ON ALGONKIN NAMES FOR MAN

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The Indian speaker never generalized. His language supplied him with specific names for all known objects, qualities, and relations, and its marvelous possibilities of synthesis enabled him to frame new terms as often as new distinctions were required. It grew by progressive differentiation,—from genera to species, from species to varieties and individual peculiarities. There is not, perhaps, in the Indian mind—certainly not in the structure of Indian languages—absolute incapacity for generalization, but the scrupulous avoidance of it as a defect, whether in thought or speech, is a characteristic of the race.

Though the Algonkin languages are poor in general names, vet we find in all of them certain elements of synthesis which may be regarded - from one point of view, or another, - as rudiments, or as vestiges, of such names. These are not used as independent words, but in composition they take the place of the ground-word, or principal root — their denotation being limited or directed by the attributive prefixed. example, is the (Chip.) terminal -abo (after a vowel, -wabo; Abnaki, -a"bw, -wa"bw,) denoting "drink," found in many specific names, but never without a prefix: as in Chip. wiiassabo (meat-drink) broth, ishkoté-wabo (fire-drink) whiskey or other ardent spirit, mashkiki-wabo (herb-drink) liquid medieine, totosh-abo (breast-drink) milk, etc. In a few instances, such a generic expression which in one dialect is inseparable, in others has attained - or has not yet lost - independent position as a specific name. In the Massachusetts language, -min, denoting "small fruit" (berry, nut, or grain), does not appear to have been used without an attributive, e. g. wuttahimin (Chip. odéimin) heart-fruit, a strawberry, weno-min, twinefruit, a grape, wompi-min white-fruit, a chestnut, etc.: in the Delaware and in some western Algonkin languages, -min is similarly employed in composition, but is also used independently as the name of a single species — the bilberry or huckleberry.

Other grammatical devices by which the deficiency of these languages in general names is compensated need not here be pointed out. That such a deficiency exists is indisputable, yet it has been often disregarded in the selection of words for comparison of different languages and dialects. No one has recognized more clearly than did Mr. Gallatin "the extreme precision of the Indian languages," and their poverty in "generic designations or words," but of the first twenty English words in his "Comparative Vocabulary of fifty-three tribes" (in Trans. Am. Antiq. Society, vol. i., pp. 307 and after,) fifteen are relative and general names not one of which can be accurately translated by a single word in any Indian language. Every Algonkin dialect has names for an "elder brother," a "younger brother," a "twin-brother," a "son of the same father," and a "son of the same mother," and has moreover two forms of some or all of these names, one used exclusively by men, the other by women. But in no dialect can there be found the precise equivalent of the English "brother," in its largest denotation. The nearest approximation to it is, perhaps, by a term which, in some languages, designates "one of the other sex, born of the same parents;" spoken by a woman, this word means "brother," - by a man, "sister."

The names by which MAN has been designated, by different tribes, or, more accurately, which most nearly correspond to the English appellative in its two meanings, "an individual of the human race" (homo), and "one possessing in a high degree the distinctive qualities of manhood" (vir), have occasioned much perplexity to vocabulary makers. Mr. Hale, in a note to his Vocabularies of North America (Trans. Am. Ethnol. Society, ii. 74), remarks that "in general, there was no means of ascertaining with precision the existence of this distinction." He has, however, nearly indicated its true character by the suggestion that, in vocabularies, the term "answering to vir will usually be found under man or hus-

<sup>\*</sup> Transactions of the Am. Ethnological Society, vol. ii., p. exxxi.

band," and the "term answering to homo, under 'Indian, native'." The truth is, it is as impossible to find an Indian equivalent for homo as for man. By resorting to the Latin, we only halve the difficulty, not remove it. There is not in any American language any single name applicable alike to the red man and the white, to native and foreigner, to ally and enemy, to chief and counselor and to prisoner and slave, and in its largest sense common to both sexes. For vir a term nearly correspondent may be found in every dialect—though seldom, if ever, as a primary word; but homo is untranslatable by an Indian.

In Algonkin languages—and the same probably is true of all others spoken by North American nations — we have three classes of names for *Man*, into the composition of which enter three or more different roots. These are indicated, not very clearly, by Roger Williams, in the introduction to his *Key into the Language of America* (1643):

"I cannot observe that they ever had (before the coming of the English, French or Dutch amongst them) any names to difference themselves from strangers, for they knew none; but two sorts of names they had, and have, amongst themselves. First, general, belonging to all natives, as Ninnuock, Ninnimissinnûwock, Eniskeetompaŭwog, which signifies men, folk, or people. Secondly, particular names, peculiar to the several nations of them amongst themselves, as Nanhigganĕuck, Massachusĕuck," etc.

Of the three "general" names, the second, ninni-missinnu-wock, is formed from missin (with indef. suffix, missin-nin,) a derivative of missi great, much (multus), and comprehends all homines who are not viri, corresponding etymologically and in its denotation to the Greek οί πολλοὶ, or the Latin multitudo. It was a general name for tributaries, captives, slaves,—that is, for all mankind, the speaker's nation and its allies excepted. The prefix ninni-, however, limits it to inferiors of the speaker's own race, as will presently be shown. Eliot employs missinnin for "man" (homo) in Gen. vi. 7, and in the plural, missinninnuog, for "people," Exod. xxiv. 2, 3, Deut. iv. 33, etc. In Jonah, i. 8, howaé missinnin ken? "of what

people art thou?" would convey to an Indian the meaning of "what kind of slave (or, whose servant) art thou?"

In Williams's other names, ninnu-ock (ninnu-og, Eliot) and eniskeetompau-wog, both plurals, we find two roots common to all Algonkin languages. They vary in pronunciation (and in the phonetic notation employed by different writers), one as nin, nen, enin, aren, len, illin, etc.; the other as omp, a"bé, abé, âpé, âp, etc. These two roots are combined in the Abnaki aren-a"bé and the Delaware len-âpé, and the former is repeated, as a prefix, in the Delaware tribe-name lenni lenâpe.

