

78 Fish: (Cartier, 2) quejon.

(Mo.) 99-je. (Onca.) 99-je. (Mo., Az.)

quension. (Onon.) uđz ó' 2. (Sen.) 99-

zd. (Sen.) 99-30. (Tusc.) ke-đje. (W.)

yeťso, 9ntso. (H., Sag.) ticsiaykiaye:

coupe le poisson. (W., Hak) yeñtsoñ.

Radical: quejon, -99-je-, -99-je-, -99-

tion, -đz-, -99-30-, 9đje-, -yeťso-,

-9ntso.

79 Snake. (Cartier, 2) undegnesy,

undeguesy. (Mo.) uneg-á-ži: rattler.

(W.) ku-angex; we-tsi: long. (H.W. fol)

tion getsik. (H., Sag.) tio ontig: Coulu-

re. (H., Ch.) ti, entsik: serpent. W. Hak)

tyugentsi: snake. (Mo.) o-nare. (Mo.

Az.) onniare: serpent; tonnohiarenno.

Radical: degnesy, neg-á-ži, -ong-

tsi, -ointsi /-gni-, -na-, -onnia-,

ohnia.

so. Dog: (Cartier, 2) ogayo.

(Mo.) aga'niya: to bark. (Uncl.) ä-

ga'nazo. (Mo., Cooke) ayá'niyε. (H.,

Ch.) annicannon. (H.W., Pot.) agñicannon,

annōnnon: domestique (W.) yañε-

no'. (W.) yañyenō. Radical:

agayo, -aga'-, -agan-, -annien-,

-añε-, etc.

61. Arrow: (Cartier, 1) cacta. (2)

quahetan, quahetam. (H.W., Pot.) oekwen-

ta. (W., Hak) o'ondan. (H.W., Pot.) εnda,

anda. (H., Ch.) al, ande. (Onon.) gä-

heska, kaheskais: long arrow; kaheska.

(Cf. knife: goheda). Radical:

quahetan, -kuenta, -enda, -anda,

-gaher-, -kahes. (1. cacta:?)

82. Skirt: (Cartier, 2) unigona, a-
nigona. (W.)-gəhə': hide, raw hide,
yāgū'hə'. (Mo.) oné-na': clothes. (Onon.)
ūga-dāwit, ādatawi'tsi'; u'jigu'ke:
hard souls. Radical: -gona-, -gəhə,
-gəd-, -diat. // -nigwa, -'jigu'.

83. Gold: (Cartier, 1) henyosco.
(H., Ch.) &hista. (H.W., Pot.) a'kwistan.
(Mo.) owistanó-ro: shining metal.
(Onon.) w'ista'. Radical: -enyos-,
-hist-, &wis-, -owis-, w'is-.

84. Iron: (Cartier, 1) aignetaze'.
(Onon.) kalistoje: iron. (Tusc.) ka'w-
ná-ze: wound round; kawataze: twisted,
twined. // (ay.) tāw's-ñas, w'ñā: metal,
nail, wire. (W.) tsistay: hāc: copper.
Radicals: -tazé', -taje-, -aze. //
-aigne-, -'ñā-, -ayē-.

55. Knife: (Cartier, 1) agohe^{da}. (2)
 quazahoa, aggohe^{da}. (1) (Mo.) kuhé'nos,
 yagu'pé'nas: it cuts someone. (W., Hale) wa-
 :eñshra. (H.W., Pot.) oennenchá, an^{da}hia,
 oennentsa, sen nenchá. (Cf. arrow: qua-
 hetan.) (2) (Onon.) há'sak', hí'so'.
 (Tusc.) u sage'ne'. Radical: (1) gohe-
 da, kuhé'na-, gu'pé'na. (2) -uaza-,
 -encha-, -entsa-, -asa-, -'so-

56. Hatchet: (Cartier, 1) asogne' [as-
 sogue'] (2) addogue'. (Mo) adiga': are;
 atiga', á'tó'hq. (Onon.) ató'ga, adó'ga.
 ((ay.) a'jó'ge'. (Sen.) atoga'she'. (Tusc.)
 nó'ge': are, knife. (W.) atu'yé': are
 (chopping). (H.Ch.) atoçn. (H.W., Pot.) a-
 toen. (Onon.) askwé'p. (Tusc.) á'sigue':
 spear. (W., Hale) tuye'. Radical:
 (1) asogue, -ashwe-, -a'sigue. (2)
addogue', -a'ó'ga-, -atoga- -naye-
 atuye-, atoçn.

