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South American Linguistic Stocks

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The need for an authoritative classification of the linguistic stocks of the aboriginal tribes of South America and a map of their distribution, corresponding to the work of Powell on "Linguistic Families of American Indians North of Mexico" is great. For some years past the present writer has devoted special attention to the linguistic cartography of the southern continent in connection with the listing of its independent families of speech. An attempt is here made to enumerate more completely than has been done heretofore these linguistic stocks, and to offer a rough map (not reproduced) of their distribution, which will be followed later by one more accurate and substantial.

It is not the author's intention to give here an exhaustive history of all the attempts to classify the South American tongues. Some of those only belonging to the new era of the last 15 years will be considered.

In 1891 appeared Dr Daniel G. Brinton's "The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America" (N. Y., pp. 392), of which work pages 165-332, 343-364 are devoted to "South American Tribes". The classification given is based upon inspection of the older authorities (Adelung and Vater, Balbi, Castelnau, Gilii, Hervas, von Martius, d'Orbigny, etc.) and examination of the results of the investigations of scholars, travelers and explorers up to date (Crevaux, Ehrenreich, Ernst, de la Grasserie, im Thurn, Middendorf, von den Steinen, von Tschudi, etc.) Dr Brinton's acquaintance with several European languages besides English, his own large library of Americana, visits to libraries and museums, and access to a very large

portion of the Spanish literature (old and new, European and American) relating to the New World, made this volume a most notable contribution to the literature of the classification of American Indian tongues, belonging with Major J. W. Powell's "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico", which dates back to the early '80's but was published in the "Report of the Bureau of Ethnology" (Washington) for 1885-1886, which was not really issued till 1891, the year of the appearance of Brinton's "American Race", so these classifications of the peoples of the northern and southern halves of the continent are practically contemporaneous. Curiously enough, Brinton nowhere in his book (not even in the index) gives a complete list in alphabetic order of the linguistic stocks of South America as determined by him, a fact which accounts for differences in the number of these families as attributed to him by other writers who have used his work. Professor O. T. Mason, in the notice of Brinton's book published by him in the "Smithsonian Report" for 1891 (p. 451), enumerates the following "South American Stocks", as given by the former :

1 Aliculuf	16 Chiquito	31 Paniquita
2 Araua	17 Choco	32 Pano
3 Arawak	18 Churoya	33 Payagua
4 Atacamenan	19 Cocoeuca	34 Peba
5 Aucanian	20 Cuna	35 Puquina
6 Aymara	21 Guaycuru	36 Samuca
7 Barbacoa	22 Jivaros	37 Tacana
8 Betoya	23 Kechua	38 Timote
9 Canichana	24 Lama	39 Tapuya
10 Caraja	25 Lule	40 Tupi
11 Carib	26 Maina	41 Tzonecan
12 Catamarena	27 Mataco	42 Yahgan
13 Changuina	28 Mocoa	43 Yunca
14 Charrua	29 Mosetena	44 Yurucari
15 Chibcha	30 Ona	45 Zaparo

As may be seen from the subsequent lists of McGee and Chamberlain, the category of Mason fails to include, besides several very small or extinct stocks, a number of families recog-

nized by Brinton, e. g. : Andaquian, Caririan, Cayubaban, Guahiban, Itonaman, Moviman, Piaroan, Puinavian, Ticunan, Yaruran, etc ; increasing the total by more than a dozen. The Payagua (or at least some of them) were later (in 1898) affiliated by Brinton with the Guaycuru, and this stock may be removed from the list, although retained by some authorities. At this time (*Ling. Cartog. Chaco*, p. 23) he also was inclined to affiliate the Charruan with the Tupian.

In a paper read before the International Congress of Anthropology at Chicago in 1893 (*Mem. Int. Congr. Anthropol., Chicago*, 1894, p. 336) Brinton expressed the opinion that the number of linguistic stocks in South America would ultimately be considerably reduced, to a quantity "less, certainly, than those already recognized in the northern continent". In his "Studies in South American Native Languages" (Phila., 1892), he demonstrates the independent character of the Cholona language (pp. 30-36), mentioned incidentally in his "American Race", and also removes from the list of Tacanan dialects the Leca tongue, establishing a new linguistic family, the Lecan. In his "Linguistic Cartography of the Chaco Region" (Phila., 1898) he removes the Payaguan from the number of independent linguistic stocks, making it a dialect of Guaycuruan (p. 25), and recognizes another new stock in the Ennima (p. 14). He also inclines to the old conclusion of Waitz that the Cacana (Calchaqui) "was merely a corrupt dialect of the widely extended Quechua stock" (p. 27). In his later publications Brinton still favored the recognition ultimately of Aymaran as affiliated with Quechuan. The alleged relationship of the Onan to the Tsonecan he finally did not admit. In his article on "Indians of South America", in the "Universal Encyclopedia" (N. Y., Vol. VI, 1900, pp. 216-217) Brinton gives but a brief list of stocks. Of possible relationships he suggested, in his "American Race", the following: Aymaran and Quechuan, Betoyan and Chocoan, Apolistan and Tacanan, Calchaquian and Araucanian, Puelchean and Araucanian, Onan and Tsonecan, etc, some of these he abandoned later. In 1892 (*Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, pp. 249-254) he discussed the languages of Fuegia, coming to the conclusion that the Onan was nearer to the Yahganan

