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**Who Remembers the People of Fireland?
Reflections Inspired by Martin Gusinde's
Manuscript Remains.
A Contribution to the Study of Linguistic Extermination¹**

To the Memory of the Indian Nations of Tierra del Fuego,
the Noble Human Beings of the Uttermost Part of the Earth,
this paper is respectfully dedicated

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REVIEW ARTICLE

QUI SE SOUVIENT DES HOMMES...

In 1984, Editions Robert Laffont in Paris published one of the most remarkable books I have ever read – *Qui se souvient des hommes...* by Jean Raspail. Its Polish translation by Marek Puskiewicz, laying before me as I begin to type this paper, is titled *Któż pamięta Ludzi z Ziemi Ognistej...* (PIW Publishing Institute, Warsaw 1990). As it seems to be today's rule that the more ambitious the book, the worse it sells, Jean Raspail's work can still be found in "Books at Your Favourite Price" bookstores, at least in Poznań. On their shelves one can still experience the difference between books of not so long ago and the glossy disposable packets of gore called by the same name today.

Jean Raspail's book defies easy classifications. Dedicated to the memory of José Empraire, the greatest authority on the people known at various times as the Alakaluf, the Halakwulup, or thanks to Empraire, the Kawesqar, the nation's own name, the book

¹ First published in: *Lingua Posnaniensis*, vol. XL / 1998, pp. 189–214. Reprinted, with a few corrections, by permission of PTPN and the Editor of *Lingua Posnaniensis*.

is at the same time an ethnological treatise, a passionately articulated history of an exterminated nation, a novel, a philosophical discourse in the noblest French tradition going back to that great teacher of truth, Voltaire (indeed, *Qui se souvient des hommes...* often reminds one of the latter's masterpiece *Traité sur la tolérance à l'occasion de la mort de Jean Calas*, one of the books the study of which should be compulsory in our "civilized" century), and above all, it is the proof that it is still possible for the humanities to have a human face.

On the surface, Raspail's book is inter alia a history of the Kawesqar. The word *Kawesqar* means *People*, and *people* should also mean *humans*. It should, but it seldom does.

Looking at the fate of the Fuegian Nations at the hands of the white man armed with these twin means of extermination, a Bible in one and a gun in the other, one feels powerless fury. The well-known Latin name Linne gave us, *Homo Sapiens*, seems to easily give way to Desmond Morris's much more appropriate a name of *Naked Ape*.

The following paper has long and truly meandering a history. Its immediate inspiration was the discovery by the undersigned of a number of unknown and extremely important Fuegian materials in the manuscript remains of Martin Gusinde SVD (1886–1969). This discovery took place at the library of the Anthropos-Institut of the Verbi Order (SVD = Societas Verbi Divini) at St. Augustin, near Bonn, in 1981. During the intervening seventeen years the last speakers of at least two of the Fuegian languages may have passed away, taking their languages with them. May their spirits forgive the undersigned – I mean every word of it – for being so late with the present paper. Seldom has it happened in the course of my researches that a work of mine was subjected to so much animosity, and so many efforts to undermine it prior to its eventual publication.

Martin Gusinde's papers were examined by the undersigned in late 1981, and a more detailed study of them followed in 1982. The first report on the papers, compiled in 1982 – that means at the time I could work with the entire collection before me – was first submitted to the *International Journal of American Linguistics*, where it proved not linguistic enough, and eventually it landed at *Current Anthropology*. The pre-publication reviewer Mary Ritchie Key gave it a full-hearted "Yes but NO!" rating. The paper was criticised for not comparing Martin Gusinde's papers of the 1920s with the then forthcoming but not yet available work on Kawesqar by Christos Clairis. In other words, a description of the manuscripts from 1920s was not compared with an unpublished work of the 1980s, and this was a sufficient reason to consider the report unworthy of

publication. The same reviewer expressed her dislike for my calling Martin Gusinde “the learned Verbist”. I am sorry, but calling him for example “an ignorant Dominican” would have been scientifically inaccurate. On a few more of such premises, neither the paper nor its revised version were published.

In May 1983 I returned from Bonn, where I was a Humboldt Fellow at the time, to the place I lived – Norway. Since that time, I have not seen Gusinde’s papers. Having failed to interest the German learned institutions in Gusinde’s papers, I could hardly expect it any better in the Land of Midnight Sun. After all, if one minuses “r” (as in “research”) from the name of the self-proclaimed “world’s richest country”, the result is the standard answer to the non-Nordic utopists who think that some of this wealth might be used for funding something else than skiing.

Feeling the urgency, as the few surviving Native Fuegians were all elderly, (this, at least, is what the available sources claimed), I decided to try another way. In 1984, I submitted a research project based on the Fuegian papers to the *ROLEX Awards for Enterprise Competition*, a forum at which I had already scored an ostensible victory in 1980². Needless to say, the project won nothing, but at least a summary of it was published³.

The 1984 ROLEX volume brought a response from an unexpected side. Mr Horacio de Dios, a well-known and respected Argentinian journalist whom I never had the pleasure of meeting, saw the summary of my Fuegian project and brought it to the attention of dr Andrés A. Pérez Diez and the Centro Argentino de Etnología Americana. Dr Pérez Diez contacted me at the address given in the 1984 ROLEX volume and asked whether my report on Gusinde’s papers could be published in Argentina in his own Spanish translation. Thrilled by the possibility of having the paper published in the very land of the Fuegians, I wrote a third, much expanded version and sent it to CAEA. I do not know whether the paper came out in Argentina or not, but this in no way belittles my debt of gratitude to both Mr Horacio de Dios and dr A. A. Pérez Diez. How the Argentine attitude

2 Note to the footnotes. As this paper was first written at the time at the standard reference consisted only of “place and date”, I cannot furnish all the particulars which now form the hard core of a reference. Besides, as my standard reference source on Tierra del Fuego was AND REMAINS UTMOST PART OF THE EARTH, I prefer to use the names of the Fuegian Nations as the Rev. Thomas Bridges and his son E. Lucas Bridges did. I leave it to better-heeled or higher-connected researchers to be more precise.

See: Appendix I to this paper.

3 See: Appendix II to this paper.

contrasts with Norway, where the diploma of the Humboldt Foundation does not even prove the non-Norwegian Humboldtian's doctor's degree...

While preparing the revised version of my paper in 1985, I added to it some words on the books and papers I had managed to locate in other places on the subject of the Fuegian languages. Although most of it was terribly scattered and frequently not even mentioned in standard reference works, it added a lot to my growing collection.

In the meanwhile, the active neglect of my research projects in the Land of Rudolf the Red-Nose Reindeer began to take its toll. Facing the stonewall, or rather the iceberg of Norwegian academic egotism, I finally stopped trying. The spirit of research proved much less interesting to my esteemed colleagues than some other spirits, like Koskenkorva, maybe not a surprising fact in the land which practices a de-facto prohibition... I accepted the magnanimous offer of teaching Polish as mother tongue to a group of primary-school children, castaways like myself under the Midnight Sun. After a few years that assignment was taken away from me, the officially stated reason being that I have university education in philology and language teaching. Apparently, under the Midnight Sun, this is an impediment rather than an advantage to a language teacher, though it takes a while to realize the depths of the approach.

It was only after my return to Poland in the fall of 1992 that I could start completing and publishing the various papers written or sketched in the stultifying shadow of the Holmenkollen. Someone may ask why I am willing to publish this paper now, after so many years, at the time I have no access to the manuscripts in question. The answer is simple – I want to repay at least some of my debt of gratitude to the Fuegian Nations. Maybe it is still not too late to come up with this kind of materials and suggestions. Besides, this paper was circulated in manuscript on more than one occasion, and I can imagine that some of my critics may have used it as a solid lead in their own works, taking advantage of the fact that the report on Gusinde's archive was unpublished, and therefore untracable.

My works have been criticised on occasions for my personal involvement, which is the highest compliment I can imagine. Maybe one day I will get a flat in an ivory tower, but for the present, the very title of Jean Raspail's amazing book reads to me like a silent accusation.

I dedicated this paper to the memory of the Fuegian Nations, but I would also like to bow my head to the memory of those two rare birds, the Rev. Thomas Bridges (1842–1898) and Martin Gusinde SVD (1886–1969), to whom the Fuegian Indians

were human beings like themselves, the children of the same God. Had there been more whites like them...

I do hope that some day a more fortunate (read: better-heeled) researcher shall prepare not only the complete edition of Martin Gusinde's Fuegian papers, but of all the manuscript remains of that extraordinary man. Call it dreams of a latter-day Alnaschar.

1. INCIPIENT REMARKS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following paper is essentially the full report prepared in 1985, based on two earlier versions circulated in manuscript. While taking into consideration much of pre-publication criticism, it still aims at introducing the manuscripts found, not at being an exercise in name-dropping in Fuegian linguistics. I can only refer to the works I could see myself, and the latest publications in Fuegian studies were unavailable wherever I happened to be – in this case in Norway, Germany, Denmark, and Poland.