Mr. Heckewelder, who received with unquestioning faith the legends of his chosen people, the Delawares, and was convinced that theirs was the parent stock from which all Algonkin nations were derived, found in this tribe-name new evidence of their high antiquity and purity of race. Lenni lenâpé, he says (History of the Indian Nations, p. 25), "signifies original people, a race of human beings who are the same that they were in the beginning, unchanged and unmixed." As to the analysis of the name, he is not quite clear. Lenno, he says, signifies "a man;" in the names of quadrupeds, "a male." Lenâpe signifies man—"in a more extended sense," - and "in the name of the Lenni Lenapé, it signifies people, but the word lenni which precedes it has a different signification and means original, and sometimes common, plain, pure, unmixed." "Under this general description [and very general it is, certainly,] the Indians comprehend all that they believe to have been first created in the order of things." (Corresp. with Duponceau, pp. 368, 412.) Mr. Cass, in the North American Review for January, 1826, remarked the "confusion in Heckewelder's ideas of the name in question," and offered another - and a worse - translation of it. Lenee, he says, "generally and properly means 'male'," and "the true meaning of lenaupé is 'common'." He was as far as was Mr. Heckewelder from detecting the connection between lenno "man" and a word meaning "original, common, plain," etc.

To discover the primary signification of each of the two roots found in len-âpé, we will look first to the Massachusetts

language, where the materials for etymological research are more abundant and, generally, more trustworthy than in the Delaware.

Every savage believes in the superiority of his own tribe and nation to all others. He and his are the real men: the rest are servants, tributaries, missinninnuog. Whatever is greater than himself passes out of his order of being and becomes to him manitou 'preternatural.' The Illinois, says Marquette, call themselves The Men, "comme si les autres sauvages au prés d'eux ne passoient que pour des bestes." This conviction of personal and tribal excellence stamps itself on every savage language. In some of the North American tongues its traces are very plainly marked. Notwithstanding the want of a substantive verb, "I am" is a constant element of Algonkin grammar. The demonstratives and relatives which in Indo-European languages appear to have been derived from the primitive pronoun of the third person are in the Massachusetts and other eastern Algonkin dialects manifestly related to the pronoun of the first person. The Indian conception of man was as one 'like' himself. Men of his own nation were "such as I," nostrates, and his was the "original," "common," normal, type of humanity.

The (Mass.) pronoun of the first person singular is  $n\hat{i}n$ ; as a prefix, n'; plural  $n\hat{i}n$ -awun. The demonstrative of inanimate objects is ni; of animate beings,  $n\hat{o}$  (noh, Eliot); of place, na there. The distributive 'some,' 'any,' 'of the kind of,' is 'nni or un'ni. Resemblance or identity was expressed by ni-unni (neane, Eliot) such as this, or nan same; ni-nan the same thing,  $n\hat{o}nan$  the same person; 'nnih (Eliot), 'nnih (R. W.), it is so, or it is the same; \* nanoi (nanwe Eliot) common, usual, i. e. 'such as' ours, or 'of our kind,' hence, 'native,' 'indigenous.' Eliot wrote nanwe missinninnuog "common people," Mark xii. 37 (minimissinninuoe of Roger Wil-

<sup>\*</sup> Comp. Chip. in-, ini-, prefixed to verbs, "to signify a certain way or manner in which something is done or used," etc.; e. g. 1n-ábi he so looks; od 'Inabaman he so sees him; Inagode "it hangs so; nind Inawa "I resemble him; Inidé "it is cooked in a certain manner" (so); Inigini "he is so large;" Ino "it is so" Baraga.

liams, before quoted), and nanwe wut-epistle-um Jude for "the general epistle" etc.\*

'Nnin-u (enin), pl. ninnuog, which Roger Williams gives as one of the "general names belonging to all natives" and "signifying men," was occasionally used by Eliot in the plural and, with an attributive prefixed, in the singular, for 'man,' men;' but the Indians restricted its denotation to men like themselves, of the common or native type, of the speaker's kind (though not necessarily of his tribe or nation). It is opposed to penwwi (Abn. pirwi) strange, foreign, of another kind.

In other Algonkin dialects, the Massachusetts 'ninnu or enin-u becomes (Abnaki) areni, (Quinnippiac) ren, (Delaware) lenno, (Illinois) illini, (Cree) ethinu, etc.,—meaning

In Chip. inéndam (= Del. eléndam, Abn. erérdam, Mass. unantam), only én represents the root: -dam is the grammatical formative, and the prefixed in- is the the adverbial 'so, 'in such manner,' which is dropped when the verb receives any other prefix — as in minwexdam, nishkéniman, etc.

<sup>\*</sup> Schleicher (Vergl. Grammatik, 2te Aufl. p. 642) considers the root of the 1st sing. pronoun in Indo-European languages - ma 'I,' 'me,' - identical with the verbal root ma 'to think,' 'to measure,' and with the ma in Sansk. ma-nu, Goth. ma-n 'the thinker,' 'man': for since "we must not a-cribe to the primitive language the abstract conception of the Eqo,—what," he asks, "should 'I' be, originally, but 'man'?" The likeness of the corresponding roots in Algonkin languages is as noticeable - and the probability of their original indentity is at least as great—as in the Indo-European. Compare Chip. NIN I, me, IN-i so, such, ININ-i man, and nind' INÉN-dam (intrans.) I think, suppose, it seems to me, I am (so) minded, nind' INEN-dán (trans. inanimate) I think of it, think it (so), nind' INEN-ima (trans. anim.) I think of him, think him (so). But I do not believe that the Indian - of Asia or America - waited for the demonstration "cogito, ergo sum," as a necessary preliminary to self-assertion or to the vocal designation of his fellow-savage. Without rising to "the abstract conception of the Ego," he in some way discovered and expressed the distinction between 'this, me' and 'that, - my Like,' - alter ego. His mental states and activities, - his likes and dislikes, opinions, regards, emotions, - how he was affected by an external object, what he thought of it, how he estimated or measured it, - he would naturally express by "it is so to me" (though perhaps not so to another); "I so regard, feel, esteem, believe, think it." Of the same object, one might say nin mino-Endan I well-think it, it to me is good; another, nin jing-En-dan I hate it, it to me is odious; toward the same individual and with reference to the same act one would express his emotion by nin-nishk-fin-ima I am angry minded at him, another by nin bap-inen in I am laughter-minded, joyful; what one remembers (mikwéndán = mikoa-en-dán finds in thought), another forgets (wanéndan = wani-EN-dan misses in thought, or bón-en-dán ceases thinking of).

always, a 'common man,' of the speaker's kin or kind. Used as an adjective, the Mass. nanwi, Abn. areni, Del. lenni, denotes the 'common,' 'usual' or 'native,' as distinguished from penwwi, Abn. pirwi, the 'strange,' 'foreign,' of 'other kind': e. g. Abn. areni wdama" common or native tobacco, aren-andwé he speaks Abnaki (comp. pirw-andwé he speaks a foreign language); Del. len-achpoan, common (i. e. Indian) bread, lenna-meek common-fish (the sucker, found in almost all streams), len-chum common or Indian dog, (distinguished from the species introduced by Europeans), etc. Zeisberger translates "Lennape, an Indian; Linni lenape, Indians of the same nation."

