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Article abstract

The disappearance of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, between the time Jacques Cartier encountered them in the 1530s to the arrival of the French permanently at the beginning of the seventeenth century has long been speculated on by historians and anthropologists. In this article linguistic evidence coming from the dictionary compiled by Recollect Brother Gabriel, based on his stay with the Huron in 1623 and 1624 is used to suggest that at least one of his linguistic informants was a St. Lawrence Iroquoian who had come to join the Huron, a path followed by others of his nation as well.

Trade Goods and Nations in Sagard's Dictionary: A St. Lawrence Iroquoian Perspective

by John Steckley

The traditional historical narrative on the St. Lawrence Iroquoians is that between the time they encountered Jacques Cartier and the other French in the 1530s, and when the French returned in earnest in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the St. Lawrence Iroquoians disappeared as a people. What happened to them was a great mystery. Archaeological evidence is beginning to tell the story that with St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery appearing at Huron, Mohawk, Oneida, and Abenaki sites,[1] we are learning what happened to some of their women, as women were the potters. In the case of the Huron of Ontario, the time period is during the sixteenth century.[2] Knowing that St. Lawrence Iroquoian women were living with the Huron in what is now Ontario during the sixteenth century, does not necessarily mean that their husbands, fathers, sons and grandsons were there during that time or later. The women may have been captured or part of a marital exchange with women during the travelling.

Abstract

The disappearance of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, between the time Jacques Cartier encountered them in the 1530s to the arrival of the French permanently at the beginning of the seventeenth century has long been speculated on by historians and anthropologists. In this article linguistic evidence coming from the dictionary compiled by Recollect Brother Gabriel, based on his stay with the Huron in 1623 and 1624 is used to suggest that at least one of his linguistic informants was a St. Lawrence Iroquoian who had come to join the Huron, a path followed by others of his nation as well.

Résumé: Depuis longtemps, historiens et anthropologues s'interrogent sur la disparition des Iroquoiens de la vallée du Saint-Laurent entre les années 1530, lorsque Jacques Cartier les y a rencontrés, et le début du XVIIe siècle, quand les Français s'y sont établis de façon permanente. Cet article, basé sur des données linguistiques trouvées dans le dictionnaire du Récollet Frère Gabriel, qui a séjourné parmi les Hurons en 1623-24, suggère qu'au moins une de ses sources linguistiques était un Iroquoien du St-Laurent venu se joindre aux Hurons, et que plusieurs autres membres de sa nation auraient suivi le même chemin.

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[1] Claude Chapdelaine, 1990 "The Mandeville Site and the Definition of a New Regional Group Within the Saint Lawrence Iroquoian World", *Man in the Northeast,* vol. 39, 53-63 and "A Review of the Latest Developments in St. Lawrence Iroquoian Archaeology", 63-75, *A Passion for the Past: Papers in Honour of James F. Pendergast*, James V. Wright & Jean-Luc Pilon eds. 2004. James B. Petersen, John G. Crock, Ellen R., Cowie, Richard A. Boisvert, Joshua R. Toney and Geoffrey Mandel, 2004, "St. Lawrence Iroquoians in Northern New England: Pendergast was 'Right' and More," in Wright and Pilon, *Passion for the Past*, 87-123

The argument presented here is that anthropological linguistics, language study with a link to culture and history, can add to the narrative in Ontario to include St. Lawrence Iroquoian males living in the early seventeenth century.

The source material I am drawing upon for my data is Recollect Brother Gabriel Sagard's dictionary of Huron, first published in 1632, and drawing upon his time living with the people in 1623 and 1624. This important and usually neglected linguistic and ethnohistorical source is out of step with the general contemporary linguistic literature on the language. Jesuit missionaries starting with Father Jean de Brébeuf[3] would develop dictionaries in the Huron language during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that would rank among the most sophisticated and complete of any language at that time. There is no evidence in the writing of the Jesuits that they were influenced by Sagard's work.

In a recent book, *Gabriel Sagard's Dictionary of Huron*[4], it was established that there was a pidgin or trade language in Sagard's dictionary, which existed along with two dialects of Huron. It was demonstrated that this pidgin or trade language had a definite St. Lawrence Iroquoian linguistic input. This is all fairly straightforward and relatively easy to prove, as pidgin languages, particularly those in North America, are well-documented with a rich comparative literature[5] (see in particular Drechsel 2004 on the Mobilian Jargon of the southeastern United States). More contentious is the idea, first suggested in that book, that it was not just that the St. Lawrence Iroquoian pidgin was present, but that at least some of the people Sagard spoke with and listened to were St. Lawrence Iroquoians themselves. After all, the Huron could have and probably did speak that pidgin as well, so presence of the pidgin does not necessarily mean presence of the people themselves, from whose language the pidgin emerged. In this article I will be developing the point that the entries concerning nation names definitely display a St. Lawrence Iroquoian perspective, and thus must have come from St. Lawrence Iroquoian informants to the person or persons collecting the terms for the dictionary.