57. A bow: (Cartier, 2) ahena

(W. H.) en da. (W.) ε'εδα; du'enda, e'n-

da', ya'εndεhāmi: she carries a bow.

(Mo.) a'j'ni', a'ka'no. (Onei.) a'q'ná,

a'εna, se'náge. (Onon.) äseñá'ge: to

run away; a'ε'na. (Sen.) ε'ε'no'. (Onei.

Mo.) a'á'na. (Tusc.) o'náitse. Radical:

-hena, -enda-, ε'εδα-, 'j'ni'-, -q'na-

-q'na-, -ε'na-, -εña-, -o'na-. etc.

58. Shoes: (Cartier, 1) atta. (2)

atha. (H. : ; ata rihati: chaussures. (H.

W., Pot.) atakra: souliers. (H., Sag.)

kiatatacon: vous-tu changer de souliers.

(Mo., Br.) ata, a takra (in comp.) (Mo.)

'ata'. (Onei.) há'ta, a'ta'. (Cay.)

a'ta'kwí, 'akta'kwí. (Onon.) a'ta'kwí.

(Sen.) há'ta'kwí. Radical: atta, atha,

ata-, -ata-, 'ata-, 'akta-, -ata-,

89. Hot: (Cartier, 2) odayan, odayan, odayan. (H., Ch.) atarihen: chaud; chateur. (W., Hak) tarihaati. (H., Ch) ondatara turihen: estre chaud; andasan. (Onon.) uðäihε. Radical: -ayan-, -ihen-, -asan-, -ihen.

90. Cold: (Cartier, 2) athau. (H., Ch.) aθo. (H.W., Pot.) atoracha. (W) atu-ra': cold weather; atu-re: it is cold; ne'ture; now it is cold. (W., Hak) ture. (Mo.) yut-o're. (Onei.) yut'ole. (Cay.) ot'ho'we. (H., Sag.) onðandosti; yatandotse: j'ai froid. (Tusc.) at'o'. north. Radical: athau, -aθo-, -ato-, -atu-, -'tu-, -ut'o.

91. Bad, treacherous: (Cartier, 2) agojuda. (Mo.) aga-jo-da': dirty eye (an insult). (Onei.) aga-jo-da': was eyes. (H.W., Pot) akicha. (Onon.) niskaξoðiða: you are dirty eyes. (Cay.) nigä'crēndu': a little cross patch. (Onei.) çad'i'stak: was eyes. Radical: agojuda, ago-joða, 'ayo-da', -aξod-, -a'c-, -çad-.

92. Dead: (Cartier, 1) amocdoza. (H., Ch.) sa, oita. faire mourir; aike-ata tcha: cela est mortel. (Others different) Radical: -oed[az]-, -oit-, -iheat-.

93 Ill: (Cartier, 1) aloudeche.

(H., Sag) ahionce: en devient-il ma-

lade? (H., Sag) ayeou(n)se: je suis ma-

lade. (W.) äte'ce:ta'no': bad weather.

(Mo.) ganəwah-tə'səra: sickness; yəgə-

hak'se': ill, your life is out of sorts. (Oni)

kanənak'tə's/a': sickness. (Onon.) ganə-

wək-tə'se': sickness. Radical:

-deché-, -te'ce'-'-, -tə's-, -h'se'-'-, -tə's-,

-te's-.

94 Jo run: (Cartier, 2) tho doat.

hadj. (W.) a'tə'ra'tat: I run; a'tə'ra's-

tat: he-. (Mo.) watharə'tade': I run.

(Oni.) tsola'tə'de: anything that runs.

(W., Hak) tiarah tat. Radical: -athady,

-ra'tat-, -a'tade'-.