There are only two plates, for the simple reason that when I was in position to make copies of the papers, I had neither the time nor the funds to do it. My Humboldt project, which was in a very different field, occupied most of my time, while problems of survival prevented me from spending my limited funds on copying the papers, something I still regret. Completing this paper after so many years, and with no access to either the papers or my own notes on them, I can do no better than this.

I am grateful to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung in Bonn-Bad Godesberg, whose Fellowship enabled me to stay at the University of Bonn in 1981–1983, thus making it possible for me to visit the Anthropos-Institut and discover the papers.

My debt of gratitude goes to the Anthropos-Institut: Father Josef Henninger who was the first to tell me about the papers; Father E. J. Luzbetak, the then Director of the Institut, who gave permission to examine the archives and publish the Fuegian findings; dr Ursula Hahn, the Anthropos librarian; Mr Hans Keuthmann who helped me to go through the papers and separate the major Fuegiana; and last but not least, to Birgit Lenz-Volland, for her unfailing and friendly help in locating the most obscure Fuegiana in the uncatalogued parts of the Anthropos-Institut library.

For the important additional help I am grateful to the following: Miss Kathleen Cann, Archivist, The Bible Society, London, for a complete copy of all the Society's papers connected with the Fuegian Mission; Mr Timothy O'Leary, File Research Director, Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, for spreading the news about my findings; Mrs Barbara Grimes, the Editor of the *Ethnologue* of 1974, and dr J. Reinhard, both of the Wycliffe Bi-

ble Translators, for updating my materials on the surviving Indian population of Tierra del Fuego; Mrs María Teresa Sanz, Biblioteca Nacional, Santiago, Chile, for the important personal communication of 21.07.1980; Mrs Irma Ruiz, Buenos Aires, for a copy of the recording of Selk'nam songs recorded in Tierra del Fuego during the 76th research journey by the members of INM Carlos Vega; prof. Bernard Heuvelmans for a gift copy of his famous book *Sur la piste des bêtes ignorées*, revised edition in 4 volumes, Geneve 1982; prof. Johannes Wilbert for several personal communications and the gift of several volumes of the collection of folk literature of South American Indians; Mr Ulrich Wegner of Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, for copies of all the recordings made in Tierra del Fuego by M. Gusinde, W. Furlong and W. Koppers; and finally to dr Ryszard Stemplowski for a lot of good advice.

2. THE FINDING OF THE PAPERS

I think the best way of telling the story is to begin at the beginning of my Fuegian interests. In late 1979 I bought a second-hand copy of E. Lucas Bridges's *Uttermost Part of the Earth* in the J. K. Żupański Scientific Antiquarian Bookstore in Poznań, the place where so many of my interests have begun ⁴. I had already been interested in the Yahgan language and the Thomas Bridges dictionary, having read about them in Polish translation of David Diringer's classic *The Alphabet* ⁵. The book by the son of Thomas Bridges made a great and lasting impression on me, and I have been on the lookout for Fuegiana ever since.

In 1980 I took advantage of being in Norway to contact the British Library, London, and ask some questions. I learnt that the original manuscript by Thomas Bridges was

4 BRIDGES Lucas E., *Uttermost Part of the Earth*. Special Edition, New York 1950. With 97 photographs and 5 maps, an introduction by A.F. Tchieffely, and three appendices. The first edition of this most remarkable book came out in London in 1948. Martin Gusinde's copy of the first edition, now a rare book, is in the library of the Anthropos-Institut.

5 DIRINGER David, *The Alphabet. A Key To The History of Mankind*. 1972, translated into Polish by Wojciech Hensel (*Alfabet czyli klucz do dziejów ludzkości*. PIW /= State Publishing Institute/Warsaw). The Polish translation was based on the book's earlier reissue of 1968. The third edition, London 1968, was in two volumes (text and plates separately). To this edition I have no access at this moment. It's vol. I pp. 438–439 gives the story of the Yahgan script, and vol. II p. 433 has the plate showing the Yahgan alphabet. The same plate – the script in Thomas Bridges's handwriting – is repeated in *Uttermost Part of The Earth*, 1950 edition, plate 97, facing p. 537. Comp. the Polish translation pp. 537–538, and see Plate Two for a sample of the Yahgan script and few words on it.

still there, and that a limited edition of the dictionary was published by the Anthropos-Institut in 1933 for private distribution. When I found myself in Bonn as a Humboldt Fellow in the summer of 1981, I took the first opportunity to visit the Anthropos-Institut at St. Augustin, hoping to be able to examine a copy of the printed dictionary. Seeing my interest in Tierra del Fuego, Father Josef Henninger SVD told me that the entire “Nachschlass” of Martin Gusinde’s was stored right there, untouched since Gusinde’s death in 1969, and that it was more than likely to contain a lot of unknown Fuegian materials of all kinds.

After getting the necessary permission, and with the help of Mr. Hans Keuthmann⁶, I set out to examine Martin Gusinde’s manuscript remains and to separate the Fuegiana. My first impression was the sheer size of the collection, which was literally a roomful of papers, negatives, photographs, newspaper clippings and papers of all kinds, arranged in boxes and parcels of various sizes exactly as the owner left them.

It took several days to go through all the papers and separate the major Fuegiana. When I finally considered the amount and scope of them, I realized it was my duty to report the existence of those papers and put up for discussion my ideas of what could and should be done with them. In the process of making a sketch of the contents of the papers I took my first lessons in Fuegian studies. I am well aware that my main field is entirely different, and that in the following pages I am trying to sail the roaring forties – but the papers are too important, priceless even, to be left undescribed.

For several reasons I consider this paper a *preliminary* report. Even during my stay in Bonn, I was in no position to give more time to the papers, my Humboldt project occupying all my time. A detailed description of the papers would necessitate learning Gusinde’s system of transcription for the three Fuegian languages, its relationship to the Rev. Thomas Bridges’s Yahgan script, deciphering large notebooks kept in shorthand, arranging the numerous manuscripts whose loose sheets got scattered, and so on. The few major sources on Fuegian languages are not always easily available, and references to them are frequently incomplete⁷. As I am writing these words with no access to any of them, I cannot relate Gusinde’s manuscripts to the corpus of data already available in print. All my attempts at getting some support for working on the papers have failed, and in such a situation I can only place the description in a somewhat broader perspective of my Fuegian readings, which means that only books – and a few major papers – pub-

⁶ Mr. Keuthmann was, at that time, cataloguing the manuscript remains of Paul Schebesta SVD. I take this opportunity to thank him once again for his invaluable help – and patience.

lished before 1985 are included. In other words, I could use only that what I could obtain – even though some of the well-placed critics of my papers commented with smug satisfaction that this or that was not referred to, but ought to have been. Maybe they have not noticed that the report closes with a concrete project of editing the papers, for the carrying out of which nobody would be more willing than the undersigned.

3. THE PRESENT (=1982) STATE OF THE PAPERS

The first impression I got of Gusinde's papers was one of chaos: boxes, parcels, albums, notebooks, diaries, negatives, all lumped together. The variety of materials is enormous, reflecting the type of scholarship now, unfortunately, gone almost forever: countless newspaper clippings, letters, diaries, bills, notes on loose sheets, manuscripts of Gusinde's own works as well as of publications received for reviews, and innumerable photo films.

There is no uniformity among the papers. Some are written upon on one side, just as many on both; the sizes of sheets and notebooks vary greatly, and so do the colours and shades of ink (this was a pre-ballpen era!); many papers, written in fading pencil, need retyping as they smudge; a considerable amount of material is in shorthand (this was the era when wax cylinder was all the rage!); a number of larger sheets, folded decades ago, begins to crumble along the folds and needs immediate copying or conservation.

7 COOPER J. M., *Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra Del Fuego and Adjacent Territory*. Bulletin 63 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington 1917, remains the most indispensable bibliography. GUSINDE Martin SVD, *Die Feuerland-Indianer*: vol. I, *The Selk'nam*, 1176 pages and a portfolio of plates, vol. II, *Die Yamana*, 1500 pages with 49 plates and maps, vol. III part 1, *Die Halakwulup*, 683 pages with 51 plates, and finally vol. III part 2, *Anthropologie der Feuerland-Indianer*, 511 pages plus a portfolio of plates, is most likely the ultimate work of the subject, published by the Anthropos-Institut in Mödling-bei-Wien, 1931 (vol. I), 1937 (vol. II), 1974 (vol. III.1), 1939 (vol. III.2). There is also a popular one-volume abridgement of the above: GUSINDE Martin, *Urmenschen in Feuerland*, Berlin-Wien-Leipzig 1946. *Die Yamana* was partly translated into English by Frieda Schütze and published as five volumes of bound files by the Human Relations Area Files, New Haven 1961, titled *The Yamana*. The same institution has completed the translation of *Die Selk'nam* which has not been released as a book. As far as I know, *Die Halakwulup* has not been translated into English so far (= 1985, PK). I have seen references to the ongoing Spanish translation of Martin Gusinde's opus magnum by the members of Centro Argentino de Etnología Americana, Buenos Aires, but I have never seen it, nor do I know how far the translation has progressed. The folk tales of the Yamana and the Selk'nam, collected by Gusinde, have been re-translated into English, see ADDENDA III to this paper.

