The Duplicate Element in Chilean Place-Names

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Ι

A NUMBER OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN CHILE consist of the repetition of a single syllable or the reduplication of a combination of syllables. Such names as *Taltal*, *Concón*, *Bío-Bío*, and *Miñemiñe* occur with sufficient frequency to justify a study of their origins as words and as place-names, their distribution and the significance of this distribution, and their application.

The 72 duplicate element place-names that form the basis for this investigation appear 108 times on the Carta nacional de Chile of 1945 (9), which is the source for the distribution map at the end of this paper. A map on a larger scale would doubtlessly include many more. The list could also be enlarged by including inflected forms of duplicate element names, such as Quisiquisine or Cotacotani in Tarapacá; the present study, however, is restricted to uninflected forms. A list of the place-names mapped, with such comments on their derivations as are available, is included at the end of the paper.

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Almost all, if not all, of the duplicate element place-names in Chile are derived from Indian languages. Names appearing in the etymological dictionaries are derived from Quechua, Aimara, and especially from the several dialects of the Araucanian language, all of which are agglutinative languages. In spite of corruptions resulting from the reduction of Indian words to Spanish writing, the duplicate element remains conspicuous.

The basic syllable or element in the place-names being considered is frequently a substantive. Reduplication serves to pluralize or

¹ Numbers in parentheses refer to the list of references at the end of the paper. No page references are given to works arranged alphabetically.

collectivize the basic substantive, or to indicate abundance of the basic element. Duplication to indicate abundance is extremely common in Araucanian languages (5, p. 18; 12), in which Choquechoque indicates an abundance of choque 'a forked branch,' Callecalle signifies a profusion of calle 'a plant of the Iris family,' and Linlin designates an abundance of lin 'a kind of grass.' In Quechua, too, collective nouns may be formed by reduplication of the basic substantive (6, pp. 4, 8), but the phenomenon is probably less common than in Araucanian. Bravo (4, p. 120) is able to cite only one example of pluralization by reduplication in the Quechua of Santiago del Estero. Pacopaco from paco 'red,' 'chestnut colored,' or 'woolbearing animals' is a possible example of a Chilean place-name formed by reduplication of a Quechua substantive.

If the basic element is not a substantive, reduplication may serve to intensify the basic element, be it adjectival, adverbial, or verbal. Hueño Hueño, from Araucanian uñon 'to return,' or from hueño, a prefix signifying repetition, probably indicates the many twists and turns of the river that carries the name. Similarly, Liu Liu from liu or liq 'white,' 'clear,' is interpreted as 'extremely clear,' 'crystalline.' Repetition for emphasis is also characteristic of Quechua. Farfan (6, p. 8) cites several examples, including sumag-sumag 'extremely beautiful,' from sumag 'beautiful.' Lira's dictionary (11) lists similar examples, such as lláñuy lláñuy 'very thin,' from lláñu 'thin'; llánp'uy llánp'uy 'very smooth,' from llánp'u 'soft,' 'smooth'; and káchiy káchiy 'very salty,' from káchi 'salty.' Bravo (4) records the same three duplicated adjectives from the Quechua of Santiago, but, curiously, reduplication in these instances decreases rather than increases the intensity of the basic adjective: llampu llampu 'not very soft,' from llampu 'soft'; llanu llanu 'not very thin,' from llañu 'thin'; and cachi cachi 'lightly salted,' from cachi 'salted.'

Still other duplicated elements are onomatopoetic, representing bird calls, as *Pio-Pio*; the croak of a frog, as *Coicoy*; or even the gentle murmur of the wind or of running water, as *Llaillay*. Many common Chilean names for plants and animals consist of the duplicated element (10, p. 502), and many plant and animal names, often in modified form, appear as place-names.

A few place-names are derived from Indian mythology. Caicay, a peak in Chiloé, is the name of the mythological serpent that caused the great flood. Ten-ten, a hill in Coquimbo; Tren-tren, hills in

Curicó and Talca; and *Trentren*, an upland region of Arauco, are all derivatives from *thegtheg* or *trentren*, the friendly serpent that elevated a hill so that humanity might be saved from the deluge (1, 12).