95 Walk along! (Cartier, 2) queda-

que. (W.) kə'tə'skwe: all come here!

eti'skwe: all come! (Mo.) sə'dé'go':

walk along, flee! kə'ndé'go': they flee. (Sen.)

ε sə'dé'go! walk along! Radical:

-edague, -ə'tə'skwe-, -eti'skwe-,

-adə'go', -ə'ndé'go-, -adə'go'.

x. Go and fetch some water!

(Cartier, 2) sagethemme. (Wy.) sa
 jə'ha' : water; watséha' : she went
 for water. Radical : - agethem-, - e-
 jəha' -, -atséha'.

97. God: (Cartier, 1) (Thévet:) cu-
drani. (2) cudonaguy, cudragny. (H.,
 Sag.) chiuorn diou: il est le maître. (H.,
 Ch.) asindio: chef, maître. (Mo., Br.)
rasendio: Dieu souverain. (Mo) rāmp-
n-i-yu' : our Father. (Onei) lawani'yo; hō-
gwadō-ni. (Cay.) lawanyani'iao : he has
 finished. (Tusc.) lawaniyu : the almighty. etc.
Radical : - ani-, - indi-, - endi-, - ani-, etc.

98. To-morrow: (Cartier, 2)

achi dé. (H., Ch.) a'chiete'h, chia-
chietek : apres-dîner. (W.) neçide :
 is that what you mean? (W. Huls) a-
shitet. (Others different.) Radical :

achidé, - a'chiete'.

99. That one: (Cartier, 1) yea.

(W.) deka' : this, Das deka : this
 one. (Mo.) ti-ga'. Radical :
yea, - eka-, - iga'.

100. To sing: (Cartier, 2) the-
gne huaca. (W.) tewari wakwe.
 (Mo.) tēyēri wa'kwa'. (Onei.) tēhē-
dēli wis'k'wa: they are singing. Rad-
ical: - huaca, - wakwe, - wa'kwa',
 - wis'k'wa.

101. To laugh: (Cartier, 2) cahesem,
cahesen. (Mo.) kayēshu', sayē'so:
 you laugh; sayē'so: laughter. (Onei)
ayayoyesso: to laugh. (Tusc.) ē's'kwa.
 (W., Hale) kyeskwa tandi. Radical:
 - esem, - esen, - eshu, - e'so, - essen,
 - ēs's, - kes.

102. Shut the door: (Cartier, 2)
asnodyan.
 (Mo.) sən hō'də'. (Onei.) sən hō'də'.
 (H., Sag.) andoton: porte; senhoton:
 ferme la porte; acnhotonda: je vais
 fermer la porte. Radical: - snodyan,
 - sən hō'də', - andoton, etc.

103. Ugly: (Cartier, 2) aggousay,
aggourey. (Mo.) agosāhēt'ka: he is
 ugly-face; agē'sh:nit: I am ugly;
gush'nit: she - (No H.W. record). Rad-
ical: aggousa, - agosa-, - s'ēt-,
 - gē'sh', - gush'.

104. Turtle: (Cartier, 2) heulen-
zonnd, heulenzonnd, etc. (Mo., Cooke)
 hūku-jāhawe' : carry load (holding up
 the earth on her back - myth.)

105. Hen: (Cartier, 2) sahonigagoo,
sahomgahoa. (Mo., Cooke) sawenago'a:
 a loud voice - a rooster.

106. Big: (Cartier, 2) estahozy. (Mo.)
 estahé:ži : very long.

107. Seven: (Cartier, 2) aiaga. (Mo.)
 ja-dak. (Cay.) ža-dak. (Cf. six:
 ja.) Radical: -iag-, -ja...k, -ja...k.

108. Chief: (Cartier, 2) agouhan-
na. (Mo.) bagu-á-na': he is big; águ-
 wa-ne : chief. (Onon) hīdigokanna : they
 are big, chiefs; gowd-nε : big. (Sen) hōti-
 gaw-nε's ; gažander : le gouverneur.
 (Mo., Ar.) yaendio, gaywendio. Rad-
ical: -gouhan-, -gowane, -gohann-,
 -gowan-.