St. Lawrence Iroquoian Males in Ontario: Trade Goods Evidence

Just as women were the potters in Iroquoian societies, so men were the traders who often travelled to meet people of other nations. Two of the main trade items sup-

[2] See for example, Claude Chapdelaine, 2004, "A Review of the Latest Developments in St. Lawrence Iroquoian Archaeology", in Wright and Pilon, *Passion for the Past*, 69.

[3] See, for example, John Steckley, ed. 2010, *The First Jesuit Huron Dictionary by Father Jean de Brébeuf and his Jesuit Brethren* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press).

[4] John Steckley, *Gabriel Sagard's Dictionary of Huron*, 2009, American Language Reprints Sulement Series, vol. 2 (Merchantville, NJ: Evolution Publishing).

[5] See especially, Drechsel, Emanuel, 1997 *Mobilian Jargon: Linguistic and Sociohistorical Aspects of a Native American Pidgin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), in which the characteristics of a pidgin lan-

plied by the French to the Huron were awls and glass beads. The names for both of these key items frequently appeared in Sagard's dictionary, and did so with St. Lawrence Iroquoian forms. In order to demonstrate this, I will here discuss two features that distinguished St. Lawrence Iroquoian from Huron, features that appear in the names for awls and for beads.

The St. Lawrence Iroquoian -m-

As is also true of almost all the other Northern Iroquoian[6] languages (e.g., Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Tuscarora), the phoneme -m- did not exist in seventeenth-century Huron. This fact was early articulated by Jesuit Father Jean de Brébeuf, in his description of the language in 1636: "the Huron are not acquainted with B. F. L. M. P. X. Z."[7] Another form of evidence comes from the fact that the Huron regularly changed the -m- in words borrowed from other languages into something else, typically -w- or -n- (the first with its labial quality, the second sharing a nasal quality). From French, Marie was changed into 'Onarie' or '8arie'[8] (i.e., Warie),[9] 'Adam' was changed to 'Adan', 'messe' (i.e., Mass) to 'onesse' and 'Rome' to 'aronde',[10] 'Moyne' into '8ane' (i.e., Wane).[11] From Algonquian languages (e.g., Ojibwe), 'Potawatomi' was changed into 'Ondataouandy'[12] or 'A,otonatendia'[13] (the -,- being a -y- like sound), and 'Mississauga' into Aovechissaetonon.[14]

The one Northern Iroquoian language that had an -m- at that time was St. Lawrence Iroquoian. A useful resource for studying the nature of the St. Lawrence language is the version of *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* edited by Ramsay Cook. He includes two word lists, one with 59 entries, taken from the first voyage, and another longer one, with 170 entries, from the second voyage.[15] The following are two entries with cognate words in which St. Lawrence Iroquoian uses an -m- and Huron uses an -n- or a -w-:

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guage are clearly laid out.

[6] This is in distinction from Southern Iroquoian, which is comprised of the Cherokee language.

[7] Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., 1959, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols. (New York: Pageant Book Company) vol. 10: pg. 117 (hereafter termed JR). The -b-, -f-, -m- and -p- all share the quality of being labials, sounds made using the lips.

[8] The -8- here represents a -w- before a vowel.

[9] JR10:72 and JR31:180).

[10] John Steckley, 1978, "Brébeuf's Presentation of Catholicism in the Huron Language," *University of Ottawa Quarterly* 48 (1-2), 93-115.

[11] JR16:238.

[12] JR33:151.

[13] JR38:181.

[14] John Steckley, 1990, "The Early Map 'Novvelle France', *Ontario Archaeology* 51, 24.

[15] Ramsay Cook and H. P. Biggar, eds., 1993, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 32-34 and 90-95 respectively.

St. Lawrence Iroquoian	Huron	English
Assem[16]	a˙sen[17]	(it is) ten
Ame[18]	awen[19]	(it is) water

Huron has two terms for 'awl'. In Sagard's dictionary we see related words used that have an –m- where the Huron form has something else:

Sagard Word	Huron Word
Assimenta (47:19)	gachi8en˙ta[20]
Chomata (89:21)	,achiona˙ta[21]

It is difficult to identify Sagard's informants, as he was not forthcoming in identifying his sources, a common practice of the time that we would now call plagiarism. There is, however, a possible candidate for one of Sagard's St. Lawrence informants, a candidate whose very name suggests this as it contains an -m-. Louis Amantacha or Louis de Sainct Foy was a young Huron man who was prominent in the early history of contact between the Wendat and the French. The Jesuit Relations of the period from 1632 to 1636 make frequent reference to Amantacha (JR5:73, 225, 241, 245, 253; 6:21-3, 7:215, 8:139 and 9:281). His name is unusual in that it contains an -m-, the only name of some 270 Huron names in Jesuit Relations to have such a sound. As the name was repeated so often in that way, we can safely assume that it was not a printing or typographical error. His family had close ties with the French. Through the influence of his father, Sorenhes, a leading trader, Amantacha was able to travel to France in 1626.