A treasure of its own is the large collection of quotations from all the sources imaginable pertaining to Tierra del Fuego, obviously jotted down, or typed on just any scrap of paper Gusinde happened to have at hand at the time of seeing an interesting reference.

Most of the papers are in Spanish and German, with occasional pages in Portuguese, French, and English (this proportion, too, reflects the world bygone).

The system of transcribing the Fuegian languages seems to be nearly identical with the one used by Gusinde in his opus magnum *Die Feuerland-Indianer* and in his and F. Hestermann's 1933 edition of Thomas Bridges's dictionary.

The photographs, at the time (=1981) in complete disorder, amount to several hundred prints and at least twice as many negatives.

Many readers of *Die Feuerland-Indianer* may have been puzzled by the almost total absence of language data in the huge volumes, even though the author's command of the three Fuegian tongues seems obvious from any page. On the basis of the papers we can now be sure that Martin Gusinde was planning a large work on the grammar of Ona/Selk'nam, and a work on Alakaluf/Halakwulup. The latter was practically undescribed at the time of Gusinde's expeditions, Yahgan/Yamana materials were available with the Bridges family in Ushuaia, and a large grammar-cum-dictionary of Selk'nam was still in print, but not infrequently Gusinde preferred to prepare the study tools all by himself⁸. The papers indicate that he dropped his plans for studies in Ona and Alakaluf sometime around 1930, abandoning the half-complete drafts. It seems to me that the outlines Gusinde left behind, completed with his vocabularies, provide enough material to complete and reconstruct the intended works.

4. THE CONTENTS OF THE PAPERS

I shall now give a brief outline of the collection, arranged under the following 8 headings: the Yahgan/Yamana language, the Ona/Selk'nam language, the Alakaluf/Halakwulup/Kawesqar language, ethnological papers, printed texts, letters and private papers, photographs, and sound recordings. The above division was based on practical conditions, as there was neither time nor funds to prepare a proper catalogue. The categories often overlap. Who could guess that many important scientific works could be packed together with the author's personal letters or belongings?

A. THE YAHGAN/YAMANA LANGUAGE MATERIALS

The main item here is a large notebook titled *Yagan 1922*, containing 154 pages of ca. 30 lines a page, written on both sides in ink and pencil. Large parts of the text are in shorthand. Bearing no internal division of any kind, the volume contains extensive vocabularies, notes on grammar, ethnological observations, songs with notes and rhythm patterns, and some drawings. Two shorthand sections are clipped together in the way suggesting subject units, pp. 1–53 and 108–115. Numerous loose sheets, unnumbered, are inserted throughout. The original page 155 is partly cut off, and only a narrow slip of it remains in place. While the volume gives a clear impression of a fieldwork notebook, numerous pages have annotations, corrections and additions of seemingly later date.

Jamana 1914 – Oktober 1916 is the title of the second notebook dealing with the Yahgans. It is only 27 pages long, 24 lines to a page, with thirteen extra sheets inserted throughout. The entire text is in shorthand.

Fuerland 8.III.1922 – 30.IV.1922, Santiago, the third and last Yahgan notebook in the collection, contains 66 pages of 31 lines each. Written in German, in both ink and pencil, it also features passages in shorthand. It commences with a note dated 7.XI.1912, and includes vocabulary and ethnographic notes, numerous photographs of

8 The following are the basic reference works on the three Fuegian languages:

a) YAHGAN / YAMANA (See fn. 15 for additional information)

BRIDGES Thomas, A Few Notes on the Structure of Yahgan., in: *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* XIII / August 1893, London, pp. 53-80.

BRIDGES Thomas, *Yamana-English Dictionary*, edited by Ferdinand Hestermann and Martin Gusinde, Mödling 1933, private edition of 300 copies financed by the Bridges family. See: *Uttermost Part of the Earth*, Appendix II.

b) ONA / SELK'NAM

BEAUVOIR J. M., *Pequeño diccionario del idioma Fueguino-Ona con su correspondiente castellano*, 2 parts, Buenos Aires 1901.

BEAUVOIR J. M., *Los Selknam*, Buenos Aires 1915, the largest published dictionary of the Selk'nam language, containing some plates and texts as well. Criticised by Lucas Bridges in *Uttermost Part of the Earth*, pp. 527-528.

TONELLI D. A., *Gramatica e glossario della lingua degli Ona-Selknam della Terra del Fuoco*, Torino 1926.

c) ALAKALUF / HALAKWULUP / KAWESQUAR

BORGATELLO M., *Notizie grammaticali e glossario della lingua degli indi Alakuluf abitanti dei Canali Magellanici della Terra del Fuoco*, Torino 1928.

the Indians and missionary families, and several relevant clippings from Chilean newspapers.

B. THE SELK'NAM/ONA LANGUAGE MATERIALS

While the Yahgan materials were complete notebooks, the Selk'nam ones are mostly on loose sheets. The main body of these have been packed by Gusinde himself in two large envelopes captioned *Idioma de Los Selk'nam* and *Sprache der Selk'nam* respectively. While listing their contents, I divided them into two groups: Gusinde's own manuscripts, and the works by others.

The first section offers an astonishing variety of materials. First of all there is a glossary, Selk'nam to German, of 351 words and phrases written on cards, with an addition of 12 cards marked *Norddialekt*. This is further enlarged by a manuscript volume containing two separate dictionaries (I hesitate to use any other word to describe works this size!), adding to over 2000 entries, which is packed together with Gusinde's letters and private papers (see IV.6.).

The bulk of the remaining papers is formed by skeleton grammar of the Selk'nam language, that is groups of words and sentences illustrating one grammatical topic, always with a title. There are altogether 34 such "skeleton chapters", illustrating such subjects as nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, verbs and verbal derivations, adjectives and their comparison, adverbs and adverbial constructions, the genitive case, interrogatives, interjections, conjunctives, tenses, prepositions, word-building, syntax etc. Separate sections discuss the cardinal points and the vocabulary of orientation in space. Several loose sheets contain a wide range of separate sentences, but their quick (of necessity) perusal does not indicate any obvious pattern of subject groupings. Although there was no time for a detailed analysis, I estimate that these sheets must contain at least a few hundred lexical entries with usage examples.

The second of the two envelopes arranged by Gusinde himself contains, inter alia, a vocabulary of 85 entries captioned *Vocabulario de la lengua de los Onas del Sud*, notes on the phonetic systems of the three Fuegian languages, a detailed note on the Selk'nam alphabet, and a list of 34 words collected on 26.VIII.1923 by Antonio Foin (otherwise unknown to me). It also contains notes on Selk'nam diphthongs, nasal and lateral sounds and the various pronunciations of [d] and [f].

The papers by other authors are all in typescripts. Three of them deserve a note, two by F. Lahille and one by W. Becerra. Each contains vocabularies to the total amount of

294 items. One of the papers by F. Lahille is something of a linguistic curiosity, as the author attempts at demonstrating the presence of, as the title has it, *Vestigios Griegos en la idioma de Los Oonas* (sic! PK), supporting his case with 52 comparative examples.

Besides pure grammar, Gusinde's own "skeleton chapters" also cover such subjects as colours, seasons, the weather vocabulary, time and its division etc.

C. THE ALAKALUF/HALAKWULUP LANGUAGE MATERIALS

I regard this part of Gusinde's Fuegian papers to be very likely the most important one, for at least two reasons (= in 1985):

a) there does not seem to exist any systematic survey of the language comparable in scope to the dictionaries of Yahgan by the Rev. Thomas Bridges⁹, and of Selk'nam by J. M. Beauvoir¹⁰;

b) the Alakaluf Indians form the largest surviving community of Native Fuegians¹¹ and it is still not too late to record Gusinde's materials with the native speakers, (Cf Addenda II at the end of this paper)¹².

The papers include seven vocabularies of various sizes, five of them collected by Gusinde himself.

Gusinde's Alakaluf vocabularies were collected in 1922 and 1923. They are arranged in topical groups and amount to 1061 entries, each identified as to the dialect area. The back sides of many vocabulary sheets contain remarks on Alakaluf songs and rhythm patterns.

An extremely interesting separate sheet lists the names given by the Indians to several whites, with identifications and explanations.

Of the two additional vocabularies, the first one is the work by A. Whiteside included in a paper on Canalese (? PK) and Alakaluf comparisons, 66 entries long. The second one is an extensive Alakaluf-Spanish vocabulary of 240 entries signed "R. D. Benore" (otherwise unknown) and dated "Punta Arenas 8.IV.1915". The last of its 19 large sheets, all written on one side only, ends with the words "Punta Arenas 15.IV.1922". Nei-

9 See fn. 7a

10 See fn. 7b

11 See Addenda II at the end of this paper.

12 This Addenda had to be left in its 1985 version, as I have no access to current editions of the *Ethnologue* at present.

ther Cooper's bibliography nor Borgatello's grammar mention this vocabulary¹³, and no details concerning the compiler could be found among the papers. Besides the vocabularies, Gusinde's Alakaluf materials contain over 30 sheets with quotations from various sources, always identified, on the "strange, harsh, and guttural" (as these quotations have it) character of the Alakaluf language.