There are cases in which the duplicate element place-name is appropriately descriptive, and Truful Truful, Hueño Hueño, and Liu Liu serve as examples. Tren-tren or its variants, when applied to upland regions, assumes something of a generic value. In the majority of cases, however, the duplicate element name has no generic implications, and its application to a specific geographic place or feature need not involve actual relationship between the meaning of the word and the site. Colocolo is an Araucanian word for 'mountain cat.' It occurs as a place-name on an island and an inlet in Magallanes. Colocolo was also the name of a cacique or chief in Arauco who fought valiantly against the Spaniards, and whose name may have been applied to geographical features somewhat as that of a hero. Similarly, Caucau means 'a large seagull,' and is the name of a settlement in Valdivia. It is also an Araucanian personal name (13).

Ernesto Greve points out the danger of assuming that names of Indian origin must be descriptive or must have been applied by Indians (7, p. 195). In his essay on place-names, Greve emphasizes that a large majority of place-names of Indian origin were applied by Spaniards to geographic features and settlements; that these names were most often the names of chiefs or caciques; and that the names of chiefs were frequently totemic, largely being derived from the names of plants, animals, or other natural phenomena (7, pp. 192—195). Each name must be investigated individually and historically to determine the reason for and the time of its application to a particular site.

III

Taken collectively, the duplicate element place-names in Chile form a distributional pattern on the map strongly suggestive of the distribution of Indian groups in Chile at the time of the Spanish conquest. Each symbol on the accompanying map indicates the location of a duplicate element name. Two areas of concentration are apparent. The first, minor concentration is in the provinces of Tarapacá and northern Antofagasta. The second, major concentration lies between Valparaíso and Chiloé. Separating these two

areas is a strip of more than five hundred miles in which only the *Taltal* group (three occurrences) in southern Antofagasta is representative of the duplicate element name. South of Chiloé, in the island and fiord region of Aisén and Magallanes, only a few duplicate element names occur.

The general absence of duplicate element names in the far southern region of Chile can readily be explained. The Indian populations were very small. Exploration and mapping were largely carried out by sea, and quite recently in many areas. The few duplicate element names that do occur might well represent recent applications, transfer names from farther north, as in the case of *Colocolo*, or chance occurrences. Indian names are generally absent from the region south of Chiloé (7, p. 138).

Southern Antofagasta and northern Atacama were sparsely populated at the time of the conquest, but the series of river valleys in southern Atacama and Coquimbo were well-watered and populated. There is no dearth of Indian names in the area. In the province of Coquimbo, there are over one hundred settlements having populations of more than two hundred people; over sixty per cent of these settlements have Indian names; only one, Cuzcuz, is a duplicate element name. Atacama has none, and southern Antofagasta has only the anomalous Taltal group. Taltal, a town, arroyo, and point in southern Antofagasta, appears to be a misplaced Araucanian word, derived from thalthal 'a type of vulture' (1, 10, 12). Since the city was not established until the middle of the nineteenth century as an ore-port, it is possible that the application of the name is due to Chilean rather than to Araucanian influence.

The Indian population of the region of southern Atacama and Coquimbo was decimated soon after the conquest, but many Indian place-names live on. Archeological evidence indicates that the inhabitants of Atacama and Coquimbo were distinct from their neighbors to the north and south. They are believed to have been Diaguitas, related to the Diaguitas of northwestern Argentina (3). Little is known about their language, *Kakan*.

Such etymologies as are available indicate that the duplicate element names are of Quechua, Aimara, and Araucanian origin. An apparently obvious interpretation of their distribution would be that the northern group is symptomatic of Quechua-Aimara influence and that the southern group represents Araucanian in-

fluence. Certainly the names in the southern group are overwhelmingly of Araucanian origin; only one, Marga Marga, a stream in Valparaíso, is almost certainly Quechua, and was the site of goldwashing operations under Inca suzerainty in pre-conquest Chile. Inca influence extended as far south as the Maule River during the century before the conquest, and in addition, large numbers of Peruvian Indians accompanied the early Spanish expeditions into central Chile. Inca domination also extended through the Diaguita country of Atacama and Coquimbo. Names such as Andacollo (1, 2) and Tilama (1) in Coquimbo are of Quechua origin, and it may be pure chance that no duplicate element names became established as a result of Inca dominance.