Huron vs St. Lawrence Iroquoian: -ndV- vs –nV- Forms

Huron has an -ndV- (i.e., nasal vowel plus -d- plus oral vowel) where other Northern Iroquoian (e.g., Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Tuscarora and St. Lawrence Iroquoian) languages have -nV-. The Jesuits wrote nasal vowels in Huron as vowel plus -n- (like in the French word 'bon' meaning 'good'). In Huron when a nasal vowel was followed by an oral vowel (i.e., a vowel that has not been nasalized), an epenthetic -d- would appear between the two vowels. An illustration with Huron and four other Northern Iroquoian languages is the following:

Huron	*-ndo-*	'to have as stepchild'[22]
Mohawk	*–no-*	'to have as stepchild'[23]

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[16] Cook and Biggar 1993, 90.

[17] John Ste*ck*ley, 2007, *A Huron-English/English-Huron Dictionary (Listing both Words and Noun and Verb Roots* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press), 32.

[18] Cook and Biggar 1993:91.

[19] Steckley 2010:124.

[20] Huron-French dictionary, manuscript 59, Archive Seminaire de Quebec, p49.

[21] Huron-French dictionary, manuscript 65, Archive Seminaire de Quebec, p59;

[22] John Steckley 2007, 169.

[23] Gunther Michelson, 1973, *A Thousand Words of Mohawk*, (Hull: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Ethnology Division, Paper No. 5), 81.

Onondaga	*-nu?-*	'stepparent, stepchild'[24]
Cayuga	*-no:?-*	'step-relative'[25]
Seneca	*-no:?-*	'have as stepchild' [26]

Evidence pointing to the fact that St. Lawrence Iroquoian and Huron are different in this way comes from the following:

| St. Lawrence Iroquoian | Canada | 'village'[27] |
| Huron | ,andata | 'village'[28] |

There are a good number of contrasting pairs in the Sagard dictionary in which both -nV- and -ndV- forms appear. The form appearing in the fourth line is the standard Jesuit Huron form:

18.4   Os.
[bone]
Onna, Onda
[*onda* 'bone']

83.3   La femme est enceinte.
[The woman is pregnant.]
Outsahonne annérique.
[*8tsahon[e] ,anderik* – 'She is a woman,[29] her body will be full.']

82.15   Es-tu enceinte? aff.
[Are you (s) pregnant?]
Sandériq.
[[e[sanderik 'You (s) will have a full body.']

Glass Beads and -nv-

The Huron used an eyeball metaphor to refer to glass beads. The noun root was -,aˤk8end-.[30] Three (46.8, 47.8 and 91.22) out of the four times in which this noun root was used to refer to beads, it takes a form without the -d-. The following is an example:

91.22   Rassade [beads]
Acoinna [i.e., ak8enna]

Glass beads were often given by Cartier to the St. Lawrence Iroquoians,[31] and would

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[24] Hanni Woodbury, 2003, *Onondaga-English/English-Onondaga Dictionary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 718.

[25] The -?- represents a glottal stop (as in the English 'uh uh', and the -:- indicates that the vowel is long. The dictionary entry comes from F. Froman, A. Keye, L. Keye and C. Dyck, 2002, *English-Cayuga/Cayuga-English Dictionary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

[26] Wallace Chafe,1963, *Handbook of the Seneca Language* (New York State Museum, Bulletin 388).

[27] Cook and Biggar 1993, 93.

[28] Steckley 2007, 145.

[29] This term for 'woman' is often translated in the dictionaries as 'Algonquin woman.'

[30] Steckley 2007, 105

[31] Cook and Biggar 1993, 24, 51, 59 and 70.

later become major trade items with the Huron. Perhaps the metaphor was first developed by St. Lawrence Iroquoian traders, and learned from them by the Huron. There are three other such metaphors found in the Sagard dictionary, to legs for the tubular beads, to ears of corn for large and wide tubes, and to heads for the widest beads.[32] The only one of these metaphors that was found in the Jesuit dictionaries was to legs.

The existence of the -nV- forms in the term for a major trade item is one reason why I am identifying this as a St. Lawrence Iroquoian as opposed to other Northern Iroquoian languages the speakers of which did not have a significant trade relationship as the source. Other good reasons to do so are the presence of the -m- discussed earlier as well as the borrowing in this dictionary of the unique St. Lawrence Iroquoian word for 'eel', which only appears in Cartier's word list and in this dictionary.[33] There are no examples of borrowing from other Iroquoian languages in this dictionary.