than to the Tsonecan, and practically gave it up as an independent stock.

At page 361 of his "Ethnology" (Cambridge, 1896), Professor A. H. Keane has a not very satisfactory "family tree of Homo Americanus." The only South American families (the Powellian notation is followed) are these: Muiscan, Arawacan, Cariban, Quechuan, Guaranian, Araucan, Tsonecan. There is evidently no attempt to cover the whole field. Keane is furthermore of opinion that radically distinct languages seem to be less numerous in South America than might be inferred from the statements of early writers " (p. 359), and cites approvingly the observation of Brinton (Mem. Int. Congr. Anthropol., Chicago, 1894, p. 336) that the number of distinct linguistic stocks in South America, contrary to the view generally entertained and shared by himself, is not greater than that in North America. To the present writer, however, the earlier view seems by no means disproved, and Brinton's former position is still preferable.

In his "Man Past and Present" (1900) Keane mentions the followings stocks only: Chibchas, Quechua, Chimus, Atacameños, Araucanians, Pampeans, Tehuelche, Yahgans, Alakalufs, Bororos, Pano, Caraya, Cariban, Arawakan, Gesan, Tupi-Guarani, Tacanas, Tacunas, Chiquito. The Timotes are affiliated with the Chibchas, the Puelche with the Araucanians, the Onas with the Tehuelches.

The sketch map, "mapa étnico de la América Meridional", given by L. M. Torres, as "an improvement on d'Orbigny and Prichard", at page 31 of his "La Ciencia Prehistórica" (Buenos Aires, 1903, pp. 33), outlines the extent of sixteen stocks named as follows:

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1 Caribe | 9 Puelche |
| 2 Tupí | 10 Araucana |
| 3 Tapuya | 11 Tehuelche |
| 4 Andina | 12 Fuegina |
| 5 Nu-aurak | 13 Calchaquí |
| 6 Chaqueña | 14 Enimagá |
| 7 Chaná-Timbú | 15 Moxo |
| 8 Charrúa | 16 Moxo-Mbaure |

In this list « Andina » blankets Quechua and Aymara, with a number of smaller independent linguistic stocks belonging to the Pacific coast and the Andean region from Chili to Colombia ; « Fuegina » apparently includes the entirely distinct Alikalufan and Yahganian stocks. The Moxo and Mbaure are Arawakan. Chaná-Timbú is a term due to Lafone-Quevedo, who applied it to certain tribes about Espiritu Santo and Santa Fé, — its ethnic significance is doubtful. Nu-aurak is a mistake of the printer for Nu-arauak (Arawak).

The map opposite page 556 of the second volume of Hutchinson, Gregory and Lydekker's « The Living Races of Mankind » (London), contains the following names :

1 Abipone	15 Choco	29 Paeze
2 Antisuyu	16 Coconuco	30 Pano
3 Araucano	17 Curetu	31 Puhuelche
4 Arawak	18 Fuegians	32 Purus groups
5 Aymara	19 Guarani	33 Quichua (Inca)
6 Barre	20 Guarano	34 Quito
7 Betoye	21 Guaycuru	35 Tacana
8 Bororo	22 Jivaro	36 Tehuelche (Patag- onians).
9 Botocudo	23 Juri	38 Ticuna
10 Caribs	24 Lule	38 Toba
11 Charrua	25 Matacuayo	39 Zaparo
12 Chibcha	26 Mocobi	
13 Chinchasuyu	27 Mojos groups	
14 Chiquito	28 Mustene	

The list omits a number of important stocks and does not distinguish in several instances tribal from family names. Thus the Abipones, Bare, Curetu, Mocobi, Quito, Toba, appear, while « Fuegians » covers the three linguistic stocks of the Archipelago. Antisuyu and Chinchasuyu are also given on the map, but the former is merely a geographical term, and the latter hardly more, — they marked divisions of the Quechua realm and speech.