The northern group is somewhat more difficult. In Tarapacá and Antofagasta, 15 duplicate element names occur 23 times. Four of these remain unidentified, and a fifth, *Mama*, is useless analytically, since it might well be derived from any of several languages, including Spanish. Of the remaining ten names that are tentatively identified, only two, *Calacala* and *Pacopaco*, are almost certainly Quechua. Three of the ten names, *Lailay*, *Quilaquila*, and *Taltal*, are most probably Araucanian. The other five are interpreted as either Quechua or Araucanian, or as Aimara or Araucanian: *Chiuchiu*, *Gualaguala*, *Miñemiñe*, *Pingopingo*, and *Vila-Vila*. Of the ten duplicate element names that are tentatively identified, then, at least eight might be Araucanian.

While Quechua names may reasonably be expected to occur throughout northern Chile as a result of Inca expansion and dominance, no parallel explanation can plausibly account for place-names of Araucanian origin in Chile's far northern provinces. The occurrence in Tarapacá and Antofagasta of Araucanian place-names, whether duplicate element or not, would indeed be a curiosity demanding explanation. No diffusion of Araucanian population into Chile's far north can be postulated from either archeological or historical evidence. A more plausible hypothesis, since most of the eight duplicate element names of possible Araucanian origin are names of plants or birds, and since a number of Araucanian names for plants and animals have passed into common Chilean Spanish, is that the Araucanian names in northern Chile were applied late with Chilean territorial expansion. The hypothesis remains untested, awaiting investigation of the time and circum-

stances of the application of such duplicate element names as *Gualaguala*, *Miñemiñe*, and *Chiuchiu* to the geographical features that bear them.

The apparently obvious interpretation of the distribution of duplicate element geographic names in Chile — that the northern group indicates Quechua-Aimara influence and that the southern group is symptomatic of the diffusion of Araucanian population — is, then, extremely tenuous. Although reduplication of elements is a feature of both Quechua and Araucanian languages, the tentative interpretation of a number of duplicate element names in northern Chile as Araucanian rather than Quechua calls for further research to explain the distributive pattern.

IV

The symbols used in plotting names on the accompanying map indicate a rough classification of the types of features to which the names are applied. This classification is summarized in the following table.

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Symbol	Features	Number of Names	Percentage of Total
	Water: streams, lakes, lagoons, bays, etc.	43	39.8
A	Elevations: hills, mountains, ranges, peaks, uplands	25	23.1
•	Settlements: cities, villages, hamlets	23	21.3
▼	Islands, rocks	9	8.3
•	Points, promontories	7	6.5
•	Provinces	1	1.0
Total		108	100.0

Altogether, about three-fourths of the duplicate element names are applied to natural features, and only one-fourth to cultural features. By far the greatest number of names is applied to water features; this concentration is especially conspicuous in the southern block. Application to relief features and settlements is also frequent. Only one province, Bio-Bio, bears a duplicate element name.

Few of the duplicate element names have true geographic generic value, either in the duplicate form or in the meaning of the single element. Clusters of the same name applied to different features are not unusual. In northern Antofagasta, the name Chugchug, of undetermined origin, is applied to a spring, a stream, a hilly area, and an individual peak in close proximity. Lleulleu is the name of both a river and a lake in Arauco. Palpal, derived from a botanical term, denotes a river and a settlement in Nuble. Occasionally a name appears in widely separated places. Tagua Tagua, from the name of an amphibious bird, is the name of a lagoon and a settlement in O'Higgins, and also of a lake in Llanquihue. Most of the duplicate element names are localized, however, and repetitions are restricted to the immediate locality.

V

Seventy-two of these names, consisting of duplicated syllables or duplicated elements, and occurring 108 times on the map of Chile, appear to be of Indian origin. Reduplication of the basic element indicates plurality or intensity; the combined elements may be onomatopoetic, or in other cases may be the common name for a plant or animal. These duplicate element words as place-names are distributed in two major blocks. The northern block corresponds to the area of strong Inca Influence in pre-conquest times, and the southern block coincides with the area occupied by the Araucanian Indians. Between the two blocks of concentrated duplicate element names is an area without such names, corresponding roughly to the region occupied by the Diaguitas, a distinct language group. South of the Araucanian block is another area almost devoid of duplicate element names, indicating the sparsely-populated, non-Araucanian fiord and island region. A curious feature of the northern block is that a number of the duplicate element names appear to be of Araucanian origin. This fact cannot be explained plausibly as a result of any diffusion of Araucanian population, and interpretation awaits further research.