In lenapé, we have this adjective in synthesis with an inseparable generic. Heckewelder (Corresp. with Duponceau, 411) says that the termination ap or ape "belongs to animals walking in an erect posture; hence, lenape man." It is found in all pure Algonkin languages (Mass. -omp, Abn. -anbé, Penobscot -ombè, Chip. âbé, etc), but nowhere as an independent word. As a generic suffix it denotes 'an adult male.' With a demonstrative prefixed (n') it designates 'the male,' or as an adjective, simply, 'male.' The primary meaning of the root may have been nearly that which Heckewelder suggests. It appears in the Mass. ompa-, Chip. ombi-, a prefix to verbs of lifting, raising, erecting, etc.: e. g. Mass. ompanúeu "he lifts himself up," from a stooping position, John viii. 7; Chip. ombinan "he lifts or raises it up," ombábate "the smoke ascends," ombashin "the bread rises," etc. (comp. Abnaki ABási a standing tree); as an adjective, in Mass. nompaäs male, nomposhim male beast, pish nompaiyeuw kah squaineuw there-shall male-be and female-be (Gen. vi. 19); in Chip. nabé male, nin-nabem "my husband" (Baraga), etc. The dependence of the Indian warrior and hunter on his bow is expressed in its designation as "belonging to the adult male," and by transferring it from the class of inanimate ('ignoble') objects to the animate or 'noble': Mass. ohtomp, Abnaki 'ta'BI, Powhatan attawp or auhtab.

Len-âpé (= Abnaki aren-a bé, mod. Penobscot aln-ombè,)

denotes "a common adult male," i. e. an Indian man; lenno len-âpé, an Indian of our tribe or nation, and consequently, vir, "a man of men." The roots, len and a<sup>n</sup>p, correspond more nearly to nostras and mas than to homo and vir; but the former is as exclusively masculine as the latter, and cannot be prefixed to a feminine noun-generic.

Recurring now to Roger Williams's division of names into "general, belonging to all natives," and "particular, peculiar to the several nations amongst themselves," we will first trace these two principal roots, under their dialectic modifications, through the several Algonkin languages, and afterwards notice some of the names for men of inferior race,—for enemies, strangers, and foreigners,—into the composition of which neither of these two roots may enter.

1. Man of the 'common' or 'native' type; of the speaker's kin or kind; nostras. Root, 'NEN, 'REN, 'LEN, — from an earlier in? with a demonstrative prefix, or reduplication. As an adjectival, it denotes 'common,' 'indigenous,' sometimes 'mere.' Formed as a verb, 'to be a man (like ourselves),' hence, in many dialects, 'to live.'

Old Algonkin (Nipissing), inini: nin-ininyu "I am a man." Howse.

Chippeway, inini, pl. inini-wak. Ottawa, anini.

Massachusetts, -inin, pl. -ininnuog; ninnu "male," Eliot (Mark x. 6.)

Narragausett, 'nnin, inin; pl. ninnuog. R. W.

Menomini, inin. Potawatomi, nini (Lykins), enin ŭ (P. Jones).

Sâki (Sauk), nænni. Maximil. Musquaki (Foxes), nini.

Montagnais, irini-ou [he is] man; iriniou-in "life." Le Jeune, 1634.

Abnaki (Kennebee), aren-i; as adjective 'simple,' 'plain,' 'mere.'

Quinnippiac, ren (pl. renewak) man. Peirson, 1658.

New Sweden, "rhenus, Mann: renappi, Menniskia." Campanius.

Delaware, lenno, pl. lennowak. Zeisb.

Shawnee, ilinî "man," linàwaî "Indian;" linàwaî-wî "he lives." Howsedelnoich "Indian." Whipple.

Illinois, illini.

Miami, elaniah (Volney), ahlannah (Barton).

Micmae, el'nu, l'nooi (Maill.), al'nu (Howse).

Montagnais of Labrador, il'no.

Cree, ethin'u "man, an Indian," Howse; Western Cree, hiyenu, Maximilian. [Comp. 1st pers. pronoun nîtha I, and net'étin I do so, I so act. Howse remarks that "the th is so softly uttered that a nice ear only can detect it," and, among the western Crees, it "is lost in the t or y; nitha becomes niya [= ni'ia], ethinu is îyinu. The western Crees call themselves

Néayaóg which Dr. Hayden translates: "those who speak the same tongue." Of Něhethówuk, the equivalent in the dialect of the Hudson Bay Crees, Howse makes "exact beings, or people," and Sir John Richardson, "exact or complete men."

Shyenne, ita'ni (adj. male, of man); eta'nio "people." Hayden.

Atsina, nithun'a. Comp. nathan'i-nita "to live." Hayden.

Arapaho, inen', pl. inen'a. Comp. ininek'tina "to be alive."

? Blackfeet, ninnow, nenow. Howse. Hayden has nin'a "chief," but for Indian, ni-i'-tsa ta'-pi. Comp. nistu'a [= Cree nita] I, nitsinan mine.

Powhatan. The generic name appears in such compounds as Strachey's rawerunnuwh "an old man." For "man," John Smith has nemarough (by a misprint, probably, for nematough), and Strachey, nimatewh. This is the equivalent of nemat (Strachey; and so in the Massachusetts dialect,) "my brother," my mate, with the verbal formative (= Mass. nematon he is my brother, or mate).

Nanticoke, ihn, iin, "Indian." Wohacki, for "man" in Gallatin's vocabulary, means 'his body,' 'himself,' = Mass. wuhhogki (Eliot), Narrag. wuhhock (R. W.).