The Nations Presented in Sagard's Dictionary

On pages 94 and 95 of Sagard's dictionary there was a series of entries under the heading "Natiōs, de quelle nation." The distinction between Huron -ndV- and St. Lawrence Iroquoian -nV- can help us identify who (i.e., Huron or St. Lawrence Iroquoian) is doing the naming for Sagard. With translations, transposition into standard Jesuit Huron and entry number the pertinent entries are as follows:

    94.19[34]   Aux Francs
             [At the French]
             Atignonhaq.
             [[h]atinnion[,en]hak – They (masculine) are people of....]
    94.21   Montagnets.
             [Montagnais.]
             Chauoirohon, Chauhaguéronon.
             [Cha8[35]a,eronnon – Montagnais.]
    94.22   Canadiens.
             [Canadians]
             Anasaquanan.
             [[h]onasa,annen – They (masculine) speak an unintelligible language.]
    95.1   Algoumequins.
             [Algonquins.]
             Aquannaque.
             [Ak8a[,]nnen – One speaks badly.]
    95.2   Ceux de l'Isle.

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[32] 90.9, 90.10. and 90.11 respectively.

[33] See Steckley 2009, 52.

[34] The references here are to the page number in the Sagard manuscript with the number of the entry added. The page numbers are taken from the dictionary part of 1866. *Histoire du Canada ... avec un dictionnaire de la language huronne*. (Paris: Edwin Tross). It should be noted that in 1998 a copy of the dictionary was printed in *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons suivi du Dictionnaire de la langue huronne* edited by Jack Warwick, and published by Presses de l'Université de Montréal in Montréal, Qué.

[35] The -8- here represents -ou-, which is a -w- before a vowel and a -u- before a consonant.

[Those [Algonquins] of the Island.]
Héhonqueronon.
[Ehonkeronnon – They (masculine) are people of.....]

95.3   Les Epicerinys.
[The Nipissing.]
Skequeneronon.
[Skek8annenronnon – People of......]

95.4   Les Cheueux releuez.
[The High Hairs.]
Andatahoüat.
[[h]ondata8at – They are.....]

95.5   Les trois autres Nations dependantes.
[The three other dependent nations.]
Chisérhonon, Squierhonon, Hondarhonon.
[Chiseronnon, Skieronnon, Ondaronnon.]

95.6   Les Petuneux.
[The Petun.]
Quieunontatéronons.
[Eki8nnontateronnon – People where there is a mountain or hill.]

95.7   Les Neutres.
[The Neutrals.]
Attihouandaron.
[[H]ati8endaron[k] – They (masculine) have a distant word, voice.]

95.8   La Nation de Feu.
[The Nation of Fire.]
Atsistarhonon.
[[,]Atsista[,e]ronnon – People of fire.]

95.9   Les Yroquois.
[The Iroquois.]
Sontouhoironon, Agnierhonon, Onontagueronon.
[Sonnonta,8anronnon, Annieronnon,
Onnonta,eronnon – People of the Great Hill,
People of the Flint, People at the Hill.]

95.10   Les Hurons.
[The Huron.]
Hoüandate.
[8endat [Wendat].]

95.11   Nation des Ours.
[The Nation of the Bears.]
Atingyahointan.
[[H]atingion[,en]ten – They (masculine) are from bear country.]

95.12   Nation d'Entauaque.
[The Nation of Enta8ak.]
Atigagnongueha.
[[H]atingeennonniahak – They (masculine) used to make cord (for fishing).]

95.13   Nation Datironta.
[The Nation of Atironta.]
Renarhonon.
[[,A]rena[,e]ronnon. People at the Rock.]

First of all, it should be pointed out that the order of the names follows a particular path. Initially, the people referred to by the names lived in areas moving east to west, and north to south, beginning with entry 94.19 and ending with 95.8. We start in the northeast with the French, then up the St. Lawrence to the Montagnais, and the 'Canadians" (see discussion below). From there the people's names go up the Ottawa River system, starting with the Algonquin, the Algonquin of the Island, the Nipissing, and then into Georgian Bay with the Ottawa, and to the north shore of Georgian Bay with other Anishinabe or Ojibwa people. From there the names go south to the Petun, the Neutral, and west to the Mascoutens With mention of the Iroquois, south of Lake Ontario, curiously presented in the order of westernmost, easternmost and then central (i.e., Seneca, Mohawk and then Onondaga), we move north to the country of the Huron, moving west to east with the Bear, the Cord, and the Rock.

This contrast can be seen in the following names, with the appropriate part of the word bolded:

<u>-nV-</u>
94.22   Canadiens.
          [Canadians]
          Anasaquanan.
          [[h]o**na**sakannen – They (masculine) speak an unintelligible language.]
95.13   Nation Datironta.
          [The Nation of Atironta.]
          Renarhonon.
          [[,A]re**na**[,e]ronnon. People at the Rock.]

<u>-ndV-</u>
95.4   Les Cheueux releuez.
          [The High Hairs.]
          Andatahoüat.
          [[h]o**nda**ta8at – They are.....]
95.5   Les trois autres Nations dependantes.
          [The three other dependent nations.]
          Chisérhonon, Squierhonon, Hondarhonon.
          [Chiseronnon, Skieronnon, O**nda**ronnon.]
95.7   Les Neutres.
          [The Neutrals.]
          Attihouandaron.
          [[H]ati8e**nda**ron[k] – They (masculine) have a distant word, voice.]
95.10   Les Hurons.
          [The Huron.]
          Hoüandate.
          [8e**nda**t.]