The collection does not seem to contain any "skeleton chapters" of the Alakaluf grammar, but it is not impossible that such papers may be scattered throughout the main body of the archive. Again, the conditions of my stay in Bonn did not allow for any longer archive research. It is not out of place in this context to stress the urgency of preparing a complete catalogue of *all* of Martin Gusinde's manuscript remains.

Note on Haush/Aush or Eastern Ona

As far as I know, the status of this language has not been clarified so far. To Lucas Bridges, it clearly was a distinct dialect of Selk'nam, vide his remarks in *Uttermost Part of the Earth*. Various other sources collected by Gusinde call it either a dialect or a separate language. Gusinde himself seems to have been uncertain about it. Among his Selk'nam papers there is a stapled, three-page long study of the distinctive features of what he calls Haush or Eastern Ona. It is possible that a systematic study of his Selk'nam materials may yield more data on this strange tongue. Because of the uncertainty as to the nature of Aush/Haush, I decided to include this remark as a separate sub-point. If there is any study of Eastern Ona available in print, I am not aware of it (Note: written in 1985).

D. ETHNOLOGICAL MATERIAL

This part of the papers is very large, and consists of differing types of materials: notebooks large and small, loose sheets, manuscripts both by Gusinde and by other authors, (the latter often prepared on Gusinde's request), typed copies of otherwise printed works, letters etc.

One of the most interesting manuscripts is the text by Lucas Bridges titled *Ona legends, tales etc.* The edition of it, with absolutely basic notes, will come out in the forthcoming Festschrift for Prof. Per Denez, University of Rennes, Bretagne.¹⁴

13 See fins. 6 and 7c

Three letters in Spanish, sent by Gusinde to the Chilean Governor of the Magellanes Province between September 1923 and March 1924, discuss the life conditions of the Fuegians.

As a complete list of all the papers one might classify as ethnological would take too much space to include, I had to leave it undone. I can only say that most of Gusinde's own manuscripts in this group of papers are fieldwork notes.

E. PRINTED TEXTS

Under this very general heading I put together all the booklets, brochures, pamphlets, offprints etc. found in the archive. Again, there is no space for including the full list, but one of them deserves a few words in this preliminary report – it is a collection of morning and evening prayers in Yahgan, translated by J. Williams, on the subject of which there is some confusion¹⁵.

Newspaper clippings, which I classify under this heading, range from academic reports to travel remarks to short stories set in Tierra del Fuego (! PK). There are hundreds of them, showing the attention paid by Gusinde to even the seemingly insignificant references to the Fuegians, and his care for details. This collection is almost certainly a unique one, and it more than deserves to be arranged in chronological order and reprinted in a facsimile volume titled *Tierra del Fuego in the World Press 1920–1935*. If I may add a personal remark here, it is almost unimaginable today, in the age of the electronic storing of information, to even picture oneself the amount of tedious, often painstaking work that must have gone into these clippings alone!

Many of what I call “printed texts” do not touch directly on the Fuegians, but there may well be background connections. To give an example, Gusinde kept a booklet titled

14 See PIOTR KLAFKOWSKI, “ONA LEGENDS, TALES ETC., an unpublished manuscript by E. Lucas Bridges from the manuscript remains of Martin Gusinde SUD”, in: “*Breizh ha Pabliou Europa*”, Pennadou en nor da Per Denez, publ. by HOR YEZH & KLASK, Presses Universitaires de Rennes 1999, pp. 427–439. (this footnote appears only in *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, PK).

15 COOPER J. M., *Analytical and Critical Bibliography*... (cf fn. 6 above), p. 135 states that these prayers “had just been sent to London for publication”. The only other reference to this booklet that is known to me is in LOTHROP S. K., *The Indians of Tierra del Fuego*, New York 1928, pp. 119–120. However, the booklet was published in Punta Arenas, not in London, in 1916, by Magellan Times Press. It is 8 pages long, with a very long Spanish title I see no need to quote at present, and it contains altogether 13 prayers. The unnumbered first page of the booklet gives the Yahgan translation of the Credo.

El hombre y el animal and a few letters connected with it. The booklet was written by F. Lahille, whose two papers on Selk'nam have already been mentioned in IV.2. above.

As one might expect, the archive contains the Yahgan translations of Luke, John, and Acts, all by the Rev. Thomas Bridges. A copy of the Yahgan grammar in French by L. Adam, based on the above three translations, is also extant¹⁶. Strangely enough, there is no copy of the Rev. Thomas Bridge's important paper on the Yahgan grammar¹⁷, which until today remains the only work of this kind available in English (Note: written in 1985).

F. LETTERS AND PRIVATE PAPERS

Although most of these have been arranged into one package by Gusinde himself, the selection is by no means final. The same package contains the largest Selk'nam dic-

- 16 *The Gospel of S. Luke Translated into the Yahgan Language*, London 1881; *The Acts of the Apostles Translated into the Yahgan Language*, London 1883; *The Gospel of S. John Translated into the Yahgan Language*, London 1886. All the translations are by the Rev. Thomas Bridges. On the basis of the above translations, Lucienne Adam wrote a short work titled *Grammaire de la langue Jâgan*, Paris 1885. Adam's work does not seem to be based on its author's firsthand knowledge, but it is available and deserves attention if only for this reason. It may be of some interest to note that L. Adam has also written at least one more sketch of grammar of a little-known language, Manchu this time: *Grammaire de la langue Mandchou*, Paris 1873. I have not tried to follow Adam's works in bibliographies, but it seems to me that L. Adam, just like his more famous brother-in-arms Georg Sauerwein, is the name that turns up rather frequently in the bibliographies of publications on less-known languages in the second half of the XIX century. L. Adam's papers, if they are available, might contain materials on both the Rev. Thomas Bridges and Yahgan.
- 17 See fn. 7a. In spite of its modest title, the paper really is a concise yet thorough grammar of the language. It seems possible that the manuscript of this paper is the mysterious "Yahgan grammar" whose existence is mentioned several times both by Lucas Bridges and almost all the scholars who have known the Bridges family. In this context it is worth noting that the Rev. Thomas Bridges authored many manuscript works on Yahgan / Yamana, and that we are far from knowing all the necessary details about his work. For example, we know that at the time of Gusinde's expeditions, the manuscript of the Yahgan / Yamana dictionary was considered lost, as it somehow fell into F. Hestermann's hands as late as in 1929 (cf Lucas Bridges, *Uttermost Part of The Earth*, Appendix II titled *The Case of the Wandering Dictionary*, pp. 529–537). See also Martin Gusinde, "Zur Geschichte des Yamana-English Dictionary by Thomas Bridges" in: *Anthropos* XXVIII, 1933, pp. 159–177, and P. W. Kopfers, "Wo befindet sich das Manuskript letzter Redaktionen des grosse Yamana (=Yagan) Lexikons von Thomas Bridges?" in: *Anthropos* XXI/1926, pp. 991–995. Only the present generation of the Bridges family would be able to remove these question marks, and a one-volume complete edition of the Rev. Thomas Bridges's papers would be a fitting monument to that extraordinary man.

tionary – two separate vocabularies adding to over 2000 entries, and starting from the reverse side of the same pages, a third one of well over 200 words and phrases. This volume has already been mentioned in IV.2.

Most of the letters are the ones to Gusinde, with rather few copies of his own answers. Some are from his family members, others come from fellow missionaries and scholars (interestingly enough, there are no letters from W. Koppers and F. Hestermann, Gusinde's contemporaries and fellow Verbists, and both Fuegian scholars of no small importance). Several letters sent by Gusinde's friends living in Tierra del Fuego contain bits and pieces of news about the Indians Gusinde worked with. A good example of this kind is the letter written by Lucas Bridges, sent from England and dated 20.VII.1928¹⁸.

Finally, the papers in this group include various bills and calculations of the expenses of Gusinde's field work, by no means uninteresting details.

G. PHOTOGRAPHS

As I have already mentioned, this part of the collection is (= 1982) in total disorder. I managed to count approximately a thousand prints of all kinds: portraits, groups, landscapes, objects etc. All the portraits and group pictures have identifications and annotations on the backside. Some are arranged in series – men and women of various tribes, all the members and relatives of one family, and so on. A number of nude pictures and head studies reflects Gusinde's anatomical and craniological interests¹⁹. Many other prints, used at one time or the other as exhibition materials, are numbered and explained in attached checklists. A significant number of portraits and group pictures appears in countless copies of various sizes. Almost all the prints are clear, allowing a good study of the details. When going through them, I had the feeling of never having seen at least a number of them in Gusinde's published works.

The sheer volume of the negatives, both cut and scrolled, indicates that they may contain a number of priceless materials. Unfortunately, going through them was out of question, if only for technical reasons. The few negative scrolls I examined, chosen de-

18 The tone of that letter seems to indicate that the working relationship between Lucas Bridges and Martin Gusinde was not a casual one. However, it seems strange to see that Gusinde's name and works are not mentioned even once in L. Bridges's *Uttermost Part of Earth*. Could it be that Lucas Bridges had no access to Gusinde's published works? This is another question which only someone from the Bridges family could answer with authority.