Dr W J McGee, largely on the authority of Brinton, apparently, gives the following list of South American linguistic stocks in his article on the « American Indians » contributed to the « New International Encyclopedia ». N. Y., Vol. IX, 1903:

1 Alikulufan	21 Chonekan(Tzone-	38 Onan
2 Andaquian	can)	39 Paniquitan
3 Arauan	22 Churoyan	40 Panoan
4 Araucan (Aucan)	23 Coconucan	41 Payaguan
5 Arawakan	24 Cunan	42 Peban
6 Atacameñan	25 Guahiban (Guay-	43 Piaroan (Salivan)
7 Aymaran	bar)	44 Puinavian
8 Barbacoan	26 Guaraunan	45 Puquinan
9 Betoyan	27 Guaycuruan	46 Quechuan (Kech-
10 Canichanan	28 Itonaman	uan)
11 Carajan	29 Jaruran(Yaruran)	47 Salivan (Piaroan)
12 Cariban	30 Jivaroan	48 Samucuan
13 Caririan	31 Laman	49 Tacanan
14 Catemareñan	32 Lulean	50 Tapuyan
15 Cayubaban	33 Mainan	51 Timotean
16 Changuinan	34 Matacoan	52 Tupian
17 Charruan	35 Mocoan	53 Yahganan
18 Chibchan	36 Mosateñan	54 Yuncan
19 Chiquitan	37 Moviman (Mobi-	55 Yurucarean
20 Chocoan	man)	56 Zaparoan

A. F. Chamberlain, in the list of American Indian linguistic stocks given in his article on the "American Indians" in the *Encyclopedia Americana* (N. Y., Vol. VIII, 1904), includes the following South American :

1 Alikulufan	18 Chiquitan	38 Paniquitan
2 Andaquian	19 Chocoan	39 Panoan
3 Arauan	20 Churoyan	40 Payaguan
4 Araucanian (Au-	21 Coconucan	41 Peban
can)	22 Cunan	42 Piaroan
5 Arawakan	23 Guahiban	43 Puinavian
6 Atacameñan	24 Guaraunan	44 Puquinan
7 Aymaran	25 Guaycuruan	45 Salivan
8 Barbacoan	26 Itonaman	46 Samucuan
9 Betoyan	27 Jivaroan	47 Tacanan
10 Calchaquian (Ca-	28 Kechuan	48 Tapuyan
tamareñan)	29 Laman	49 Ticunan
11 Canichanan (Can-	30 Lulean	50 Timotean
isianan)	31 Mainan	51 Tsonekan
12 Carajan	32 Matacoan	52 Tupian
13 Cariban	33 Mocoan	53 Yahganan
14 Caririan	34 Mosateñan	54 Yaruran
15 Cayubaban	35 Moviman	55 Yuncan
16 Charruan	36 Onan	56 Yurucarean
17 Chibchan	37 Otomacan	57 Zaparoan

There are few differences in the lists of Chamberlain and McGee. The Changuinan does not belong properly among South American stocks, being confined altogether to the western portion of the isthmus of Panama. McGee drops the Otomacan, probably by inadvertence. As to nomenclature, Chamberlain prefers Araucanian, Tsonekan, Yaruran; McGee, Araucan, Chonekan, Jaruran. The former uses Calchaquian, the latter Catamareñan for one and the same stock. The number of stocks listed is 57 and 56 respectively.

D^r Paul Ehrenreich, in his valuable *aperçu*, - Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts, etc. - (Arch. f. Anthrop., Vol. XXXI, 1905, pp. 39-75, enumerates 52 stocks as follows :

1 Alikaluf	19 Juri	36 Piaroa
2 Araukan	20 Karaib	37 Puelche
3 Arowak	21 Kuyuaba	38 Saliva
4 Betoya	22 Kechua	39 Samuco (Chama-
5 Bororo	23 Kolya (Aymara)	coco)
6 Caraya	24 Lama	40 Tacana
7 Chango	25 Likan-antai (Ata-	41 Ticuna
8 Chibcha (Muysea)	cameño)	42 Timote
9 Chiquito	26 Lorenzo	43 Trumai
10 Cholon	27 Lule	44 Tsoneca (Tehuel-
11 Churuja	28 Machicui (Musco-	che)
12 Coronuco	vi)	45 Tupi (Guarani)
13 Gès (Tapuya)	29 Mataco	46 Uru (Puquina)
14 Goytacaz (Wait-	30 Miranha	47 Yahgan
akka).	31 Mosetene	48 Yahua (Peba)
15 Guaicuru	32 Mura	49 Yaruro
16 Guato	33 Otomaco	50 Yunka
17 Ite (Itena)	34 Paniquita	51 Yurakare
18 Jivaro	35 Pano	52 Zaparo