It should be noted that in the first entry, the use of the -k- rather than -,- or -y- indicates that the language is not Huron. Interestingly, there is an example in which the term for the Huron is not in a Huron form:

100.5   Quand ie sçauray parler Huron pl.
[When I will know to speak Huron.]
Etgayeinhouy houa**n**te atakia.
[etka,ienh8i 8enat ,atatia[k] – When I know I speak Huron.]

The –tg- or –tk- form is another sign that the language is St. Lawrence Iroquoian and not Huron.

Looking at the Iroquoians

We have just seen that the Huron have their name written both in Huron and in St. Lawrence Iroquoian. As I have not in tirty-five years been able to translate the word 'Wendat', I am tempted to say that it possibly was a St. Lawrence Iroquoian word. The temptation is there, but not the proof (yet).

We can see that the name for the Rock tribe of the Huron, typically written as 'Arenda,eronnon', meaning 'people at the rock', is written, as 'Re**na**rhonon' (as "Hen-arhonon in *Long Journey*,[36]), in a -nV- pattern consistent with it being recorded here in St. Lawrence Iroquoian and its pidgin derivative. The other nation names, the Bear and the Cord, are close to the forms as they are regularly recorded in Huron. The term for the Neutral, 'Attihoua**nda**ron,' is written in a Huron –ndV- form. In Sagard's 'Long Journey' it was spelled variously as "Attiuoindaron" and as "Attionoindarons"[37]. The terms for the nations of the Iroquois are recorded in Sagard in ways not inconsistent with their usual Huron recording. Collectively, then, of the different Iroquoian peoples, only the easternmost of the Huron nations, the Rock, is reported in a St. Lawrence Iroquoian form.

Algonquians to the East of Me; Algonquians to the West of Me

There are two different terms in Northern Iroquoian languages that refer to people who speak Algonquian languages. Although a literal reading of the translations made refers to 'speaking badly', there is also a geographic association for each term: one to the east and one to the west. It would appear that both might come from the same verb root, which takes the form -*,annen-* in Huron, with a distinct noun root being added to distinguish the two terms.

Those Eastern Algonquians

In Gunther Michelson's classic linguistic work, *A Thousand Words of Mohawk*, he wrote that the verb root used for one group of Algonquians was "-akan 'to speak a foreign language' and that one form –"Atshakánha"– referred to "Eastern Algonki-ans."[38] When this combination of -a(t)s- plus the verb root was used in Huron, it was

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[36] Gabriel Sagard, 1939, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, ed. by G. M. Wrong (Toronto: Champlain Society), 91

[37] Sagard, 1939, 151, 169 and 209.

[38] Michelson 1973, 25.

translated as follows. The verb stem (noun root plus verb root) used in the first entry appeared in Father Pierre Potier's mid-eighteenth century dictionary as: "asa,annen... parler une langue etrangere que ceux a qui l'on parle n'entendent pas [to speak a language strange to those to whom one is speaking and who do not understand]".[39]

In other Iroquoian languages, it refers to Algonquian speakers living east of the Iroquoian group in question, including the Abenaki, Delaware[40] and Mohican.[41] In the Huron dictionaries it has the following references. It is important to keep in mind that the name Mohican means 'wolf ':

> "hondasa,a⸍nnen [They (masculine) speak a strange language.] Les Loups. [The Wolves.]"[42]
> Asa,annen...Parler une langue estrangere [to speak a strange language]... hondasa,annens certains Algonq. proche les Angl. [certain Algonquians near the English]"[43]

> Asa,annen parler une langue etrangere...hondasa,annens certains Algonquins voisins des Anglois [certain Algonquians[44] neighbours of the English] a,osa,annen xxxxx ces Algonquins.[45]

> "les abnaquis a,osa,annen"[46]

The term "Canadians" was used frequently in Sagard's *Long Journey*, as sharing terms with the Montagnais[47], and generally as linked with the Montagnais[48], and the Algonquin.[49] They were described several times as nomadic.[50] I believe them to be an Innu people like the Montagnais, only living farther north. They appear to have lived in the region of the Saguenay River, which is associated with the name 'Canada.' The people might be more northerly Montagnais or southern Naskapi, the other Innu group. The Huron, as we have seen, referred to the Abenaki with this term. The significant distance from their land to Huron territory, and the fact that the term took a non-Huron form both suggest that this was not a Huron reference, but a St. Lawrence Iroquoian one.

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[39] Pierre Potier, 1920 *Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: C. W. James,) 174.

[40] Goddard, Ives, 1978 *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 15 - *Northeast*. B. Trigger ed., (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution), 236.

[41] JR28:113, and T. J. Brasser 1978, "Mahican", in B. G. Trigger , ed., *Northeast*, 198-212, *Handbook of North American Indian languages* (Vol. 15). (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution), 211.