109. A boy: (Cartier, 2) adogesta.
 (Tusc.) bugá-so. (Mo.) laksana'a'. (Onon.)
 laksa. (Cay.) aksá-a (W. Hab) meñ-
 tseñka. Radical: -eges-, -aga's-,
 -aks-, -aks-.

110. My sister: (Cartier, 2) adas-
sene, adhorseue: (Mo.) ḏḏēnōsāha,
 yaganēdosāha: my sister. (Onoi) agwa-
 nē'sōha: our sisterhood. Radical:
 -adasse-, -adōnos-, -anēs-.

111. Beans: (Cartier, 1, 2) sahē.
 (Mo.) usahē'da', sahed; asahē'dō.
 (Gay.) sahe'da, usahē'da. (Onoi.)
 usahē'd. (Mo., Br.) osaheta: fezoles.
 (Onon.) usahē'ta, usahē'da. (Tusc.)
 sahe', sahe'. Radical: sahē, -se-
 he-, -sa'e-, -sahē.

112. Nuts: (Cartier, 1) caheya. (2)
quahoya. (Mo., Br.) -yca-. (Mo.) gwō;
 -gwis. (Onoi) waha-. (Onon) okeya'-ta:
 hazelnut. (Sen.)-gwe-. (Gay.)-guw-,
 -gwe'. (Sen.)-nugwō-. Radical:
 -qua-, -gca-, -gwō', -gwis-, -waha-,
 -gwe-, -guw-, -gwe', etc.

113. Almonds: (Cartier, 1) anongusa.
 (Thévet) anougusa. (Mo.) leganā'si;
 asā'gwō'za: several small nuts (Onoi.)
 ganigu' sogwō'za: hazelnut. (Gay.) nū-
 gwe's; nū'nā'gū'zā'. (Tusc.) gāsu'gwī-
 se. Radical: -ougo sa-, -o'gwō',
 -ugwe's-, nū'gū'z.

114. Geese: (Cartier, 2) sa degwen
da. (Onei.) sānegwánda: big stom-
 ach (geese). (Tusc.) senigwenda (same
 meaning. (Mo.) sūviwēnde. Elements:
s. i de -, sāne-, -seni-, -sudi- // egwen
da -, -egwánda, -igwenda, -iwēnde.
 [suniwēnde: can be heard far off.]

115. An eel: (Cartier, 2) esgueny.
esgueny. (Mo.) gūndé'ni, onigū'
 (Tusc.) jī'ina. (Cay.) gō: da. (Onon.)
 gōda ne'; agō dé'na. (Sen.) gō'nde.
 (Tusc.) gōé'ne'. Radical: -gny.
 -ndé'na-, jī'ina-, -gō dé', gō dé', gō
 dé', -gō: ne'.

116. Earthen dish: (Cartier) unda-
co. (2) undaccon. (Mo.) u' dák, unda-
 k'owé: real pot. (Onei.) undak': pail,
 pot. undak'owe: made of earth. (Onei.)
 u'dae'gá'žé'. (Cay.) u'da'yožé'.
Radical: -undac-, -u'dák-, -u'daig-

117. Sword: (Cartier, 1) achesco.
 (Mo., Br.) a sege : sabre, grand couteau;
 a sa rego : couteau. (Mo.) a'osäre'gö-wa:
 big knife. (Onoi.) ha'sölc'gö. (Onon.)
 a'saigóna (Gay.) a'shá'no. Radical-
al: achesco, -a sege' -tsot'go-
 sare'go-, etc.

118. A dress: (Cartier, 2) cabata.
 (Mo.) ugö'gá'dane': her dress. (Gay.)
 ga'dewity'. Radical. -ata-, -ade-
 -ade-.

118. Red cloth: (Cartier, 1) cahone.
tu. (Mo.)-niga' gahoda'. (Onoi)...go-
 ho'da'; ügahé'se, ganigó'hé: cloth.
 (Gay.) ganigó'hé'ca' (Sen.) gwä'et',
 kwé'té's. Radical: caho-, -gaho-
 -goho-, -gahé-, -gohé-, -gwäé-
 kwé'-.