Ehrenreich's list does not include a number of minor stocks found here and there in the Andean region from Colombia to Chile. He assigns an independent position to the Juri (designated Arawakan by Brinton) and includes the Onas in the Tsonecan. As independent is also recognized the Goyotacan, which Brinton, following von Martius, makes a

sub-stock of *Tapuyan*. Puelche Ehrenreich likewise gives an *independent* status, - Brinton included them in his Aucanian (*Araucanian*) stock. The Lorenzo, known only by this name since 1880, is not in Brinton's list. The Machicui corresponds more or less with the Ennima of Brinton (*Ling. Cartog. Chaco*, 1898, p. 14). The Mura were classified by Brinton as *Tapuyan*; the *Miranha* do not appear in his list as an independent stock. He also ranked the *Bororo* among the *Tupian* tribes. The independent position of the *Trumai* was made more or less certain in 1884-1887 and does not appear in Brinton's category of stocks.

Among possible relationships Dr Ehrenreich indicates the following: *Miranha* and *Juri* with *Betoya*; the *Calchaqui* he regards as a mixed people and the *Ona* as belonging to the *Tsonecan* family. The *Charruas* are given no independent status. The *Cunan* he affiliates with the *Chibchan*.

Dr Ehrenreich's classification, which is an elaboration, to include the whole continent, of his essay, "Ueber die Einteilung und Verbreitung der Völkerstämme Braziliens", published in "Petermanns Mitteilungen" for 1891, is based upon his own researches and the literature of the subject since that date: Adam, Ambrosetti, Boggiani, Brinton (well-used), Campana, Colini, Guevara, Hartrey, Huonder, Ihering, Koch, Lafone-Quevedo, Lehmann-Nitsche, Lenz, Meyer, Schmidt, von den Steinen, etc. It is naturally strongest in the Brazilian and immediately connected areas.

The writer of the present paper finds the linguistic stocks of South America, past and present (the approximate positions of all are indicated on the rough map accompanying this essay,—a revised map will be published later), to be about as follows:

- 1 *Alikulufan*.—Western part of archipelago of *Tierra del Fuego* and adjacent islands and coast to the northwest up to the *Chonoan*.
- 2 *Andaquian*.—In the eastern *Cordillera* of *Colombia*, about the head-waters of the *Fragua*, between 1° and 2° n. lat., and 75° w. long.
- 3 *Apolitstan*.—Named from the *Apolo*, a tributary of the *Beni*, between 14° and 15° s. lat., northern *Bolivia*;

when Christianized dwelt at **Apolobamba** 165 miles north of La Paz.

- 4 *Arauan*.—On the lower Jurua, the Madeira and Purus rivers, N. W. Brazil.
- 5 *Araucanian*.—Pacific coast region in Chile, etc., from Copiapó to Chiloe, some 25 degrees of latitude; also in the Pampas and Patagonia, extending at one time, probably to the Atlantic in the region of the mouth of the La Plata.
- 6 *Arawakan*.—Widely scattered over northeastern and central South America; tribes of this stock found in northwestern Venezuela, in the highlands of southern Bolivia, on the upper Paraguay, at the mouth of the Amazon, and in various other regions between these limits; also formerly the Antilles and Bahamas, with an offshoot or colony on the S. W. coast of Florida.
- 7 *Ardan*.—On the rivers Napo and Masso, contiguous to the Laman tribes, between 3° and 4° s. lat., in S. E. Ecuador and the adjoining Brazilian territory.
- 8 *Atacamenan*.—In the region about Atacama, and about 20° to 23° s. lat., on the Pacific coast, down to the Changoan.
- 9 *Aymaran*.—In Peru and Bolivia, the region about L. Titicaca.
- 10 *Barbacoan*.—Colombia and Ecuador, about 1° and 2° n. lat., and 1° s. lat.; on the upper Patia and Telembe; on the Daule, Chone and Tachi; and on the coast.
- 11 *Betoyan*.—In Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, on the rivers Meta, Apure, Caquetá, Putomayo, Uaupés, Negro, Casanare, Apaporis, etc., scattered over the region from 3° s. to 7° n. lat.
- 12 *Bororoan*.—In central Matto Grosso, on the Xingú-Araguay watershed, and on the upper Paraguay; roving west to Cuyabá and east to Goyaz.
- 13 *Calchaquian*.—In a considerable section of the Pampas and Chaco, adjoining the Quechuan, Araucanian and tribes of the Chaco in Bolivia and the Argentine,