The characteristic n of the pronominal root is constant throughout. The prefixed demonstrative, or reduplication, varies, with changes of dialect, as n, l, r, and (rarely) y; is lost in strong aspiration of the following vowel; becomes a soft, scarcely audible th in the speech of the eastern Crees and the Atsinas of the northwest, and among the Shyennes is represented by t.

Without intending to follow the Algonkin name beyond the presumed limits of the Algonkin group, I may be permitted to allude to the fact that the Crees and Atsinas are neighbors of Athapascan tribes, suggesting the possibility of relationship between the Cree ithinu, Atsina nithun'a, and Shyenne ita'ni,—and the Chepewyan dinnie, Takulli tennî, Umkwa tăné, Navajo tennaï and Apache n'de, all having the same meaning, "man, native." The likeness of the east-Algonkin 'nnin-u, inin-i, to Labrador-Eskimo innuk, pl. innuit, man, innu-wok alive, una he, this, ingna the same, etc., is not less noticeable.

II. An adult male: designated by the inseparable noungeneric  $-a^nbe$ ,  $-\hat{a}p$ , -omp, or other dialectic modification of the root  $A^nB$ . With n demonstrative prefixed it designates 'the male,' or as an adjectival, simply, 'male.' With a pronominal prefix, it may mean 'husband,'—e. g. Chip. ne-nabem [the final m is possessive,] my husband; but Baraga in his

Otchipwe Dictionary, marks this use of the word as "unpolite." With the prefix 'nen (ren, len,) it denotes a 'common man,' i. e. an Indian adult male. With other attributives, it forms class-names and tribe-names.

1. With the demonstrative prefix, designating 'the male'; and, with the possessive suffix (-om, -em, -m), 'husband':—

Algonkin and Chippeway, nábê; ni-nâbem [my male,] my husband.

Ottawa, napé; ni-na-bom.

Menom., naupe-om, napium, "husband." Dr. James.

Potawat., nawbam; nin-nawbam "my husband."

Miami, [napem husband,] nenapema my husband. Volney.

Illinois, nampeheman husband. Gallatin.

Montagnais, napiou "man," nâpen "husband" (naapen. Gabriel).

Naskapi (Scoffie), naabouh "man," naahpen "husband."

Abnaki, na"bé-, prefixed to names of male animals.

Massachusetts, nomp aus male, a male; nomp-oshim, nomp-oshimwus a male quadruped; nompai-yeuoo [he is] male, Gen. vi. 19. Eliot. Roger Williams does not use omp- or nomp- as a prefix; but for a male beast has enewashim, = Del. lenno-wechum (Zeisberger).

Cree, näpayoo man, pl. napeywuk: ne-nabem "my husband." Howse.

Nanticoke, nââp. Heckw. Pamptico, nuppin "Indian." Lawson.

2. With the prefix 'nen, (ren, len,) 'common,' 'native,' 'of our kind;' designating an Indian adult male:

Abnaki (Kennebee), aren-anbé "homo" Rasles.

(Penobscot), alnombé; alnambay. Vetromile.

Delaware (N. Sweden), renappi, Campanius — who has, incorrectly, pīri renappi for "strangers."

(Unami) len-âpé "an Indian," pl. len'âpewak. Zeisb.

Mississauga, linip? ["linneep." Barton.]

3. With other attributives, forming class and tribe names: Mass. Nîtomp, Narrag. nîtôp, Abn. nida"bé, Del. (N. Swed.) nitappi, Powhatan netab, pl. netapewh (Strachey), nitoppu (J. Smith),—the familiar "netop" of the early colonists, sometimes translated "brother," but by Roger Williams, more accurately, "friend,"—denotes a brother by adoption or affinity, one who is regarded as a brother; literally, 'man of my family,' or 'my kinsman.' The prefix (Mass. nît-) may be translated 'of the family,' 'domestie'; as in Chip. nîta "my brother-in-law" (Baraga), Mass. and Narrag. nîtassu (netassu, El.) a domestic animal.

Mass. Ket'omp (kehtomp, El.) chief man; from ketti (kehte, El.) chief, greatest.

Mugwomp great man, captain; from mogki great, powerful. Kînomp (Abn. Kina"bé "homme courageux, brave, généreux," Rasles), a "brave"; Eliot uses it for "captain" in John xviii. 12, where Mayhew (1709) substitutes mukquomp = mugwomp; Micmac keenap "warrior, hero," Rand.

Nonk'omp young-man; literally, light or slender man, from nonk'i, levis.

Pinomp (penomp, El.; Del. pilâpé "a big boy," Zeisb.) a new (i.e. a chaste) man: from pinu (Del. pili-, Chip. bini-,) new, strange, unused, chaste. Perhaps the most curious mistake in Eliot's version of the Bible is the use of penomp for "virgin," e.g. in Gen. xxiv. 16, Isaiah vii. 14, 1 Kings, i. 2, and Matt. xxv. 1, where the parable is of the ten penompaog, i.e. chaste young men. With the Indians chastity was a masculine virtue, and it is easy to see how Eliot's interpreter, misunderstanding his question, gave him nescius vir for nescia viri.

Delaware Kigâpe (Zeisb.), Abn. kiga\*bé, a young unmarried man, is in those dialects the equivalent of Mass. pînomp. The corresponding feminine appellation in the Delaware (Unami) is kikochque, Zeisb., Ottawa gigang "virgin, maid," Baraga. Blackfoot asit-apĭ = Del. kigâpe.

Abnaki (Kennebec) seëna"bé, modern Penobscot senombi, Mass. sannup (Wood, 1634), was the common designation of an Indian man, in the vigor of manhood, married, or master of his lodge. Rasles translates it by "vir." The signification of the prefix is not quite clear. The word is not found in Eliot or Mayhew, but was much used by the English colonists, who understood "sannup and squaw" to mean "Indian man and woman." Possibly, the former name is a contraction of anisina"bé—which, in other Algonkin dialects, has nearly the same meaning, but is not found in the Massachusetts of Eliot or the Abnaki of Rasles.