The largest number of duplicate element names are applied to water, although relief features, settlements, promontories, islands, and even one province bear such names. The names characteristically have no generic value. Repetitions of duplicate element names are usually clustered, although a few are widely separated, indicating transfer or application of a common word such as the name of an animal.²

LIST OF DUPLICATE ELEMENT NAMES

The names used in preparing this study are listed below, with the features to which they are applied and the province in which they occur. Names are listed alphabetically according to the Spanish alphabet; that is, ch, ll, and rr are considered separate letters. Etymological notes are included if available; the numbers in parentheses indicate the source of the etymologies.

The author claims no competence in linguistics and has refrained from any attempt to derive etymologies himself. Erize (5) presents a critical bibliography of Araucanian studies in which he pays special tribute to the works of Groeber (8), Lenz (10), and Moesbach (12, 13), but mentions neither Armengol (1) nor Asta-Buruaga (2), both of whose works are old and probably less trustworthy than more recent works. All of the sources on Quechua are included in Tovar's recent catalog (14). The literature on Quechua, Aimara, and Araucanian languages is vast, and only a limited selection has been consulted and cited.

Ale-ale, hill, Valdivia. Araucanian. Duplication of ale 'light of the moon' (1, 2, 5, 12).
Biobio, settlement, Concepción; Bio-Bio, province and river, Bio-Bio. Araucanian.
From huihui or vyivyi 'the sound of small waves breaking.' Onomatopoetic (2).
From huyhuy, onomatopoetic, or a duplication of viu 'thread,' to indicate the many currents of the river (1). Probably from fiu-fiu, the song of the small bird fio-fio (Elainea albiceps) (12).

Caicay, peak. Chiloé. Araucanian. Name of the mythological serpent that caused the flood. Probably from cad-cad 'much' (1). Cai, a plant with large, coriaceous leaves; caicai 'a dense growth of cai' (12).

² The author is indebted to Professor John B. Leighly of the University of California at Berkeley, under whose guidance this study originated, and to Professor José Pedro Rona of the Universidad de la República, Montevideo, and the Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, whose review of the original manuscript led to substantial revisions. Errors of fact and interpretation remain those of the author.

- Calacala, settlement, and Cala-Cala, nitrate installation, Tarapacá. Quechua. From kala 'clean,' repeated for intensity (1); 'bare' (12). Cala 'a white flower'; Calacala 'sheared,' 'clipped' (4, 11).
- Callecalle, settlement and river, Valdivia. Araucanian. Plant of the Iris family (5, 10). Duplication of calle 'plant of the Iris family' to indicate abundance (12).
- Caucau, settlement, Valdivia. Araucanian, 'A large seagull' (Larus dominicanus) (5, 12, 13).
- Coicoy, point, Nuble; Coicoi, upland region, Valdivia. Araucanian. From coicoy, onomatopoetic for the sound of a toad. Also applied to a heron (1). Species of toad (10).
- Cole-Cole, river, Chiloé. Araucanian. From colù 'red,' repeated for intensity (1).
 Colocolo, island and inlet, Magallanes. Araucanian. 'Mountain cat' (Felis colocolo);
 important figure in Araucanian mythology. Also the name of a cacique in Arauco who fought the Spaniards (1, 2, 5, 10, 12).
- Concón, settlement, island, rocks, Valparaíso. Araucanian. Name of a night bird (10). A night bird of prey. Onomatopoetic, representing its call (1). From cong 'to harvest,' or from congcong 'a night bird,' or 'an abundant harvest' (12). As a verb, 'to enter the water,' as to embark; as a noun, 'owl' (5).
- Cozcoz, river, Valdivia. Araucanian, from codcod 'mountain cat' (1, 12).

Cuacua, river, Valdivia. (?)