- particularly in the region about Catamarca, the valleys of the rivers from Cordova north and west; also in the country about Buenos Aires at one time.
- 14 *Canarian*.—In the region about the Gulf of Guayaquil, Peru-Ecuador; language abandoned after Inca conquest.
 - 15 *Canichanan*.—On the rivers Mamoré and Machupo in north-eastern Bolivia, between 13° and 14° s. lat. and about 65° w. long.
 - 16 *Carajan*.—In the Goyaz region of south central Brazil, on the Araguay and Xingú rivers and their affluents.
 - 17 *Cariban*.—Widely disseminated in Venezuela, Guiana and part of Brazil, etc.; also the Lesser Antilles and Caribby Islands; had driven the Arawakan from a considerable portion of the territory occupied; a Carib colony now exists also on the northern coast of Honduras in Central America.
 - 18 *Caririan*.—In eastern Brazil, in the Bahia-Pernambuco-Piauhý region north and west of the river San Francisco.
 - 19 *Cayubaban*.—In N. E. Bolivia, on the Mamoré river and its small tributaries, in the region about 66° w. long, and between 12° and 13° s. lat.
 - 20 *Changoan*.—On the littoral of the Pacific, from about 22° to 24° s. lat., particularly in the region of Cobija, next to the Atacameñan.
 - 21 *Chapacuran*.—On the river Blanco or Baurés, in northeastern Bolivia, in the region between 64° and 65° w. long., and about 15° s. lat.; afterwards at the mission of Carmen.
 - 22 *Charruan*.—At its greatest extent occupied the region from the Paraná to the sea-coast between the mouth of the La Plata and the L. dos Patos, including all of modern Uruguay, etc.
 - 23 *Chibchan*.—Formerly widely disseminated in Colombia, or New Granada, as it was earlier called, north, northeast, and northwest from the highlands of

Bogotá and Tunja ; also several offshoots in Panama and Costa Rica in Central America.

- 24 *Chiquitan*.—In S. E. Bolivia, over a region extending from 16° to 18° s. lat., and between 59° and 64° w. long., bordering south on the Chaco ; included as *enclaves* several minor stocks,
- 25 *Chocoan*.—In N. W. Colombia and the isthmus of Panama, between the Gulf of Uraba and San Miguel, in the lower valley of the Atrato, occupying a region from 8° to 4° n. lat.
- 26 *Cholonan*.—On the Huallaga river in N. E. Peru, adjacent to the Ticunas.; afterwards in Cajamarquilla between 7° and 8°. 30° s. lat.
- 27 *Chonoan*.—In the archipelago of Chonos and the adjacent coast, from about 45° to 52° s. lat.
- 28 *Churoyan*.—On the rivers Guejar, Meta, about the Ature cataract of the Orinoco, etc., in the territory of St. Martin, on the Colombia-Venezuela border about n. lat. 7° and w. long. 68°.
- 29 *Coconucan*.—In S. E. Colombia, in the Sierra between the Magdalena and Cauca, on the head-waters of the Puracé and Cauca, on the western slope of the Cordillera, etc., in the region about 2° 30 n. lat., and 76° w. long.
- 30 *Corabecan*.—In the region south of San Rafael, S. E. Bolivia about 18° n. lat. and 60° w. long.
- 31 *Cunan*.—In extreme N. W. of Colombia and the isthmus of Panama, from the Gulf of Uraba and the river Atrato west to the Chagres.
- 32 *Curavecan*.—On the river Tucabaca, in S. E. Bolivia, about 18° 30 s. lat., and between 59° and 60° w. long.
- 33 *Curucanecan*.—In S. E. Bolivia, about 16° s. lat., and 60° w. long. ; later at the mission of San Rafael.
- 34 *Curuminacan*.—In S. E. Bolivia, adjacent to the Otuquian, about s. lat. 16° and w. long. 60°; afterwards at the mission Sta. Ana.
- 35 *Enimagan*.—In the Gran Chaco, between 21° and 24° s. lat., on the right bank of the Paraguay westward;

from about 58° to 62° w. long, broadening to the N. W.