Old Algonkin (Nipissing) alisinapé, Lahontan; mod. Alg. and Chip. anishin-abe ("Indian") Baraga; Ottawa nishan-aba; Potawat. nishinapé; Penobscot alisenombi "good man." The same prefix, with irini (= inini) as the generic, is found in Montagnai's arichi-irini-ouak (pl.), men (Le Jeune, 1634),

modern arrishirini (Vetromile). Compare Blkf. niitsatápi "Indian" (Hayden). The prefix signifies 'good,' 'welldoing'; Mass. wunnesu, Del. wulisso, Alg. and Chip. onijishi "he is fair, beautiful, fine, good." (Bar.)

Narrag. enisketomp contr. 'skîtomp [skeetomp, R. W.] "man"; Quinnip eansketambe "an Indian," wusketambang (pl.) "men," "people"; contr. sketambaugh, Peirson; Mass. wosketomp, Eliot, Mayhew, and Cotton, for "man"; Etchemin oskitap, uskidab, "man," n'oskitapaim "my husband" (comp. uskiteh-inu "Indian man," Vetromile, = ouskejin, Barrett, and Micmae uskiginu "Indian man," Vetromile); Naskapi (Scoffie) of Labrador, nashkapou [he is] Indian (Gabriel), naskupi and "nasquapee," which, says Mr. Hind (Exploration of Labrador, ii. 96), they translate, "people standing upright." The prefix appears to be the equivalent of Chip. onishk-, in onishka "he rises, stands erect," particip. wenishk-ad "one who stands erect," etc. - repeating and emphasizing the meaning of the generic -omp, -ap.\* In Mayhew's version of John's gospel (1709), unashketomp, pl. -paog (not found in Eliot,) is used for "officers," ch. vii. 46, xvii. 12, 22, - and in Wood's vocabulary, Mass. (1634), sasketupe is translated "a great man."

Blackfoot mata'pi "man" (Hayden) belongs to this class. The prefix may be from ma'tsi "brave." The generic affix, for "male," is found also in asi'tapi "young man," sako'tapi "boy," nii'tsatapi "Indian," and in the names of Blackfeet bands, e. g. A'petupi "Blood people," Mumi'tupio (pl.) "Fish Indians," etc. Comp. Blkf. etapi "to live" (Hayden).

The Micmac designation of an adult male is peculiar. Gallatin's vocabulary gives (from Maillard) Micm. tchinem "man (vir)": tchenem-emool "husband;" [em is possessive, and -ool is an affix of the 2d and 3d person sing., 'thy' or 'her'.] Rand's vocabulary (in Schoolcraft) has n'cheenum-com "my husband"; wobaika-cheenum "white man" (but this last is probably white man's Micmac, of modern formation). Only in nilhetop "my friend" (Gal.) = Abn. nita"be, Mass. nîtop,

<sup>\*</sup> Comp. Del. Lenni Lenape, and (in an other group of languages) the Pawnee tribe-name Cha'-hiksi cha'hiks "men of men.

do I find the generic suffix for 'male' which is common to all Algonkin languages. The tribe-name—the true vir—corresponding to the Alg. and Chip. anishinabé, Del. lennolenape, Naskapi nasquapi etc., does not appear in the Micmae vocabularies. The etymology of tchinem is obscure. It may be a dialectic corruption of Abn. seënabe (Mass. "sannup"), with the loss of the p by the nasalization of the preceding vowel.

III. Man inferior in degree or kind; not 'of us' or 'such as we are':

Mass. missininnuog, Narr. missinnuwock, "folk, people" (R. W.),—if of the speaker's nation, ninni-missinnu-wock,—has been previously noticed. Literally, "the many," οἱ πολλοὶ: Abnaki mesairwak "ils sont plusieurs" (Rasles). From the same root, Mass. mussi (and redupl. mámussi) wholly, of the whole; Narr. missî-su "the whole of him"; Del. messisu; Abn. messicoi "tout entier"; Chip. misi, misiwe, "every where," "all," etc.

Mass. penoi (penowe El.) strange, novel, different,—whence penowot stranger, foreigner; pl. penowohtedog strangers, is used by Eliot for "the heathen," Ezek, xxxvi. 3, 4, and elsewhere, and for "gentiles." Abn. piroï-arena"bé "homme étranger" (Rasles), piri "de nouveau," = Del. pili, Chip. bini, etc. The Chip. maiag- has nearly the same meaning,—"foreign, strange, changed" (Bar.); maiag-anishinabé "a strange Indian from another tribe; in Scriptural language, pagan, gentile," maiag-isi "he is a foreigner" (Bar.).

Mass. howân, auwon; pl. howanig, somebodies, any-bodies, or interrogatively, who is this? who are these? (Narr. awâün "there is somebody," awâün ewó? "who is he?" R. W.) As an adjective, howaé any, some kind of. Abn. aooenni, Micm. wen, Del. auween; Cree, owena who? pl. owéneki; oweuk some one, any one; Chip. awénen who? Hence one of the designations of Englishmen by the Indians of New England,—usually written awannux or owanux; Narrag. "awaunagus-suck English-men, . . . as much as to say, These strangers" (R. W.), Pequot waunnuksuk (Stiles). Abn. awennwts "Frenchman" (Rasles) has the same etymology.

IV. Nations of different language, enemies, and Europeans, were usually designated by a verb or participle in the animate-plural, without affixing a noun-generic. The principal tribe of the Iroquois, for example, was called by the Algonkins of New England "Mohowaug-suck or Mauquâu-og, cannibals or men-eaters"—as Roger Williams explains (Key, p. 16)-" from môho to eat. Eliot writes this verb, mowhau he eats what lives (or an animate object); noh moshhukque "he that eateth me," John vi. 57; mowhauqua-og they who eat what lives, etc. Hence, the name "Mohawks" adopted by the English, and the Dutch Mahakuaas, contracted to Maquas.\* (Comp. Abn. ne-mwhanwk mégwak "I eat the Iroquois," Rasles.) The French and northern Algonkins may have derived the same name, "Maquas," from Alg. makwa a bear, - Ganniagwari, the national name of the Mohawks, signifying "a she bear"; but it is nearly certain that to the Indians and English of New England, the "Mohawks" or "Mauquauogs" were, by name, "cannibals."

A Mohican tribe in eastern Connecticut received from their enemies (Narragansetts and Niantics) the name of Paquatauog, or Pequitôog (R. W.), destroyers, ravagers, and passed into history as "Pequots," only a small band, which had deserted the main tribe, retaining the national name of Muhhekanneuk (Wolves) corrupted by the English to "Mohegans."