[42] FHO c,1656, *Dictionnaire Huron et Hiroquois onontaheronon*, MS., Archive Seminaire de Quebec, 154.

[43] HF62 n.d. (seventeenth century), Huron-French section of MS 62, Archive Seminaire de Quebec, 17.

[44] I have chosen to translate this as Algonquians (a term that did not exist then) and not Algonquins, as this is what was meant by the writer.

[45] HF65 n.d., (seventeenth century), Huron-French dictionary, Archive Seminaire de Quebec, 12.

[46] FH1697 c. 1697 French-Huron dictionary, MS., John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 234.

[47] Sagard 1939, 79 and 170-1.

[48] Sagard 1939, 139, 141and 196.

[49] Sagard 1939, 83, 100 and 208.

[50] Sagard 1939, 100, 108 and 208.

Those Western Algonquians

The term presented by Sagard for the Algonquin was the following:

> 95.1   Algoumequins.
> [Algonquins]
> *Aquannaque.* (see also 138.11)

Again the translation of the Mohawk presented by Michelson is useful here.

> "tewakánha Western Algonkians"[51]

It is found in the Jesuit Relations as "Ontwagannha" in one of the languages of the Iroquois in reference to the "Nation du feu"[52], the Algonquian-speaking Mascoutens, who lived to the west of the Iroquois. In the Tuscarora language, spoken by a people who historically (before they moved to the area now known as New York state) lived farther to the east (near the coast) and south than the other Northern Iroquoians, we have the following:

> "Nwákan[53]...'enemy, barbarian; Penobscot, any Algonquian...Ojibwe, Mississaugas"[54]

The oldest surviving Jesuit dictionary presents the verb as follows. I suspect that the composition of the verb stem includes the noun root *-8a-* meaning 'voice':

> Baragouiner   [to speak gibberish]   Ak8a,annen
> item parler langue etrangere [also to speak a strange language][55]

The following is a rather strange linguistic story of language family mixing. The Huron used this verb stem to refer to their Algonquian neighbours to the west, the Odawa or Ottawa, which can be seen in the following entry from Sagard:

> 95.4   Les Cheueux releuez.
> [The Raised Hairs]
> *Andatahoüat.*
> [hondata8at]

The mid-eighteenth-century Jesuit missionary, Father Pierre Potier, who lived with the Wyandot (a Petun/Huron descendant group) of the Detroit/Windsor area, connected the verb and the reference to the Ottawa as follows:

> "ak8a,annen, ,an'ta......parler une langue mal, avoir l'accent etranger [to speak a language badly, to have a strange accent] ok8a,atat 8ta8ois"[56]

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[51] Michelson 1973, 25.

[52] JR45, 206.

[53] Generally speaking Tuscarora has -n- where the other Northern Iroquoian languages have -t-.

[54] Rudes, Blair, 1999, *Tuscarora-English/English-Tuscarora Dictionary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 375.

[55] John Steckley,, 2010, *The First French-Huron Dictionary by Father Jean de Brébeuf and His Jesuit Brethren*, Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

[56] Potier 1920, 168.

I feel that the -ta- here comes not from the verb itself but from interference from the Algonquian verb meaning 'to trade', Algonquian verb root *ata"we"wa 'to trade, sell'[57] which has long been attributed as being the root from which the name 'Ottawa' derives. The prefix for the term given above is clear. It is the -hond- which is the masculine plural pronominal prefix used with the -a- conjugation verbs and nouns. The regular form with this verb would give us something like "hondak8annen". And this would be from Huron not St. Lawrence Iroquoian because of the -nda- in the word.

The Wyandot living in the Detroit area during the eighteenth century used this verb to refer to the Ottawa, their perpetual neighbours throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century into the nineteenth century:

> "ok8a,atat *8taois"[58]

They used another version of the form to refer to the Illinois, their Algonquian neighbours to the west.

> ndata8a8at........................illinois
> ndata8a8a-ke.....................aux Illinois[59]

All of this is a fairly long-winded way of saying that the Huron would not have used this verb to refer to the Algonquin, who lived to the east of them. The St. Lawrence Iroquoians would have, an idea supported by the fact that with the -que- (i.e., a –k- sound) in the word for the Algonquin given above, rather than a -,-. It was a St. Lawrence Iroquoian word.

The Algonquin by Any Other Name

What, then, did the Huron call the Algonquin? This term is quite significant. The term that the Huron used for the Algonquin was not found in Sagard's dictionary. It appears as *hoticha8ata*,[60] with hoti- masculine plural patient pronominal pronoun; as *"Aticha8ata"* in 1646,[61] or "a,ocha8aθa" in a late seventeenth-century dictionary[62] (indefinite patient pronominal pronoun). It does not appear as a verb or noun root in any Huron dictionary, and does not appear as a term for the Algonquin (or anyone else) in the dictionaries of other Iroquoian languages. I believe that is because it came from the St. Lawrence Iroquoian term *Agojuda* discussed by Jacques Cartier in the following passage in describing the enemy of those people:

> And they showed us furthermore that along the mountains to the north, there

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[57] Aubin, G. F. 1975, *A Proto-Algonquian Dictionary* (Hull: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 29), 14 #185.