- 36 *Goyatacan*.—In eastern Brazil, province of Goyaz, etc., from the Parahyba north and northeast; on the rivers da Pomba, Mucury, de Porto Seguro, etc.; south of the Caririan, with intervening Tapuyan.
- 37 *Guahiban*.—In the Colombia-Venezuelan border region, between the Casanare and the Meta rivers, and on the left bank of the Orinoco from the Meta to the Vichada; next to the Piaroan; in the country between about 71° to $68^{\circ} 30'$ w. long, and $4^{\circ} 40'$ to $5^{\circ} 30'$ n. lat.
- 38 *Guaraunan*.—In and about the delta of the Orinoco in N. E. Venezuela and part of N. W. British Guiana.
- 39 *Guatoan*.—In the northern Chaco and about the head-waters of the Paraguay and Araguay, in the region about Albuquerque, etc.
- 40 *Guaycuruan*.—Widely dispersed at various times over a large portion of the Gran Chaco, etc., in the Argentine, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil, on the Paraguay, Pilcomayo, Vermejo, Miranda, Xerui, Mondego; roved from $19^{\circ} 30'$ to 33° s. lat., and from nearly 55° to nearly 64° w. long.
- 41 *Itenean*.—In N. E. Bolivia, between 12° and 13° s. lat., and 64° to 66° w. long.; in the region about the confluence of the Guaporé, or Itenés, and the Mamoré, and on some of their small affluents.
- 42 *Itonaman*.—In N. E. Bolivia, on the river Itonama, between 13° and 14° n. lat., and 63° to 65° w. long., later at the missions of Magdalena and San Ramon.
- 43 *Itucalean*.—In N. E. Peru, on the Chambiri, a tributary of the Amazon, about s. lat. $4^{\circ} 30'$, and w. long. 75° , close to the Laman.
- 44 *Jivaran*.—In southern Ecuador and northern Peru, in the eastern Cordilleras, between 2° and $4^{\circ} 30'$ s. lat.; on the rivers Paute, Morona, Santiago, and other tributaries of the Amazon, and also on part of that river in this region.

- 45 *Laman*.—In the Ecuador-Peruvian border region, on the Huallaga, the Amazon near Nauta, etc., and formerly between the rivers Tigre and Napo, about s. lat. 4° , and w. long. 74° .
- 46 *Lecan*.—In N. W. Bolivia, on the river Beni towards L. Titicaca, on the Mapiri, and formerly on the Tipuani and Isuaya; about s. lat. 14° to 15° and 68° w. long.; found at the mission of Aten and Guanay.
- 47 *Lorenzan*.—In the 18th century in the Pozuzo valley in N. Peru and now on the rivers Palcassu, Pichis and Chuchurras.
- 48 *Lulean*.—In the Argentine Gran Chaco, on the rivers Vermejo, Salado, Pilcomayo, etc.; roved between 24° and 27° s. lat., and 61° and 65° w. long., but chiefly massed in the region of s. lat. 25° and w. long 64° .
- 49 *Mainan*.—In the Peru-Ecuador border region, in the country about s. lat. 4° . w. long. 65° , on the rivers Chambiri, Tigre and Amazon, etc., between the Jivaran and Zaparan and the Laman, etc.
- 50 *Makuan*.—In N. W. Brazil, on the rivers Caiary, Papury, Ira Parana, Curicuriary, Marie, etc., between the Negro and the Yapurá, scattered over the country from about 2° n. lat. to 1° . 30 s. lat., and from about 66° to 70° w. long., adjoining Cariban, Betoyan, Miranhan, etc.
- 51 *Matacan*.—In the central Gran Chaco, at its greatest extent from the Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, and from the upper Pilcomayo to the upper Salado and lower Vermejo, approximately between 21° and 26° s. lat., and 58° to 65° w. long., but largely massed on the middle and upper Vermejo.
- 52 *Miranhan*.—In N. W. Brazil, on the rivers Cauiary and Yapurá, and westward in the country between the Yapurá, and Içá, grouped especially in the region about 1° n. lat., and 71° w. long.
- 53 *Mocoan*.—In S. E. Colombia, between 1° and 2° n. lat., on the tributaries of the Caquetá, the head-waters of