The "Eskimos" bear an Algonkin nickname which describes them as "eaters of raw flesh"; Cree eskwa-mwayw, Abnaki eski-mwha", he raw-eats (animal food).

The name Algonkin—Algonmequin and Algonquin of the French—has been extended over a great family of nations and languages. "The Algonquin was the mother tongue of those who greeted the colonists of Raleigh at Roanoke, of those who welcomed the Pilgrims to Plymouth. It was heard from the Bay of Gaspe to the valley of the Des Moines; from Cape Fear, and, it may be, from the Savannah, to the land of the Esquimaux; from the Cumberland River of Kentucky to

<sup>\*&</sup>quot; The Mauquawogs or Mohowawogs, which signifies men-eaters." R. W. in Letter to Winthrop, 4 Mass. Hist. Collections, vi. 239.

the southern branch of the Missinipi."\* Yet the origin of the name has, I believe, never been pointed out, and scarcely two authors agree in fixing the locality of the tribe to which it originally belonged.† Mr. Gallatin (Synopsis of the Indian Tribes, p. 24) found it "difficult to ascertain whether this name did belong to any particular tribe, or was used only as a generic appellation." Etymology removes the difficulty. An Algonkin was, eo nomine, removed from all "local habitation." No tribe ever called itself or was known to neighboring tribes by the name. It was not even a "generic appellation," until the French and English adopted it as such.

We first meet with the "Algoumequins" in Champlain's narrative of his voyage to Canada in 1603 (Les Sauvages, etc. repr. Quebec, 1870, pp. 6, 8, 9). He was in company with M. du Pont-gravé and had as interpreters two Indians of some Algonkin-speaking tribe-probably Montagnez from Tadoussac, - whom Pont-gravé had carried to France on his return from a former voyage to the St. Lawrence. Pointe de Saint Matthieu (now Pointe aux Allouettes) at the mouth of the Saguenay, opposite Tadoussac, they found a war-party of Indians "of three nations, the Estechemins [Etchemins], Algoumequins, and Montagnez," returning from a successful expedition against the Iroquois. The Montagnez were already at home, on the north bank of the St. Lawrence; the Etchemins and their country were well known to the French, but the "Algoumequins" were new acquaintances. Their name—or what Champlain understood to be suchmust have been learned from themselves or their allies, and must belong to one of the dialects which we call Algonkin.‡ The l is clearly an interpolation, for it does not belong to

<sup>\*</sup>Bancroft's History of the United States, iii. 237.

<sup>†</sup> See, in Shea's Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 8 (note 3), a collation of the principal authorities — exhibiting, as the editor remarks, "most remarkable differences of opinion" on this point.

<sup>†</sup> The learned author of Etudes Philologiques sur quelques Langues sauvages, in a later work (Jugement Erroné de M. Ernest Renan, etc. 2me éd. Montréal, 1869) which did not come in my way until after this paper was presented, derives the name "Algonquin" from the Huron, a dialect of the Iroquois. The Hurons and the Algonquins were allies, he remarks: the former, impatiently awaiting the

the Montagnais, Etchemin, or any other Algonkin language at that time known to the French. The termination -in, or as it was afterwards occasionally written -ain, is that of the French adjective (as in Mexiquain, or -cain), but it perhaps represents, as in some other tribe-names of French adoption (e.g. Champlain's Quenongebin, Ochataguins, Otaquottouemin, etc.), an original -inin 'man,' or its plural. In Champlain's later publications (Voyages, editions of 1619 and 1632, and the Map.) he writes " Algommekins" for " Algoumequins." We have then as the base of the name, A'goumek or A'gommek-and recognize an equivalent of the Virginian Accomac, the Narragansett Acawmen-oake "land on the other side" or acâwmuck (R. W. Key, pp. 3, 4), Mass. o'gkomuk and ogkomuk (Eliot), Abn. angwannek "en delà," "au-delà," and Aganmeno'ki "France" (Rasles), Cree akâmik (Howse), Chip. againing (Baraga). Among the Montagnais at Tadoussac, or by the Etchemins of l'Acadie,—anywhere, indeed, east of the Ottawa River,—the original Algonkins would have naturally been designated by their eastern confederates as men from "the other side," from "the beyond-river country." editor of the Quebec reprint of Champlain's voyages, in a note to the account of the first meeting with the "Algoumequins" in 1603 (Les Sauvages, p. 9), suggests, unconsciously, the derivation of the name, by the remark that they lived on the Ottawa River "et au-delà."\*

coming of their friends, used to ask one another, IAKO-KEN? which is Huron for 'Est-on arrivé?' And Iako-ken, at first "une sorte d'appel militaire," came to be the recognized designation of a tribe and nation, and finally was corrupted to Algonquin! That the "Algoumequins" whom Champlain met on the lower St. Lawrence in 1603, years before he visited the country of the Hurons or promoted the Algonkin-Huron alliance, made themselves known to him by a name borrowed from an "appel militaire" in a foreign language—and which required an interrogation mark to give it meaning—is, to say the least, improbable. Without raising the question whether even French ingenuity could extract "Algonquins" from "Iako ken?"—is not such a derivation of a tribe-name as absurd as the worst of the etymological blunders of Schoolcraft and Duponceau which the author of Etudes Philologiques has so gleefully exposed?

<sup>\*</sup> The "Algoumequins" encountered at Tadoussac in 1603, appear to have belonged to the tribe which afterwards became known to the French as Kichesipiriniaek (i. e. Great-river men) and "Sauvages de l'Isle." These occupied the Ile des Allougttes (as it is now ealled) in Ottawa River—the "Great River of

In the Jesuit Relations, the name changes from "Algommekins" to "Algonquains" and, finally, "Algonquins." This change was perhaps effected by the influence of the Huron name for the same tribes. The Hurons, who spoke a dialect of the Iroquois, designated their "Algommekin" allies as "Aquannaque," i. e. "of a different language," "foreigners" (Sagard). "Our Hurons"-writes Father Lallemant in the Relation for 1641 (Quebec edition, p. 72),—"call the Neutral Nation Attioundaronk,\* that is to say, 'people of a slightly different language'; as for the tribes which speak languages which they (the Hurons) cannot at all understand, they call them Akwanake [ = Aquannake of Sagard], of whatever nation they may be, that is to say 'strangers.'" The Huron name became more familiar to the French than that by which the tribes on Ottawa River had first been called,—these tribes, when at home, could not properly be designated as "from the other side,"-and there was sufficient resemblance between a'qwa"mek and a'kwanake to make the transition from Algommekin to Algonquin easy.