[58] Robert., S. J. Toupin, 1996, *Les Écrits de Pierre Potier* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa), 263 and Potier 1920, 154-5 and 168.

[59] Toupin 1996, 231.

[60] See FH1697, 248.

[61] JR28, 148.

[62] FH1693, 260.

is a large river [the Ottawa], which comes from the west.... [A]nd without our asking any questions or making any sign, they seized the chain of the Captain's whistle, which was made of silver, and a dagger-handle or yellow copper-gilt like gold, that hung at the side of one of the sailors and gave us to understand that these came from up that river [Ottawa], where lived *Agojuda*, which means bad people, who were armed to the teeth, showing us the style of their armour, which is made with cords and wood, laced and plaited together. They also seem to say that these *Agojuda* waged war continually, one people against the other....[63]

The *Agojuda*, then, lived up the Ottawa River from the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, which could make them the Algonquin, the Nipissing or the Huron. But there were terms already for those people. The Nipissing, for example, were called "Skequaner-onon," (95.3), in Sagard's dictionary. In addition, the wooden armour described was identical to that of the Huron.[64] The initial -ago- may correspond to the -a,o- ('they (indefinite) patient') pronominal prefix. St. Lawrence Iroquoian -j- (pronounced as in the French name 'Jean') corresponds with Huron -ts- in cognates. However, if in this case the Huron term was borrowed from the St. Lawrence Iroquoian, the Huron would have converted the -j- into their nearest equivalent: -ch- (pronounced like the -ch- in Chicago). The rest would be fairly straightforward, -uda-, and -8ata- being close. The term could then have been used by the Huron and the St. Lawrence Iroquoians to refer to each other, the literal meaning perhaps coming from St. Lawrence Iroquoian.

Southern and Northern Algonquians

The terms for the Montagnais, "Chauoirohon, Chauhaguérono." appear to combine the Iroquoian populative suffix *-ronnon* 'people of' with the Algonquian term for 'south', the latter shown in the following:

*ša:wanowa[65]	NA [animate noun]	southerner
F[ox]	ša:wanowa	Shawnee
M[enomini]	sa:wanow	southerner, Shawnee[66]

The Wyandot of the mid eighteenth century used "cha8annonronnon" to refer to the Shawnee, who lived to the south of the Wyandot:

...cha8annonronnon............Cha8annonronnon [Shawnee][67]

We can tell something of the source language for the term, as some Algonquian languages (such as Menominee above) take -š-, while others (such as Fox above) take

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[63] Cook and Biggar 1993, 65-6.

[64] Sagard 1939, 154.

[65] The * indicates that this is a hypothesized word is Proto-Algonquian. The –š- indicates a -sh- sound as in 'shout'.

[66] John Hewson, 1993, *A Computer-Generated Dictionary of Proto-Algonquian* (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series Paper 125), 180.

[67] Toupin 1996, 231.

-s-. Algonquin and Innu have an -š- in their phonology, while Abenaki and Mi'kmaq have -s-. The original source would then be either Innu (which in many senses can be called a dialect of East Cree) or an eastern dialect of Ojibwe. I suspect that the creation of this term went from that language to St. Lawrence Iroquoian, but I have no direct evidence for this as yet. Give me time.

It would seem that what this term is expressing is the fact that the Montagnais are the southernmost of the people now known generally as the Innu, the northernmost being often called the Naskapi.

Concerning more northern Algonquians, we have, right after the entry on the Ottawa, which I believe names Algonquian peoples from west to east:

> 95.5   Les trois autres Nations dependantes. [The three other dependent nations.]
> Chisérhonon, Squierhonon, Hondarhonon.

The first appear to be the Mississauga, based on the Huron attempt to say the name, plus the populative –ronnon ('people of '). Later examples are the following, showing the conversion from -m-, which did not exist in Huron, to another labial (made with the lips) sound -w-: Aoechisaeronon[68] and A8echisae˙ronnon.[69] The Mississauga during this period lived near the northern shore of Lake Huron.

The next people are the Saulteaux, or people then living near what is now Sault St. Marie.[70] The final group is a bit of a mystery. The name appears again in the mid eighteenth century:

> "handaronnon v. handaronnion {habitans Nation" [71]

Interestingly, it does take the Huron –ndV- form.

I am suggesting here that words for the westernmost people—the long term Huron in Huronia (Cord and Bear), the Neutral, the Ottawa and other Ojibwe-speaking people—came from the Huron language, while those for the easternmost people—the Rock nation of the Huron, the Innu and the Algonquin—came from St. Lawrence Iroquoian.

What does it mean when you cannot translate the name?