- the Putomayo, etc.; numerous near the town of Mocoa.
- 54 *Mosetenan*.—In N. W. Bolivia, along the river Beni and its affluents, between 14° and 16° s. lat., and 66° to 68° w. long.
- 55 *Movimam*.—In N. E. Bolivia, on the Manoré and its western tributary the Yucuma, about 13° to 14° s. lat. and between 65° and 66° w. long., afterwards at the Mission of Sta. Ana on the Yacuma.
- 56 *Muran*.—In N. W. Brazil, in the region about the confluence of the Madeira and Purus, between the Purus and the lower Negro.
- 57 *Ocoronan*.—In N. E. Bolivia, near the Itonaman.
- 58 *Onan*.—In eastern Tierra del Fuego; east of the Alikalufan and north of the Yahganan.
- 59 *Otomacan*.—In S. W. Venezuela, on the Orinoco, between the Meta and Arauca; later on the Meta, and in the *llanos*, about 70° w. long., and 5° . 30 n. lat.; near the Yaruran.
- 60 *Otuquian*.—In S. E. Bolivia, between 59° and 60° w. long., and 18° and 19° s. lat., afterwards at the mission of Santo Corazon.
- 61 *Paniquitan*.—In western and Central Colombia beyond the Chibchan, on the rivers Magdalena, Cauca, Neyva, Carare, etc.
- 62 *Panoan*.—In E. Peru and the adjacent Bolivian and Brazilian territory, on the rivers Marañon, Madeira, Madre de Dios, Pachitea and Aguaitia, Tapichi and Javarí, Beni, Huallaga and Yucayali, Purus and Jurua, but particularly on the Yucayali and Javarí, disseminated over the region from about 4° to 10° s. lat., and 70° to 77° w. long.
- 63 *Peban*.—In the Peru-Ecuador border country between the Napo and Marañon and the Putomayo, particularly in the region 3° to 4° s. lat., 71° to 73° w. long.
- 64 *Piaroan*.—In the Venezuela Colombia border land, on the rivers Vichada, Mataweni, etc., and around the

Maipure rapids; in the region about 5° n. lat., and 69° w. long.

- 65 *Puelchean*.—In central and eastern Argentina, particularly between the rivers Colorado and Negro, from the foot-hills of the Andes to the Atlantic.
- 66 *Puinavian*.—In E. Colombia, on the river Inirada, a tributary of the Guaviare, about n. lat. 2° 30, w. long. 69° to 70°.
- 67 *Puquinan*.—On the islands and marsh-lands at the south end of L. Titicaca, about Pucarini, etc., within the Aymaran area.
- 68 *Quechuan*.—Disseminated over a large area of what is now modern Ecuador and Peru, part of Bolivia, Chili and the Argentine, extending in extreme from about 3° n. lat. to about 32° s. lat., and from the shore of the Pacific to about 70° w. long. in the north and about 65° in the south; as a great culture-people centering about Cuzco, etc.
- 69 *Salivan*.—In the Venezuela-Colombia border-land, on the Orinoco, and the Etori and Cinarouco, the Meta, Ventauri, Merevari, etc., in the region between about 5° 30 and 6° 30 n. lat., and 64° to 68° w. long.
- 70 *Samucan*.—In the northern Chaco in Argentina, Bolivia, etc., from the Paraguay westward, roving over the region between 18° and 21° 30 s. lat., and 57° 30 to 63, w. long, at greatest extent.
- 71 *Tacanan*.—In northern Bolivia, in the valley of the Beni, between 12° and 15° s. lat., and 70 to 71 w. long.
- 72 *Tapuyan*.—Widely disseminated over eastern Brazil, tribes of this stock being found from the Xingú river to the Atlantic and about 5° s. lat. to beyond 30° s. lat., preceded perhaps the Tupian on the Atlantic coast, on rivers Tocantins, Doce, Mucury, Pardo, Jequitinhona, Piquiri, Iguassu, Ivahy, Araguay, Xingú, Maranhao, etc.; central in Goyaz.
- 73 *Ticunan*.—In the Brazil-Peru-Ecuador border region, N. W. Brazil, about the lower Javari and Amazon, south

- of the Putomayo ; near the Peban, about long. 72° w., and lat. 3° to 4° s.
- 74 *Timotean*.—In N. W. Venezuela, in the mountainous region of Merida, south from L. Maracaibo.
- 75 *Trumaian*.—In west central Brazil, about the rivers that unite to form the Xingú.
- 76 *Tsonekan*.—In Patagonia, from the Rio Negro to the Straits of Magellan, and from the Atlantic to the Andes.
- 77 *Tupian*.—Widely disseminated over Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, etc. and formerly along the entire coast, more or less, from the La Plata to the Amazon ; tribes of this stock are found on the lower Amazon, Tocantins, Tapajoz, Xingú, Maranhao, Madeira and Amazon, Yuçayali, and Paray, Pilcomayo in Bolivia, Paraná Uruguay, Paraguay, Curitibà, Oyapock, etc.
- 78 *Uitotan*.—In N. W. Brazil next the Miranhan, in the region west from about s. lat. 1 and w. long. 71, between the rivers Yapurá and Içà and particularly on the Carapaná and Igara-paraná.
- 79 *Yahganan*.—In the Archipelago of Tierra del Fuego, south of the Onan and southeast of the Alikulufan, ; on Beagle Channel, Navarin, and Cape Horn Is., now partly settled at the Mission of Ushuaia.
- 80 *Yaruran*.—In the Venezuela-Colombia border country, about the Orinoco, between the Meta and the Capanaparo, replacing the Otomacos about the mouth of the Arauca.
- 81 *Yuncan*.—In the coast region of northern Peru, from 5° to 10° s. lat., particularly in the country about Truxillo, near lat. 8° . Long extinct.
- 82 *Yurucarean*.—In northern Bolivia, in the region between 16° and 17° s. lat. and 67 to 69 w. long., on various affluents of the Mamoré, Secura, Chimoré, etc.
- 83 *Zaparan*.—In southern Ecuador and the adjacent Peruvian country, south of the Jivaran ; between the Napo and Pastasa and on the Morona, down to the