The Chippeways call the modern Algonkins, *Odishkwagamig* 'Lake-enders,' from *ishkwa* at the end of, and *gami* lake (literally, water). Mr. Schoolcraft gives a translation and analysis of this name—of which he seems to have regarded "Algonquin" as a corruption or the equivalent.

The eastern tribes gave, as we have seen, the same name to countries of Europe as to the region between the Ottawa River and the great lakes: Narr. acawmen-6ake, Abn. aga\*-meno'ki, Chip. agaming, 'land on the other side' or 'over the water.' To the Nipissings and the Montagnez, the French and English were "Algonkins."

The French in Canada were called sometimes Awennots-ak' somebodies' (= Narr. awaunagussuck' these strangers,' see p. 150, ante); but were usually distinguished as 'Wood en-boats'—Alg. Mittigouchiouek (Lahontan, who translates,

the Algommekins "of Champlain's later voyages and Map of 1632. Perhaps the appellation *Kichesipirinioœk* was originally given to *all* the tribes and bands living on or near the "great river" (*kitchi-sipi*), to distinguish them from the "small-lake men" (*Nipissirinioœk*) dwelling near Lake Nipissing.

<sup>\*</sup> Whence probably the modern Adirondack.

inaccurately, "constructeurs de vaisseaux"), Chip. wemitigojiwug (Baraga); Cree Wem'stegoso-ak.

The English in New England were specifically described as "Coat-wearing" (Narr. Wautaconâuog, R. W.), but soon received the appellation by which Anglo-Americans, and since the separation of the colonies from Great Britain, the inhabitants of the United States, have been designated by all northern tribes,—"Big Knives." "They call Englishmen Châuquaquock, that is, Knife-men," from chauquog knife (R. W.). In other dialects, different names for 'knife' are employed: e. g. Alg. and Chip. mokoman, whence Chip. Kitchimokoman "an American" (Baraga), and Kitchi-mokoman aki [great-knife-land,] the United States; Cree, Ketsimohkoman. Del. Mechan-schican, 'Chanschican (Heckw.), Miami Mitchimalsà (Volney), Blackfoot Omakstoä, and Arikara Nehsikuss all have the same meaning, though formed from different roots.

The Alg. Aganesha, Chip. Jaganash and Saganash, Cree Agāthāsu, Hakaiahsu, Miami  $A\chi \hat{a}l\hat{a}chima$  (Volney), and probably Yengees—by double corruption, "Yankee,"—represent Algonkin imitations, more or less successful, of "English," "Anglais" or "ces Anglaises."

There are Algonkin names for "whites" and "blacks," but these are without any generic affix to restrict their application to 'men': e. g. Chip. Waiábishkiwed "a white man or a white woman" (Baraga), a participle (subjunctive) from wabishkiwi to be whitish, pale,—and Miami Ouâbkiloketa "white skin" (Volney): Chip. Maketewiïas and Cree Kiskitowiïas, "black flesh"; etc.

V. For Woman there are names corresponding nearly to femina, mulier, and uxor. The first—which has been anglicized from east-Algonkin dialects, as "squaw,"—as a generic suffix denotes one 'of woman-kind,' as a prefix signifies 'female,' without restriction to the human species. Eliot did not employ it independently for "woman." In Gen. vi. 19, he wrote pish nompaï-yeu-w kah squaï-yeu-w "they (animals) shall be male and female," but in Gen. v. 7, wosketomp kah mittamwossis-soh ukkezheüh "male and female (man and wo-

man) created he them." With a suffix denoting · living creature, 'animal,'—squâ-as (contracted by E. Williams to squâvs) is 'a female,' without distinction of age or condition. So, squâshim (squâ-oshim) a female quadruped, Abn. skwéssem, Del. ochquéchum. It has the place of a noun-generic in the Mass. nunk-squâ young woman; Narr. keegsquarr virgin (R. W.); sonkisquâ, contr. sonsq' (and Narr. saunks, R. W.) mistress, sachem-squaw; etc.

Though this general name is found either as an independent word or as an element of synthesis in every Algonkin language, it is not easily traced through the published vocabularies, in which it is often confounded with or represented by names for mulier and uzor. It does not appear under "Woman," in the Micmae, Etchemin, Abnaki, Massachusetts, Mohican, or Miami vocabularies given by Mr. Gallatin, but it occurs in some of these under "Girl" or "Wife."

Old Algonkin, ickoue, Lahontan. Chip. ikwé, Baraga, ecquoy, Long. Ottawa, akwé, Bar., ekwa, Tanner. Potawatomi, ókwé, ukquah, Gal., oqué, qué Lykins.

Delaware, ochque-u woman, Zeisb.; F'que'i watter, quai 'tchitz (dimin.) girl. Whipple. New Swed. aqao; as a suffix, -5qua. Campanius.

Nanticoke, achquahike; suffixed, in pechquah girl. Gallatin.

Shawnee, equiwa, dimin. squithetha girl, Johnston; s'squawowih, dimin. s'squaw the e thah girl, Whipple.

Powhatan, -usqua, in wironausqua "woman queen"; dimin. usquaseins "girl." Strachey. [For "woman" Strachey has cutheneppo, cutsseneppo; J. Smith crenepo; of which I can make nothing.

Mohican, -esqua: in peesquasoo girl, Edwards; peesqu thuh, Jenks.

Mass. and Narr. squa-, squè, female; squaäs, El., squàws, R. W., a female.

Abnaki (Kennebec) skwé- (prefixed) and insep. -skwé, female; as in nank-skwé "fille," kwsihw-skwé "vierge." Penobscot, kosiuskwe virgin,

Vetromile.