- Cueri Cueri, inlet, Aisén; island, Magallanes. (?)
- Cuzcuz, settlement, Coquimbo. A settlement of Peruvian Indians (2). Araucanian, from codcod 'mountain lion.' See Cozcoz (1, 12).
- Chanchan, stream, point, uplands, Valdivia. Araucanian. A low, drooping plant of the family Juncaceae (1, 12). 'Stemmed or dammed waters' (5).
- Chilin-Chilin, peak, Tarapacá. (?)
- Chinchin, river, Osorno. Araucanian. A bush, Azara microphylla (5, 12) or Polygala thetiodes (5).
- Chiuchiu, settlement, Antofagasta. Quechua. From ttiu 'sand,' duplicated to form a collective noun (1). An indigenous settlement (2). Chiu, an interjection used to indicate a sharp whistle, as the wind (11). Also, Araucanian. From chiuchiu, onomatopoetic name of the jilguero (Crysomitris), a songbird (5, 12).
- Cholchol, settlement, river, Cautín. Araucanian. From chollcho 'a spiny thistle' (1). From chol 'a plant of the family Compositae' (5, 12).
- Chonchón, settlement, Maule. Araucanian. A bird whose call means death to him who hears it, from thonthonn (1).
- Choquechoque, peak, Malleco. Araucanian. Duplication of choque 'forked branch,' to indicate abundance (1, 5, 12).
- Chugchug, springs, stream, hills, peak, Antofagasta. (?)
- Golgol, hill, river, Valdivia. Araucanian. From col 'stick,' 'eudgel,' duplicated to express abundance, quality, or intensity (12).
- Gualaguala, inlet, point, Antofagasta. Araucanian. Plural of huala 'an aquatic bird' (12). Also interpreted as Quechua. From huaylla 'meadow' (1). Wálla wálla 'chain of mountains' (11).
- Guayguay, settlement, Valdivia. (?)

Hueño Hueño, river, Llanquihue. Araucanian. From uñon 'to return,' repeated to indicate many twists and turns (1). From hueño, a prefix signifying repetition; of a river, 'to twist,' 'meander' (12). Huene-huene 'churning of the intestines' (8).

Jella Jella, stream, Tarapacá. (?)

Lailay, hills, Antofagasta. Araucanian. Lai 'dead, 'corpse' (5).

Lanlan, stream, Cautín. Araucanian. Lan 'to die' (5).

Laulau, stream, Cautín. Araucanian. Small fungi, mushrooms (5, 12).

Lili, point, Chiloé. (?)

Linlin, island, deeps, Chiloé. Araucanian. From lin, a grass, repeated to indicate abundance (1, 12).

Liu Liu, stream, settlement, Valparaíso. Araucanian. Liu 'white,' 'clear' (5, 8, 12).
Lolo, hill, Malleco. Araucanian. From lolo 'a crab or crayfish' (1). 'A care or den where animals live' (5).

Longlong, river, Cautín. Araucanian. 'Excessively dense' from long 'dense' (5).

Lulú, island, Aisén. Araucanian. 'A scarab beetle'; 'a noise'; 'a multitude' (5).

Llaillay, settlement, Valparaíso; point, Aisén. Araucanian. Onomatopoetic, to imitate the gentle murmur of the wind or of running water (5, 12).

Llaullau, river, Cautín. Araucanian. A fungus, synonymous with Laulau (1, 5, 8, 12).

Lleulleu, river, lake, Arauco. Araucanian. From levn 'to flow rapidly' (1). 'Completely dissolved,' from lleun 'to dissolve' (12). Synonym for Llaullau (5).

Lliulliu, stream, Cautín. Araucanian. From lliuñ 'waterfall,' repeated to indicate abundance (1). Synonym for Liuliu (5).

Llivillivi, upland region, O'Higgins. (?)

Llollillolli, hill, Malleco. Araucanian. Llolli 'a small hole,' as the eye of a needle (5).

Mama, upland, Tarapacá; stream, O'Higgins. Aimara. 'An ore' (1). Quechua. 'Mother' (4, 11). Spanish. Mamá 'mother.'

Marga Marga, stream, Valparaíso. Quechua. Also known as Malgamalga. From markaimarkai(lla) 'easy to carry in the arms' (1, 11). Marcka 'that which can be carried in the arms' (4).