19 See *Die Feuerland-Indianer* vol. III part. 2 cf fn. 6 above.

liberately at random, contained several unpublished portraits and group pictures of the Fuegians.

H. SOUND RECORDINGS

Although the collection does not contain the actual recordings, it offers some information on what Gusinde accomplished in this regard during his Fuegian expeditions. The papers include a detailed list of contents of 26 phonographic cylinders with the songs and some spoken data collected from members of all the three main Fuegian Nations (only the Haush, see IV.3.1. are not mentioned). The cylinders were recorded in 1923, and in 1925 they were stored at the Anthropos-Institut, Mödling, Austria. Sometime later, the collection was moved to Berlin. In 1968 Gusinde exchanged a few letters with the Music Department of the Berlin Museum of Folk Art. He obviously wanted to get hold of his own collection. The Museum informed him that the cylinders cannot be lent out, but he was welcome to come to Berlin to listen to them.

In the letter to me of 6.IV.1983, dr. Ulrich Wegner of the Musikethnologische Abteilung of the same Museum informed me that only 10 out of 26 original cylinders were extant in the collection, plus some of the Fuegian recordings (again, by no means all) by W. Furlong and W. Koppers. Subsequently, I obtained copies of all the extant recordings kept in Berlin. Most unfortunately, the very recordings of greatest value to a linguist – all the ones containing stories and conversations – are missing. In spite of long search, I have not been able to learn anything about the fate of the missing 16 cylinders recorded by Gusinde, and any information coming from those who know the answer would be greatly appreciated.

The papers include a few letters to Gusinde from E. M. Hornbostel, with annotations indicating that the latter had access to all of Gusinde's recordings. The typescript of Hornbostel's well-known work on Fuegian music²⁰ is also there. It might be possible that E. M. Hornbostel's students, or his papers, might give the answer to the question of what happened to the 16 missing and unrepeatably cylinders.

Somewhat surprisingly, the papers contain no remarks by Gusinde on the large collection of Selk'nam songs recorded and published by Anne Chapman. The only trace is an envelope containing 20 annotated pictures of all kinds, with a note indicating these

20 HORNBOSTEL E. M., *The Music of the Fuegians.*, in: *Ethnos* vols. 3–4 / 1948, pp. 61–102, and *Fuegian Songs.*, in: *American Anthropologist* vol. 38/ 1936, pp. 375–387.

were to be lent to A. Chapman. The envelope, unfortunately, is not dated. See Addenda III at the end of this paper.

I. VARIA

A number of other items, packed by Gusinde together with the Fuegian materials but of no obvious connection with them, seems of considerable interest. I would like to mention four such cases.

1. Two large notebooks, in Spanish, containing what appears to be autobiographic recollections of the Indians of Equador. Undated.
2. A manuscript volume, 70 pages long, in Spanish, titled *Idee religioso del Araucano*. Undated.
3. A collection of letters, newspaper clippings, and records of various meetings, all connected with the search for surviving giant ground sloth in the area of Ultima Esperanza²¹.
4. A number of clippings from various South American newspapers on the disappearance of Colonel Fawcett and his expedition²².

The papers also contain several untitled sheets of comparative vocabularies of various South American languages. I could identify only some of them, dealing with the possibility of relationship between Tehuelche and Selk'nam. (Note of 1997: since 1982, several descriptions of South American languages from all over the continent have been published, allowing many new, daring comparative hypotheses. It might be of considerable interest to study the vocabularies collected by Gusinde, and see how much of the current ideas he may have anticipated).

21 See HEUVELMANS Bernard, *Sur la piste des bêtes ignorées*, new edition revised and corrected, Geneva 1982, 4 vols: vol. 3 chapter 12, *Le pareusseux géant de la patagonie*. pp. 9–81, and bibliography, vol. 4 pp. 209–211. The Polish edition of the same, *Na tropie nieznanych zwierząt*, translated from the English by Helena Kahanowa, Warsaw 1965, Wiedza Powszechna Publishers, pp. 237–271, is based on an earlier edition of Heuvelmans's book, now superseded by the above-mentioned Geneva edition.

22 The "colonel Fawcett mystery" has, in fact, never been solved. It may be a wild shot, but Gusine's papers – even the bits and pieces he cut out from the various South American newspapers – might contain some information that could possibly help to explain the fate of the Fawcett expedition.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND POSTULATES FOR FURTHER STUDY

I believe that the above preliminary report, even though of necessity both too short and focused only on the language data, gives a good idea about the richness and variety of Martin Gusinde's manuscript remains. The Fuegian papers alone contain more than enough to keep a team busy for years, and they are only one division of a much larger collection. Similar accounts could and should be compiled on Gusinde's papers dealing with the Indians of both South and North Americas, the African nations, the Polynesian peoples etc²³.

The direction of any future research based on Gusinde's papers should, in my opinion, be as follows:

- a) to trace Gusinde's correspondents and try to collect his own letters,
- b) to locate the missing 16 wax cylinders, put all the recorded Fuegian material together (adding to it whatever may be found in US, Chilean, and Argentinian libraries), and make it available for study,
- c) to print all Gusinde's negatives, sort out and identify the prints, and create the pictorial basis for the future Fuegian photo archive,
- d) to trace all the Fuegiana brought by Gusinde to Chilean and European musea, compile a descriptive catalogue, and cross-reference it to his published works²⁴,
- e) to duplicate all the papers preserved in the collection, and take care that the future researchers work only with copies, resorting to the originals only in cases of utmost necessity²⁵.

As the basic work for all the above postulates, a detailed catalogue of Martin Gusinde's manuscript remains should be compiled and published, conceivably under the joint auspices of the Anthropos-Institut and some specialized research centre in South American studies. The nature of this future catalogue, its size, and the probable

23 My impression of the contents of the entire collection was chiefly based on what I saw during the search for, and the separating of the Fuegiana. However, I remember having noticed numerous papers and word-lists dealing with the Apache and Navajo languages, Easter Island, several African languages etc.

24 To celebrate Martin Gusinde's 80th birthday in 1966, the Anthropos-Institut published a booklet containing a complete list of his publications in ethnology and anthropology. This could be of considerable help in preparing a list of artifacts Gusinde has brought for various musea from his numerous travels all over the world.

25 The cost of copying the entire collection, even if high, pales against the importance of having all the papers easily available in copies of uniform size.

printing expenses, call for both scholarly and financial support of a major academic institution. I take the opportunity presented by this paper to call upon whoever reads these lines to consider such help.

Another point suggests itself. The history of the extermination, not to say “the final solution” of the Fuegian “problem”, compares easily with the equally notable achievements of the white christian “civilization” in Australia and Tasmania. The given earth was well and truly subjected! (Gen. 3:17, the key to the ecological crisis of today). We shall, in all likelihood, never know what unique lore has already been irretrievably lost all over the tribal lands of the world. With all the respect the Reverend Thomas Bridges is indubitably due, let us not forget that he of all men has managed to live for decades among the Yahgans without ever coming to know anything about their complex religious beliefs, which were “discovered” (how we whites love to “discover” the known!!!) by Martin Gusinde SVD. As the latter tells us in the Fuegians’ gravestone, *Die Feuerland-Indianer*, the Indians told him that they never mentioned any of their beliefs to Thomas Bridges, because they sensed (these “primitives” ...) that his attitude towards it would have been negative. Is there not a great lesson of academic humility in it to teach us?²⁶

By the latest reports, conflicting as they are, there have still been some elderly Yahgan and Selk’nam Indians (= in 1985, PK), and a comparatively large group of the Alakaluf²⁷. These people could, most probably, speak their own languages, even if the numerous Spanish loanwords might be corrupting the picture²⁸. Using Gusinde’s materials as well as the printed works by Gusinde, Thomas Bridges, J. M. Beauvoir and others,

26 As these words are being typed, the *Time* Magazine carries interesting discussion on the world’s dying languages and the reasons of preserving them, see *Time* no. 27/July 7, 1997, pp. 38–44, “Speaking in tongues”, and two full pages of letters from the readers on the subject in *Time* no. 31/August 4, 1997, and *Time* no. 32/August 11, 1997. The current issue of *Time* no. 33/August 18, 1997 – brings no new messages on the subject, but let us hope this does not mean there won’t be any more. A dead language is a lost treasure, but no technology shall ever help us to find it, once lost. The Native Fuegians have been exterminated in the name of white man’s “christian civilization”. Shall we now wait and look indifferently as the last chance of gaining better knowledge of their languages slips through our fingers?

27 Cf Addenda II at the end of this paper.

28 This is a frequent argument raised against any attempts of the postulated kind. For example, even David Diringer mentions this in *The Alphabet* (see fn. 4 above). However, Gusinde’s papers, and the other Fuegian vocabularies available, might help the last surviving native speakers to recall the words lost for decades – and even if this is not a case, the mechanism of Spanish borrowings in the three Fuegian languages would be more than sufficiently interesting a subject.

WE MAY STILL BE ABLE TO record the Fuegian languages and save them from disappearing forever.