Etchemin, -sque. Pelsquasis girl, Kellogg; noksque-ak "girls" [young women], Barrett

Micmac, -slupuë [-chkopei, Maill.] insep. generic; contractde, -ishk. [Na<sup>n</sup>xkwé, naxkwe, Vetromile, the equivalent of Abn. na<sup>n</sup>k-skobé, Mass. nunksquâ, young woman, has been improperly used by some of the Catholic missionaries (I find it also in Mr. Rand's vocabulary—as noksow) for "virgin." In Vetromile's "Indian Good Book," Naxwhet Mali stands, in the Creed, Rosary, etc. for "the Virgin Mary." The prefix (Abn. na<sup>n</sup>k-, Mass. nunk-, nonk-, Chip. núng-) means 'light' (levis); in this connection, 'not full grown': comp. Mass. nunkomp young man. Naxwhet (Vetr.) is the participle of na<sup>n</sup>xkwâ.

Montagnais, schquow woman; dimin. squasish girl: comp. tishquah [his]

wife. Gabriel. [Tessarawi- and the participle tessarawit used for "virgin" in the Montagn. Prayers, Creed, Confiteor, etc., in Vetromile's Indian Good Burz, (e. g. Mari einpitsh tessarawit Maria semper virgo,) to an Indian denotes — like Eliot's penomp — a chaste male. It becomes feminine only by suffixing the generic -shqua. Comp. Alg. and Chip. "nintessanaw I am in a virginal state (a male speaking)," participle taiessanawid, and "nin tessanakwew I am a virgin (a female speaking)," ptep. taiessanakwid. Baraga.

Naskupi (Skoffie), schow woman, squash girl, teshquouet wife. Gabriel.

Cree, iskway' oo [she is] woman, of woman kind. Howse.

Blackfoot, ski-, a fem. prefix to names of animals: but akilma woman, pl. akiks; akilkuen girl. Hayden.

In the far-off Arapoho isi' woman (and as fem. prefix), and the corresponding Atsina (Falls Indian) ith'a and ithe'i, we nearly lose trace of the harsh guttural octique of the Delawares and the Alg. ikwe.

For mulier we find in different Algonkin languages at least three names:

- (1.) Abn. phainem [p'hainem], Rasles; mod. Penobscot, p'hanem ("sanoba ala phanem man or woman," Ozunkh.); Mohican p'ghainoom, Jenks.
- (2.) Micm. ep't, pl. epitgik, Maill.; aibit woman, aibitis girl, n't'aibit-em [my] wife, Rand.
- (3.) Mass. mittamwossis, contr. mittamwus El. (muttumwus Mass. Psalter), used both for mulier (Gen. ii. 22; iii. 2,) and uxor (Gen. ii. 24, 25; iii. 8; Ephes. v. 22); Narr. mittamus woman, wife, R. W.; Miami metaimsah, Schooler. Vocab.; Chip. mindimoiê old woman; mindimoiêmish, always preceded by a possessive pronoun, "wife, [my] bad old woman." Baraga. The affix -ish is derogatory, but is not always to be translated by 'bad.' 'My poor old wife' is better if, as is not certain, Baraga's analysis of the word be correct. The Abnaki manandagoésso, which Rasles gives (with p'hainem) for "fennme," is probably an equivalent of Chip. mindimoiémish. Comp. Powhatan utumpseis, tumpsis, old woman (Strachey); Menom. metamo woman (Schooleraft); Shyenne matum'ha (Hayden).

The names for uxor need not be considered, in this connection. For "my wife" the Indian usually said "my woman," and in the second and third person the feminine generic (-sque, -kwé) suffixed to a man's name or title designated his wife: e. g. Chip. ogima chief, ogimakwe the chief's wife.

The principal results of the analysis which has been attempted in this paper may be briefly recapitulated, as follows:

- 1. There is no Algonkin name for Man ( = homo) common to both sexes and to all varieties of the human species.
- 2. The name of largest denotation is one which designates Man as a being of the speaker's race and language, his *like*, of his kind or kin.
- 3. This name (Alg. inin-i, Mass. enin-u) is related to the pronoun of the first person (Alg. nin, Mass. nîn, prefixed, n'), to the demonstratives animate and inanimate, to various words expressing likeness, relation or identity; when used as an adjective, it distinguishes the common, usual, and native, from the strange, unusual, or foreign; and it is the theme of a verb meaning 'to live' i. e. 'to be a man,' to be such as other men. The root of this name, if not identical with, is not distinguishable from the root of verbs meaning 'to think,' 'to be minded.'
- 4. Only the second *n* of the name belongs to the root (în or in). This is constant in all pure Algorian languages. The prefixed demonstrative (or reduplication) varies in different dialects as *in-*, *en-*, *ar-*, *et-*, *eth-*, *et-*, etc.
- 5. Names for Man = vir are formed by prefixing attributives to the inseparable noun-generic (-A<sup>n</sup>B, -ÂP, -OMP) denoting an adult male. With a prefixed demonstrative, this generic forms the adjective  $na^nbe$ , nabe, nape, 'male': with the adjectival inin- (= aren-, len-, etc.) it designates, as in Del. len-ape, 'a common male,' i.e. an Indian man: with other attributives, it forms class, tribe, and specific names, e. g. Alg. anishin-abe, Abn. seen- $a^nbe$ , Mass. wosket-omp.
- 6. Inferiors, enemies, and Indians speaking a different language, were designated as "slaves," "captives," "strangers," or merely "somebodies"; collectively, as "the many," of  $\pi o \lambda \lambda o \lambda$ . Names given to Europeans and to foreign tribes were sometimes formed from inanimate nouns, e. g. "Wooden Boats," for Frenchmen; "Big Knives," for Anglo-Americans; sometimes from verbs or participles animate, as "Eaters of raw flesh," for the Eskimos; "They who eat what lives, or is alive," for the Iroquois; "The Clothed" or "Coat-

wearers," for Europeans. Kindred and friendly tribes were often designated by their geographical position: the *Nipissiriniwek*, (Nipissings) and other tribes between the Ottawa and the lakes were, to the Montagnez, *Argounek* "on the other side," the Indians of Maine were "of the east land" (*Abnaki*), to western Algonkins.

7. For Woman, some modification of the root of Chip. ikwé, Mass. esqua, 'femina,' is found in every Algonkin language, as an inseparable generic if not as an independent name. It is the common appellation of both mulier and uxor, and its diminutive, of puella: but there are distinct names for mulier and uxor in every language, as there are also for juvencula and virgo, though Eliot does not appear to have discovered in the Massachusetts dialect either of the last two, and one has often been mistaken for the other in the compilation of vocabularies and by translators.