Maya Maya, mountain range, Malleco. (?)

Mimi, island, Aisén. (?)

Miñemiñe, stream, settlement, Tarapacá. Araucanian. A small fruit, Rubus sp. (5, 10, 12). Also identified as Quechua. From miñi 'a thread used in weaving,' repeated for the plural (1).

Pacopaco, stream, Antofagasta. Quechua and Aimara. Pako or paco means 'red' or 'chestnut colored' (1, 11). Pákko 'wool-bearing animals' (11).

Palpal, river, settlement, Nuble. Araucanian. From pal 'stick' ord 'bud,' repeated to indicate abundance (1). A digging stick; also a plant of the Compositae (5, 12).

Pepe, island, Aisén. (?)

Peupeu, stream, Cautín. Araucanian, from peun 'to fear,' repeated for intensity (1). Pidpid, settlement, Chiloé. Araucanian. The name of a bird (5, 12).

Pingopingo, hills, Antofagasta. Araucanian. Word for Ephedra species (10). Quechua, pincu, and Aimara, pinco, 'the wood of the ridge of the house,' and 'the ridge itself'; repeated, 'the ridges' (1).

- Pio-Pio, lake, Chiloé. Araucanian. From pio, the name of a small bird, onomato-poetic, representing its call (1).
- Quelenquelen, stream, Arauco. Araucanian. From quelquelen 'an herb,' or clenclen 'a red bird,' or from culen 'tail,' (1). From quelen 'tail'; the common name of a bird (12).
- Quetequete, settlement, Curicó. Araucanian, from cùthù 'myrtle,' repeated to indicate abundance, or onomatopoetic as the name of a marine bird (1).
- Quilaquila, hill, Antofagasta. Araucanian. From cüla 'three' or quüla 'a tall, branching, ligneous grass' (Chusquea quila) (5, 12).
- Rara, hill, Talca. Araucanian. Onomatopoetic name of a bird (*Phytotoma rara*) (1, 5, 10, 12).
- Rere, settlement, Concepción. Araucanian. 'A woodpecker' (Picus magellanicus) (5, 10, 12).
- Ruca-Ruca, stream, Malleco. Araucanian. Ruca means 'house' (1, 5, 8, 12).
- Tagua Tagua, lagoon, settlement, O'Higgins; Taguatagua, lake, Llanquihue.

 Araucanian. From thahua 'hide or skin'; also the name of a bird (1, 5, 12).
- Taltal, stream, settlement, point, Antofagasta. Araucanian. From thalthal 'a bird,' 'a vulture,' onomatopoetic (1, 10, 12).
- Ten-ten, hill, Coquimbo. Araucanian. From theythey or trentren, a friendly serpent in the Araucanian myth of the universal flood (1, 12).
- Tiltil, stream, settlement, hill, Santiago; hill, Malleco; point, Aisén. Araucanian. From thiln 'to crack,' as a wall, board, or earth, or from tiltil 'a place where straw is kept in the open air,' from thùrn 'to adjust, arrange' (1). From thil or tril 'naked' (12). Tiltil 'a miniature waterfall' (8).
- Toto, island, Aisén. (?)
- Trapatrapa, baths, stream, settlement, Bío-Bío. Araucanian. From thapay 'an herb,' duplicated to indicate abundance (1).
- Tren-tren, hill, Curicó; hill, Talca; Trentren, upland region, Arauco. Araucanian. See Ten-ten.
- Truful Truful, river, Cautín. Araucanian. Probably related to Trav(ü)l from tr(ü)f'l 'twisted' (8), or to Truf-Truf, from trufn 'to boil,' 'to flow torrentially' (12).
- Tuetue, river, Malleco. Araucanian. From tue 'earth,' 'land' (5, 8).
- Vila-Vila, settlement, Tarapacá. Araucanian. From filla or villa 'want,' 'famine' (12).
 Also interpreted as Aimara. From vila 'blood' (2).
- Visavisa, stream, Tarapacá. (?)
- Yaca Yaca, hill, Talca. Quechua? Yaca of uncertain etymology (4); Yákka 'almost,' Yákkayákka 'not quite' (11).

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