Gusinde's photographs, which conceivably must include the pictures of the parents and relatives of the last surviving Fuegian elders, might help the field-researcher to break the barrier of mistrust the last surviving Fuegians may well have developed. I have seen the same pattern functioning just admirably in Indian Tibet.

Conscious that most of my readers will turn the following lines to ridicule, I want to call upon the entire scientific world, and most of all upon those who call themselves linguists, to climb down the derivation trees and help to preserve whatever is STILL left of the Fuegian languages and Aboriginal civilization. The expense of duplicating Gusinde's manuscripts, and of an expedition to trace and record the last surviving native speakers, cannot and could not be a high one, particularly if set up against the expedition's irreplaceable results...

And the final remark. Gusinde's Fuegian, and presumably all the other papers give us clear ideas of what he himself intended to do with them. With the help of more recent publications, and hopefully, with the assistance of the last Native Fuegians themselves, it should not be too difficult to reconstruct Gusinde's projected works and the make the entire corpus available in one volume. A similar work has already been completed once before in the orbit of the Anthropos-Institute, with resounding success²⁹, so we have both a precedent case and a pattern to follow, if need be.

As it is, saving – or at least trying to save and document – the dying languages is the greatest challenge to any linguist or cultural anthropologist who still remembers that no cultures, and no religions, would ever exist but for the languages and the peoples who speak them³⁰.

The complete edition of Martin Gusinde's manuscript remains – the Fuegian ones to begin with, as *MONUMENTA LINGUARUM FUEGIARUM* – would be the most fitting mon-

29 WÖLFEL Dominik Josef, *Monumenta linguae Canariae*, Graz 1965, a monumental collection of materials on the Guanche language of the Canary Islands' Aborigines. This work widely known and respected, could easily become the first volume of a new and important series of similar publications, setting the pattern for future volumes to follow.

30 This may seem breaking the open door, but all too often it does seem to the undersigned that a typical contemporary linguist could not care less for the vanishing languages and their speakers, sitting in an armchair in front of his computer with a hamburger in one hand and a mouse in the other one. And yet, languages are alive only when their speakers are alive. No computer program, not even the most arcane and obtrusive a theory can restore a language once dead to new life.

ument both to Father Gusinde and the people whom he was one of the exceptionally few to treat as fellow human beings, his equals before the Lord he served so brilliantly. I close this report with words of hope it will not remain, to use the New Testament phraseology, “the voice of one that crieth in the wilderness”³¹.

Written in St. Augustin and Bonn-Bad Godesberg, Oct. 1981–Sept. 1982. Revised in Solberg, Norway, in May 1984 and in April 1985. This final version completed on August 17, 1997, in Poznań, with the last updating of October 7, 1997.

ADDENDA to the paper: *Who Remembers the People of Fireland? Reflections Inspired by Martin Gusinde’s Manuscript Remains. A Contribution to the Study of Linguistic Extermination.*

I. THE BRIDGES MANUSCRIPTS

This section of the Addenda attempts to give the basic information about the manuscripts of the Yahgan dictionary by the Rev. Thomas Bridges. I believe this should be of interest to anyone interested in the study of Gusinde’s own papers.

In July 1985, after the final version of the preceding paper had been completed, I was able to examine the manuscripts presented to the British Museum by E. Lucas Bridges, the son of Thomas Bridges. As the readers of *Uttermost Part of the Earth* will recall, Lucas Bridges mentions those papers in the way strongly suggesting they are merely the manuscripts of the 1933 printed version of the dictionary (comp. notes 7 and 15 to the preceding paper, and *Uttermost Part of the Earth*, Appendix II, particularly pp. 535–537).

When I examined the manuscripts, which are now kept in the Manuscript Students’ Room of the British Library, I found out – much to my surprise – that they contain no less than four separate works, plus three printed texts. A brief outline of them all follows.

1. ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS 46.177

A holograph notebook in Thomas Bridges’s hand. Contents: Preface (pp. 1–2), Yahgan-English dictionary (pp. 3–108), English-Yahgan dictionary (pp. 108–238), Sentences (pp. 238), and a section titled “Forms of verbs not familiar” (p. 239). Through-

31 Mark 1:3. I would much prefer to conclude this paper with these words in Yahgan / Yamana, as corresponding New Testament passages (Luke 3:4 and John 1:23) are available in Thomas Bridges’s translation, but I have no access to those texts at the time of writing this paper.

out the text there are numerous annotations by John Williams (on whose collection of prayers in Yahgan see section 4.5. and fn. 13 in the preceding paper).

2. Additional manuscripts 46.178

The first volume of the printers' manuscript of the 1933 "*Yamana-English Dictionary*". It ends in the place corresponding to paragraph 1 p. 505 of the 1933 edition.

3. Additional manuscripts 46.179

The second and last volume of the clean copy of the dictionary, with a new pagination added by the British Museum. It ends abruptly with the words "to weaca for oneself", the passage corresponding to paragraph 4 p. 606 column B of the 1933 edition. The last few leaves of the Ms seem to be missing. Folio 37 contains the Yahgan rendering of the Lord's Prayer with interlinear translation, followed by a note titled "Names of land birds". Folio 37b has some rather disjointed notes on trisyllables, and ends abruptly in mid-sentence. The last two leaves are partly cut off.

4. Additional manuscripts 46.180

A notebook, 70 leaves long, of an untitled Yahgan-English dictionary, in what appears a clean copy. Ends on entry "ūcitta".

5. Additional manuscripts 46.181 a

The 1933 printed edition of the *Yamana-English Dictionary*, edited by F. Hestermann and Martin Gusinde. Corresponds to items 2 and 3 from the above list.

6. Additional manuscripts 46.181 b and c

The printed versions of the Gospels of Luke and John in Yahgan. Strangely enough, the translation of the Acts is not in the collection. See section 4.5. and note 14 in the preceding paper.

How are these materials related to each other? As far as I could gather from a brief study, items (2) and (3) correspond more or less exactly to the printed dictionary of 1933, except for the change of transcription from Th. Bridges's Yahgan alphabet to the Anthropolos system. Item (4) may well be the "new and last dictionary" the Rev. Thomas Bridges mentioned in his letter of August 18th, 1879 (see the 1933 *Yamana-English Dictionary* p. XV for the full quotation). Finally, item (1) may be the one mentioned by Th. Bridges in the same letter as being much interlined and where "in the earlier part are many inaccuracies" (ibid.).

As the 1933 printed dictionary has no English-Yamana key, the manuscript English-Yahgan dictionary included in item (1) is of unique importance and richly deserves a facsimile edition as soon as possible; I stress the word “facsimile”, because after the death of Martin Gusinde there is – in all likelihood – no one left competent enough in spoken Yahgan to recast Th. Bridges’s manuscript into another transcription.

My impression was that item (4) contained many more entries than the corresponding part of the 1933 printed dictionary, but I had no time to count the entries for a detailed comparison.

To sum it up, it is more than probable that a detailed study of Thomas Bridges’s manuscripts can add a number of new words and phrases to our knowledge of Yahgan/Yamana, supplementing what is included in the printed dictionary of 1933. In particular, the English-Yahgan dictionary more than deserves a printed edition in facsimile, both on its own merits and as the only key to the 1933 Yahgan/Yamana-English dictionary.

II. ARE THERE ANY FUEGIANS LEFT?

It is often heard that all the Fuegian Indians are extinct. However, if we try comparing various accounts, significant differences emerge. Mr. Timothy O’Leary of Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, in his personal communication to the undersigned of 22 February 1982 – for which I renew my thanks – referred me to the paper by E. L. Najlis, “Disambiguation in Selknam”, in: *International Journal of American Linguistics* 3/1971, according to which there were six Selk’nam speakers in 1971. According to dr. John Reinhard (personal communication of 27 April 1982, for which I also renew my thanks), the last pure blood Ona died in 1976, and only one pure blood Yamana was left. This does not have to mean that there were no more speakers or people with the knowledge of bits and pieces of the languages, for we can well imagine that mixed-blood people must have lived beside the pure blood ones.

In the book *Tierra del Fuego* by Rae Natalie Prosser de Goodall, third edition, Buenos Aires 1978, on pages 28–30 we find the list of surviving Fuegian Indians complete with genealogical information and even addresses, a list which calls (or called) for further investigation.

If we now look at so authoritative a source as the *Ethnologue* of the Wycliffe Bible Translators, 1974 edition (the latest I had access to) we find the following (emphasis mine, PK):

a) Chile, pp. 42–43.

- Ona: few speaks, Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego..., almost absorbed by Spanish..., extremely bilingual, does not need translation.
- Yahgan: 50 (!!! PK), Patagonia, Isla Navarino, possibly some on Tierra del Fuego, possibly Argentina..., isolate..., well acculturated to Chilean language and culture..., extremely bilingual, does not need translation.
- Alakaluf: 50 or less..., language in active use and PEOPLE NEARLY MONOLINGUAL (!!! PK)..., translation need undetermined (sic! PK).

b) Argentina, pp. 32–33.

- Ona: five families, possibly a few in Chile, extremely bilingual, does not need translation.
- Tehuelche (Aoniken): 24, Patagonia, language in active use, have come from Chile.