Amazon, in the region from about 3° to 5° s. lat.,
and 73° to 78° w. long.

Besides the stocks enumerated above, the lists of Hervas, d'Orbigny, etc., suggest that not a few others would be recognized, if more accurated data were obtainable, particularly in the Andean and Cordilleran regions of the Pacific all the way from north to south. Some of these may be fixed later.

The Aymaran and Quechuan are here held to be distinct stocks,—the evidence for their union is not convincing; unsatisfactory are also the attempts to affiliate the Calchaquian with Quechuan or with Araucanian; the Onan with Tehuelchean; the Charruan with Guaycuruan, Tupian or Tapuyan; the Goyatecan with Tapuyan; the Goyatecan with Tapuyan, etc.

The smaller stocks, like the Andaquian, Apolistañ, Ardan, Canichanan, Cayubaban, Chapacuran, Cholonan, Churoyan, Corabecan, Curavecan, Curuconecan Curuminacan, Guahiban, Itonaman, Itucalean, Lecan, Lorenzan, Moseteñan, Moviman, Ocoronan, Otuquian, Piaroan, Puinavian, Yaruran and Yurucarean, are, some of them, quite important for comparative linguistics, although concerning a number very little indeed is known. The evidence at hand, however, the present writer thinks, justifies the inclusion of these latter in the list. The Bororoan and Trumaian have been shown to be independant stocks quite recently through the researches of von den Steinen, etc. Koch's investigations in 1903-1905 seem to have established the independence of the Uitotan and the Makuan (this last is his special discovery), and confirmed that of the Miranhan.

In nomenclature, the author has preferred Arawakan to Nu-Arawak and Tupian to Tupi-Guaranian, for various reasons, including the avoidance of compound names. Other reasons have led to the choice of Enimagan over Maskoi, Guaraunan over Warrauan, Tapuyan over Gês, etc.

The map of distribution of South American linguistic stocks has several very interesting features. One of these is the remarkable dissemination of the Cariban and Tupian, and, particularly, the Arawakan, families, who have not been culture-peoples; and also of the Quechuan, the great culture-bearing stock of the Pacific slope,—only less remarkable, in some respects is the distribution of the Chibchan (another culture-folk)

the culture-bearing Aymaran, and to a less extent, the Calchaquian and Araucanian. Notable also is the extent and roving of the very primitive Tapuyan, thought by some to be the oldest stock of the continent. The environment of the Gran Chaco is *sui generis*. Curious is the existence of three separate stocks in the inclement extreme south. The "pullulation" of stocks in the Bolivian-Peruvian, Peruvian-Ecuadorian, and Colombian-Venezuelan regions can be compared only with similar phenomena in the country from Mexico to Alaska on the Pacific coast of North America. Another interesting parallel in the distribution of linguistic stocks in the two halves of the New World is the occurrence of extensive families on the Atlantic side. The resemblance between the Calchaquian environment and culture and that of the Pueblos of Arizona-New Mexico, emphasized recently by Ambrosetti, may include even the existence in both areas of a congeries of languages, involving in each case several distinct stocks.

Of the South American linguistic stocks, the Arawakan, the Cariban and the Chibchan have gone beyond the limits of the continent proper. The first had occupied the West Indies (from part of which, as from portions of Venezuela, Guiana, etc., they were subsequently driven by the Cariban tribes) long before the discovery of Columbus, and had a colony also on the south coast of Florida, the only known example of the existence of a South American stock in America north of Mexico. Besides their settlements in the West Indies, the Cariban stock are represented by the "Black Caribs", etc., of the Honduras coast, Central America, who are the descendants of natives brought thither from the island of St. Vincent by the British in the 18th century. Chibchan stock is represented in Panama and Costa Rica, according to Thomas (*Amer. Anthropol.*, 1902, p. 208) by the following tribes; Guatuso, Guaymi, Guetare, Boruca, Bribri, Terrabà, etc. There is no evidence that any other entirely South American stocks have sent branches outside their own area in the continent.