A number of names on the list presented at the beginning of this article have not yet been translated, or adequately explained. They are the following:

> 94.19   Aux Francs
> [At the French]
> Atignonhaq.
> [[h]atinnion[,en]hak – They (masculine) are people of....]
> 95.2   Ceux de l'Isle.

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[68] JR34, 204.
[69] JR38, 180.
[70] See "Skia,é" and "Enskia,e'ronnons" in JR38, 180.
[71] Toupin 1996, 229.

[Those [Algonquins] of the Island.]
Héhonqueronon.
[Ehonkeronnon – They (masculine) are people of.....]
95.3   Les Epicerinys.
[The Nipissing.]
Skequeneronon.
[Skek8annenronnon – People of......]
95.10   Les Hurons.
[The Huron.]
Hoüandate.
[8endat.]

Concerning the first-named term, there is reference in Sagard's *Long Journey* to a meaning for this name. Sagard writes, "They call the French *Agnonha* in their language, that is, iron people."[72] This is the singular form of the verb. The -hak- suffix appears to be the populative marker that works more productively in other Northern Iroquoian languages than it does in Huron (with the possible exception of the name of the Cord nation). The problem is that this term does not mean 'iron' in Huron. They used *8hista*, which traditionally referred to 'fish scales' or the hard skin of flint corn, to refer to iron.[73] This suggests to me that this term came from St. Lawrence Iroquoian. The term referred to here came to refer to French people in the other Northern Iroquoian languages, but in none of these languages is there a connection with the word for iron.

There is no translation given anywhere for the term for the Algonquin group known as the "Héhonqueronon" in Sagard's dictionary, but as the "Honqueronons" in his *Long Journey*[74]. While the -ronnon- populative suffix is in the word, and the -hon- appears to be a masculine plural form in Huron, translation again does not appear possible from that language.

The term for the Nipissing appears in Sagard as "Squekaneronons"[75] and "Shequaneronons".[76] The name was presented as meaning 'sorcerers'[77], with the name explained in the following way:

> This tribe of Epiceriny is called Sorcerer because of the great number of these among them, and of those magicians who profess to converse with the devil in little round towers isolated and apart, which they build on purpose to receive oracles in them and to predict or learn something from their master.[78]

The problem with this 'translation' is despite the fact that the name ends with the

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[72] Sagard 1939, 79.

[73] See John Steckley,, "Owhista", in *Arch Notes*, 4, 31-34.

[74] Sagard 1939, 100.

[75] Sagard 1939, 56 and 65.

[76] Sagard 1939, 43.

[77] Sagard 1939, 56, 63 and 64.

[78] Sagard 1939, 64.

populative suffix -ronnon-, it cannot be readily translated from Huron. I would argue that this is because it is not a Huron word, but possibly comes from St. Lawrence Iroquoian.

It would be tempting to say that the term 'Wendat' originally comes from St. Lawrence Iroquoian, as the name has defied all attempts I have made to translate it, but stronger evidence is necessary, even though there is a -nV- version of the name. I can only suggest at this point that these terms for nations are St. Lawrence Iroquoian. More direct proof must be added.

The Sources for the Nations List in Sagard's Dictionary

The following table summarizes the potential sources for the national list

Term	Nation Referred To	Proposed Source
Atignonhaq	French	St. Lawrence Iroquoian
Anasaquanan	Northern Innu	St. Lawrence Iroquoian
Chauoirohon, Chauhaguéronon.	Montagnais	St. Lawrence Iroquoian (?)
Aquannaque	Algonquin	St. Lawrence Iroquoian
Héhonqueronon	Kichesipirini Algonquin	St. Lawrence Iroquoian
Skequeneronon	Nipissing	St. Lawrence Iroquoian
Renarhonon	Rock	St. Lawrence Iroquoian
Andatahoüat	Ottawa	Huron (and Algonquian)
Chisérhonon	Mississauga	Huron
Squierhonon	Saulteaux	Huron
Hondarhonon	an Ojibwa or Cree group	Huron
Quieunontatéronons	Petun	Huron
Attihouandaron	Neutral	Huron
Atsistarhonon	Mascoutens	Huron
Sontouhoironon	Seneca	Huron
Agnierhonon	Mohawk	Huron
Onontagueronon	Onondaga	Huron
Hoüandate	Wendat	Huron (?)
Atingyahointan	Bear	Huron
Atigagnongueha	Cord	Huron

Conclusion

In conclusion, then I would say that it appears that six to eight different national names in Sagard's dictionary list appear to be St. Lawrence Iroquoian in origin, and these are the easternmost names, generally reflecting the orientation of at least one St. Lawrence Iroquoian informant for Sagard's dictionary. This presents evidence that there were St. Lawrence Iroquoians living among the Huron people during the 1620s, when Sagard was collecting his linguistic information. Part of the mystery has been solved. It is probable that the informants were or informant was a male, as a good number of the pidgin St. Lawrence Iroquoian terms related to trade (e.g., beads and awls), and as travelling to meet through trade or war other peoples was a man's role.