Supplementary information from the 1978 *Ethnologue* and the summary of the then latest field reports – for all of which I am indebted to Mrs. B. Grimes, the *Ethnologue* Editor – indicate that in 1972 there were still two elderly Selk'nam speakers in Chile, in 1979 there were 45 adult Alakaluf speakers but no children, while no report mentioned any Yahgan/Yamana speakers. I think the above shows that it is not always that even printed statistics may be right, and provided there is will to try, surprising results may turn up.

The above is what I wrote in the first and second versions of this report. In the correspondence from those who have read the manuscript version, this very point was most often criticized as unfounded. I admitted, and I repeat, that I never had the chance to go to Tierra del Fuego for field research. However, I firmly believe that such reports as the ones quoted above should not be dismissed out of hand. A linguist may be doubtful of what a missionary or a Bible translator says, but the latter is often much better informed than the former. Thank God, *if any*, for that!

Let me give another argument in favour of the above. In his important paper “*Indigenous languages of Tierra del Fuego*” (In: *South American Indian Languages*, ed. by Harriet E. Menelis Klein and Louisa R. Star, University of Texas Press 1985, pp. 753–783), Christos Clairis writes what follows: in 1985 there was a group of Qawasqar (= Alakaluf) Indians, 47 of whom settled on Wellington Island in 1972, a small group of “no more than 6–8 individuals” maintained Yahgan/Yamana language on Navarino Island, and only one elderly person still spoke Ona/Selk'nam. If we now compare what Clairis wrote in 1985 with what *Ethnologue* stated in 1974, we can see they both agree as

to the most important point, namely that the three Fuegian languages were not wholly extinct as late as in both 1974 and 1985. If any of my critics reads these lines, let him/her accept my word of honour that I still do not understand why I was criticized for comparing the sources available and drawing conclusions from the comparison. I admit that an unemployed Pole writing from Norway is much less impressive than a more fortunate researcher publishable by the University of Texas, but figures remain the same in both cases and places. And they tell us in no uncertain terms that the three Fuegian languages were NOT YET EXTINCT in 1985.

III. ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

The manuscript of this paper was criticized, too, for its bibliographic incompleteness. Maybe my critics did not notice, or preferred not to notice, what I stated in no ambiguous words: that the paper was a report on a collection of manuscripts found, not a blahman's exercise in the art of Fuegian linguistic title dropping. As I have already stated in this paper, my access to the literature on the Fuegian languages was limited to what Gusinde himself had, plus some other works available in the library of the Anthropos-Institut, St. Augustin. Many of my critics seemed all too eager to attack my work in the name of Christos Clairis, as if I ever wanted to pit my work against his. I am aware of almost all the titles he lists in the bibliography concluding his paper of 1985, but it is one thing to know that something exists, and something else to be able to get it and read it. Maybe my critics do not know what it is like to have to work in isolation, not in a university of a Texas or a Paris. Clairis:1985, p. 758, refers to his then forthcoming study of Qawasqar/Alakaluf, but mentions no recordings of any of the Fuegian languages he must have been in a unique position to obtain. Is this information of no importance in such a state-of-the-art paper? I admit that in neither Norway, Germany, Denmark, nor Poland have I been able to locate and examine his work on Qawasqar/Alakaluf, which I would very much like to do even though my main interest is in Yahgan/Yamana. However, research and life have one in common – both are of necessity the art of the possible. Some have more support. Some have less.

I would like to complete this paper with a few references that were not included in the main body of the text as written in 1985. All but one of these I have seen, and the one I state I have not seen seems of sufficient interest to be included. At present, I can do no more, but I do not want to do less.

CHAPMAN Anne, *Drama and Power in a Changing Society. The Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego*. Cambridge 1982. A purely ethnographic study with a good bibliography.

CHATWIN Bruce, *In Patagonia*. London 1977. A recent travelogue that has already become a classic, the book contains many interesting references to both the Fuegian Indians and the Bridges family.

CLAIRIS Christos — see Addenda II above.

HEUVELMANS Bernard, *Le paresseux géant de la Patagonie*. In: *Sur la piste des bêtes ignorées*. vol. III pp. 9–81 (text) and vol. IV pp. 209–211 (bibliography), Genève 1982. This is the much-revised and enlarged edition of the world-famous “*On the Track of Unknown Animals*”. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Heuvelmans for a gift copy of this work.

JENNESS Diamond, *Did the Yahgan Indians of Tierra del Fuego Speak an Eskimo Tongue?* In: *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 19/1953, pp. 128–131. Only a serious and unprejudiced study can verify and confirm or deny the astonishing similarities presented in this unjustly forgotten, challenging paper.

KOPPERS Wilhelm, *Unter Feuerland-Indianern*. Stuttgart 1924. The author, a Verbist missionary, had the unique opportunity of observing the Fuegian society from the inside, and the book contains much material not found anywhere else.

MESSENGER Iris Beag, *Isle of Fireland*. In: *Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology*, New York. I have only seen this incomplete reference somewhere — but the title seems of no small interest.

Mission scientifique du Cap Horn 1882–1883 — a multi-volume account of the French South Patagonia Expedition. Of special interest to this paper are the following two volumes:

vol. I — *Histoire du voyage*. By L. F. Martial, Paris 1888. Besides the detailed narrative, the book contains numerous plates and maps.

vol. VII — *Anthropologie et ethnographie*. By P. D. Hyades and J. Deniker, Paris 1891. Based on the fieldwork in the heart of the Yahgan territory with the help of the Bridges family, this is still the most comprehensive volume on Yahgan anthropology. Contains an extensive Yahgan-French vocabulary and several unique plates.

PLATZMANN, Julius; *Glossar der feuerlandischen Sprache*. Leipzig 1882. I have no access to this little-known but very important work, which is great rarity, and I apologise for not being able to give more than the title. The book is a large word list based on the three New Testament translation by the Rev. Thomas Bridges (cf fn. 14 above).

I have seen a copy of it in the Universitets biblioteket, Oslo.

RASPAIL Jean, *Qui se souvient des hommes...* . Paris 1986. Translated into Polish by Marek Puszczewicz, *Któż pamięta Ludzi z Ziemi Ognistej*, Warsaw 1990. For more about it see the opening section of this paper.

WENDT Herbert, *Ich suchte Adam*. Translated into Polish by Teresa Berken, *Szukałem Adama*, Warsaw 1960. In part three of this highly readable book we find a chapter on Jemmy Button and his companions York Minster and Fuegia Basket, pp. 302–314 of the Polish edition. The place and date of the original German edition are not given in the Polish translation.

WILBERT Johannes, *Folk Literature of the Selk'nam Indians*. University of California at Los Angeles 1975. A superbly annotated translation of the Selk'nam tales collected by Martin Gusinde.

WILBERT Johannes, *Folk Literature of the Yamana Indians*. University of California at Los Angeles, 1977. An annotated translation of all the Yahgan tales collected by Martin Gusinde.

WILBERT Johannes, *Folk Literature of the Halakwulup Indians*. This concluding volume of the "Fuegian trilogy" was in preparation in 1985 (source: prof. J. Wilbert, personal communication). I have not seen it, nor any references to it. I am grateful to professor J. Wilbert for placing all the volumes published until 1985 at my disposal, including the highly relevant *Folk Literature of the Tehuelche Indians*, 1984.

IV. MUSICAL RECORDS

Just to make my additional references as complete as possible, I would like to mention the four LPs of Selk'nam songs recorded and annotated by Anne Chapman, Ethnic Folkways Records. In the Acknowledgements to this paper (cf section I), I referred to the recordings of Selk'nam songs by the INM Carlos Vega 76th research journey. This important collection features the voices of Santiago Rupatini of Fangano Lake, and of Angela Loij of Rio Grande. The entire collection was edited by Irma Ruiz and Jorge Novati. I am certain there must be more recordings of this kind, but I have not been able to locate them. I only have a clear recollection, from over 25 years ago, of having seen an Ethnic Folkways collection of South American Indian folk songs, in which a song from Tierra del Fuego was included.

V. LAST MINUTE ADDITION

Just to be in tune with the times, I decided to try the Internet for any Fuegiana. The results of the search, started in early October 1997, seem most encouraging. Under the calling address that reads: http://www.fcmr.com/victory/ukika_indian_church.html, I have found an interesting contribution, The Yagan Indian Church Homepage, which contains a brief history of the Yahgan Indians and the Ukika church, a few interesting pictures, and a Yahgan-English wordlist of 36 words. According to this, the last Yahgan man was Felipe nicknamed "the survivor", who died in 1976 of old age. Sister Ursula of Ukika and her sister Cristina are the last of the Yahgan Indians. As the page was last updated on August 19, 1997, it seems that there DOES STILL EXIST, AGAINST ALL ODDS, a chance of getting the Gusinde materials checked up and possibly recorded with the, this time, very last surviving Fuegian Indians.

In the e-mail message of October 7, 1997, the Rev. Ben Garrett, who with his wife Monika is the pastor at Ukika, writes what follows: *I have three friends who speak Yagan. They are the last ones.*

Leaving the above without comments, I only wish to thank Ms Katarzyna Gmerek of the computer information service of Adam Mickiewicz University Library for the infinite patience with which she is trying to smite the undersigned with her own flaming enthusiasm for the electronic information services.

