paraguay, Rio de la Plata y Tucuman*. 4 vols. Buenos Aires, 1874-1875.
20. MARTINEZ, B. T. *Etnografía del Rio de la Plata*. *Bol. d. Inst. Geogr. Argent.*, vol. xxii, 1901, pp. 89-121.
21. OUTES, F. F. *Los Querandíes. Contribución al Estudio de la Etnografía Argentina*. Buenos Aires, 1897. Pp. xii, 204.
22. — y BRUCH, C. *Los Aborígenes de la República Argentina*. Buenos Aires, 1910. Pp. 149. See pp. 90-92.
23. DE SAN MARTIN, J. Z. *Tabaré: Índice alfabético de algunas voces indígenas*. Montevideo, 1888.
24. SCHULLER, R. R. *Geografía Física y Esférica de las Provincias del Paraguay y Misiones Guaraníes*. Compuesta por don Felix de Azara . . . en la

Asunción del Paraguay. Año de MDCCXC . . . Bibliografía, Prólogo y Anotaciones por Rodolfo R. Schuller. An. d. Mus., Nac. de Monte Video, Secc. Histor.-filos., vol. 1 (1904), pp. i-cxxxii, 1-478. See on Charruas, etc., pp. lxxxii-cxv.

25. —. Sobre el Oríjen de los Charrúa. Santiago de Chile, 1906. Pp. 158.

26. THOUAR, A. Explorations dans l'Amérique du Sud. Paris, 1891.

The published material in the languages of the Charruan stock is insignificant. The words in Hervas' *Catálogo* (p. 46) and *Saggio* (pp. 288, 289) belong to the Guënoa dialect. He received from Sr Camaño a brief catechism in Guënoa, the examination of which led him to state (p. 197) that "the language shows no affinity with the Paraguayan tongues of which we have grammars and vocabularies." Martinez, on the basis of a very few words, seeks to establish a relationship between the Charrúa and the Tehuelche (also Pehuelche). Outes and Bruch (p. 90) say that "the Charrúa language is absolutely unknown."

The stock-name *Charruan* is derived from *Charrúa*, the appellation of the most important member of the family. The etymology of this term is much disputed. According to Brinton (*Ling. Cart.*, p. 23), *Charrúa* is a Guaraní expression signifying "my men (*che, uara*)."<sup>1</sup> Lafone-Quevedo interprets it to mean "hurtful to me (*che, haru*)," *i. e.*, "my enemies." Schuller (p. lxxxii) seeks an etymology from Guaraní *chana aharu*, "what mutilated people." This is in reference to cicatrices and other bodily mutilations. None of these etymologies is at all satisfactory.

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