Allatum die 29 mensis Octobris anno 1997

APPENDIX I: the author's ROLEX project of 1980. *Source: Spirit of Enterprise, the 1980 ROLEX Awards, London 1980, pp. 266–267*

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AN INSTITUTE TO SAVE OUR LINGUISTIC HERITAGE

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I wish to organize an international institution, or group of scholars, to save the vanishing languages and the "spoken wisdom" of language minorities. The objectives of such a group would be threefold: (1) to make a world register of endangered languages and organize a regular contact with the nationalities in question, (2) to set up a world tape-archive of these languages, and (3) to stimulate and support their maintenance by preparing and implementing language-preservation programs.

If the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were considered the era of language discoveries, the present century might be called the age of dying languages. Overpowered by the global languages and forced into the game of politics, linguistic minorities are almost totally neglected. While everything else is protected—cultures, monuments, children, endangered animals, and plants—nobody thinks of preserving the human languages. The existence of a "one-world language" is a lovely idea, as long as its use is based on free choice; it is a different situation if it occurs because generations of children may not, or are not allowed to, learn the language of parents.

The three dangers facing linguistic minorities are: (1) total extinction of the language (Cornish, Mans, Manchu, Ainu, those of the American Indians); (2) overpowering by the language of a great population, usually connected with the problem of school instruction (as with Gaelic, Scottish, Tibetan, Hawaiian, Sherpa, Ladakhi, and many others); and (3) neglect of the

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existing efforts to transmit the language from parents to children (as in the well-documented case of Lepcha).

As the human languages—only a small fraction of which have ever been properly described (if, indeed, at all)—are the storehouses and wealth of unknown literatures (in the broad sense, to include the spoken transmission of literary works) and wisdom (medical lore, field knowledge, historical accounts, etc.), there is the utmost need to preserve as much of it as possible before the generation of the "elders" dies out. Witnesses to most of the major events of this century are still living—and no one is listening to them.

The primary goal of the Human Spoken Heritage project would be to organize a global net of reporters of language-preservation problems and to store in one place all the relevant printed materials available. The field work would be carried out under three headings: (1) Immediate—going wherever the language seems to be on the point of vanishing, to prepare grammar and dictionaries, and to record whatever possible; (2) Language Engineering—assisting, testing, and supervising the implementation of school textbooks in which the target language is the medium of instruction; and (3) Archivistics—setting up an international library of the vanishing languages' books, tapes, and other relevant materials.

In recording the languages, both the spoken and the printed language (where it exists) should be collected. Though the Human Spoken Heritage project should be considered non-religious and non-political, it may well be that recordings of the Bible would serve as a useful common base of comparison in many linguistic cultures.

I would begin my project using sets of Tibetan, Lepcha, and Bhutanese school textbooks; the two editions of the Tibetan Bible; the two manuscripts of the Lepcha tale of Tashle Thing; the Lepcha Gospel according to St. Luke and the Lepcha Story of the Old Testament; the chronological lists of the Bible translations into Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchurian, Lepcha, Hawaiian, Tahitian, Maori, Samoan, and Tongan; and my own personal contacts with experts in the field.

I have already met several qualified men and women who would be willing to join any project along the lines described above. The first step would be the organization of a worldwide mailing program to reach those people who might be interested and to create a group of the first HSH researchers. This program would be addressed to the world's leading universities and linguistic societies, as well as other appropriate organizations.

It is estimated that when the HSH Project is under way, it could support itself, at least partly, through its own publications/journals, reprints of rare or scarce books related to its efforts, and the sale of monographs relating to the field work necessary to fulfill the aims and objectives of the organization.

APPENDIX II: the author's 1984 ROLEX project. *Source: Spirit of Enterprise, the 1984 ROLEX Awards, London 1984, pp. 212–213*

Saving the Last Vestiges of the Languages of Tierra del Fuego

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1975

→ This project is based on the unknown, exceptionally important manuscripts discovered by me in the manuscript remains of Martin Gusinde SVD (1886–1924) kept at the Anthropus Institut, St. Augustin, Bonn, and never before described. These documents contain, inter alia, several vocabularies of the three native languages of Tierra del Fuego, running to several thousand entries, collected at the time these languages were still in everyday use. Since Gusinde's expeditions (1920–1924), most of the Indians have died, and the languages are almost extinct, with the little of them that remains being corrupted and full of Spanish words. Out of the three languages, one is unique and unrelated to anything else spoken on Earth, while the relation of the other two to the languages of the South American mainland has never been explained. At present, there are very few Indians left in Tierra del Fuego who still speak their languages, and comparing Gusinde's records with the surviving living speech is the last chance of making such a documentation and saving these languages for the future. In no more than 5–10 years, it will be too late.

The three languages of Tierra del Fuego — Yaghan, Ona, and Alakul (also known as Yámana, Selk'nam and Halaqulup, respectively) — are the southernmost languages in the world. Being isolated from the continental mainland for a considerable period of time, they may contain vital data for the linguistic history of that part of the world. More than that, they together constitute a unique whole, reflecting the life and thinking of a unique civilization that has no parallel in the world's primitive societies. The chief language of Tierra del Fuego — Yaghan or Yámana — is not related to any other tongue spoken on earth, and its disappearance without a comprehensive scientific study would be an irreplaceable loss.

When I discovered Martin Gusinde's papers, I immediately realized that here is possibly the last chance of making a linguistic survey of Tierra del Fuego that we may ever have. The languages have never been described extensively in print, and the only English dictionary of any of them has been unavailable for decades, being printed privately in 1935 in an edition of 300 copies. Recent travellers report that there are still some people, mostly old and very old, who speak their native languages in different parts of the island, but their speech is

corrupted with plentiful Spanish borrowings. Except for three New Testament translations into Yaghan, and a few prayers printed in the other two languages — all these texts being extremely scarce — no comprehensive lists of words or sentences have been compiled by trained linguists. The manuscripts in Martin Gusinde's archives give us the unique chance of going to the island with some tangible records to verify, and not only in the hope that the old Indians shall remember something. Confronting the last native speakers with the actual language records may release a lot of their memories, besides being an important psychological argument showing them that someone cares for their heritage. I must stress that it is now that the unique opportunity exists, while in five or ten years it will be lost forever.

As the spoken wisdom of the Fuegian Indians has always been regarded as nil, a number of sources — including works by Anglican missionaries who lived among them for decades — present them as barbarian savages of no culture in any meaning of the term. However, when a sympathetic researcher, Martin Gusinde, went to Tierra del Fuego and convinced the Indians he could and should be trusted, most extraordinary things emerged, including the revealing of a complex set of religious mythologies which the Indians had never before revealed. It is highly possible that, after the contemporary elders are convinced about the sincerity of the researcher, a lot of unique materials, ranging from folk medicine to traditional songs and poems in religious mythology may come to light. The countless photographs extant in Gusinde's collection are of extreme importance, as they offer the researcher a chance to look for the descendants of Gusinde's own informers and confront them with their parents' pictures, thus breaking the barrier of mistrust that is a great obstacle in any such work.

The project divides into two sections. The first is the duplication of the entire linguistic part of Gusinde's archives, transcribing his field notebooks from shorthand originals into normal writing, arranging the photographs and printing the negatives (of which there are hundreds) to get a complete set of pictorial documentation, and present this in a book. This portion also includes re-playing the phonographic wax cylinders Gusinde recorded of Fuegian materials, which are now kept in Berlin. The second part of the project will be to conduct a research trip to Tierra del Fuego to locate the Indians who still speak the languages and to tape record every possible word, phrase and sentence in order to ensure that the languages will not be lost.

NOTE: The arrow points to make mistake in the text — Martin Gusinde SVD died in 1969, not in 1924.

Plate I. The location of Yahgan, the southernmost language of the world (maybe until today?). How aptly has E. Lucas Bridge called it "Uttermost Part of the Earth"! Source: *The Gospel in Many Tongues, specimens of the 875 languages in which The British and Foreign Bible Society has published or circulate some portion of the Bible. New edition, London 1965, Language Maps p. 19*

NOTE: The language was actually spoken in the extreme South of the island, and the name on the map does not show the right place.

859 YAHGAN. Tierra del Fuego, Chile and Argentina.

Phonetic script, Ellis system.

1886

Ged ūlū cumutaq̄gu-curada àmanupī, cutupī cutja-
mugatukgamatuda cemacunçi annuguaci, eiçieja çisina-
mutuandjan mulakineali, cundjananima cēamanqmutu-
ana cutaceta.

Plate II. A specimen of the Yahgan translation of the Gospel of John 3:16, translated by the Rev. Thomas Bridges (cf fn. 14 above). This is not exactly the Ellis phonetic system, because the translator modified and expanded it to fit the peculiarities of Yahgan. Compare: Alexander J. ELLIOT, Report on the Yaagan Language of Tierra del Fuego... from the papers of the Rev. Thomas Bridges, in: Transactions of the Philological Society 1882–1884, London. Source: *The Gospel in Many Tongues...* (same as Plate I), p. 171