119. Evening: (Cartier, 2) angau.
 (Mu., Br.) egarakaha: à ce soir.
 oña egaraà. (Onoi.) taogala'no. (Gay.)
 ugä'usa'. Radical: angau-, -egar-
 -ugau-.

120. Rain: (Cartier, 1) onnoson.

(Mo., Br.) gagenno'ron, ioguenureskon.

(Mo.) yaganó·rò': it is raining. (Onoi.)

yugano'l (same). (Tusc.) wé·dòts.

Radical: onno-, -ennó-, -ano-,

-é·dò-.

121. Smoke: (Cartier, 1) quea.

(Mo., Br.) oicngsu rae, aliengsawa. (Mo.)

ya dā' gwabini : smokey. (Onoi.) oyo'.

gwāla. (Onon.) uyé'gwā. (Gay.) oye'z

gws'. (Sen.) oye'ngwe'. (Tusc.) uyé'z

gwabe. Radical: quea-, -gsa;

-goua-, -gws-, -gwi-.

122. To cry: (Cartier, 2) agguenda.

(Mo.) desa'sunt'o : thou criest. (Onoi.)

Dayús'ent'o. (Onon.) tūgahit'w';

I cry; mesa·we·nat: you (give up; oug-

na, goué'na. (Onon.) ugwé'nat.

Radical: -uenda-, -unt'o-, -ent'o-

-uwa'na-, -wé'n-.

123. To dance: (Cartier, 2) thegoa.

ca. (Mo.) tegatk'wat : I dance. (Onoi.)

tedwatkwe' : let us dance! tedwatkwe' :

let us dance! (W., Hale) yēndrawa :

to dance. Radical: -goa-, -gat-

kw, gatk'wa-, dwatk-, -endra-.

124 A skin to cover the privy parts: (Cartier, 1) ouscojon uondi.
 co. (Mo.) yuⁿdēkā ra harhusta'.
 (Onon.) unⁿdekwaēdākwa: skin for
 breechcloth: uderkwai dā' wī: hangs
 both in front and at the back, to the belt.
Radical: -yuondic-, -yuⁿdēk-, e-
 kwai dā'.

125. [Exclamation] (Cartier, 2) aggondeé.
 (Mo.) yagó' dā': poor
 (person), pity! (Onei.) yagó' dāt:
 she is poor! Radical: aggonde',
 -agó' dā'-

126 Stag, deer, buck: (Cartier, 2)
ajonouesta, ajonesta, aionnesta. (Onon.)
 haž'i' na': buck, long ears; žistokk-
 ha: fawn. (Sen., jatsinó: buck. Radical:
dic: -jonon-, jone-, -ž'i'n-, -žis-,
 -tsin-

127 Tobacco: (Cartier, 2) quyechta,
quiecta: (Onei.) tkwiyésta: I give
 you some more...

128 A doublet: (Cartier, 2) coza,
coioza: (Onon) decājal: another
 on top, doublet (woman's); uye'se':
 gar-ú'tse': shirt, covering for body. Radical:
ical: -oza-, -aza--e'se--,-ú'tse'.

129. Large: (Cartier, 2) hougan-
da, hougnenda. (Oni.) ohugd̄ du:
 candle. (Onon.) goá'ne'. (Cay.) gu-
 w̄s-ne. Radical: -gaand-, -ga'da-,
 -goan-, g...ne'.

130. Sail: (Cartier, 1) aganie.
 (Cay.) gāneḡshē cr̄i-yu': blanket.
 (Sen.) ganiḡshā, ganignē: cotton.
Radical: -gani-, -gani-.

131. Sea waves: (Cartier, 2) oda.
 (Onon.) uđođohē, uđu'đs'. (Cay.)
 uđu'dawanē's: waves liq. (Mo., Br.)
 ohwenta: hoîle. Radical: -oda-,
 -o'do-, -u'đs-, -enta-.

132. Mountain: (Cartier, 2) oga-
cha. (W., Hale) onontija: big, beautiful
 mountain; ononta. (Cay.) on̄điyu: beau-
 tiful —. (W.) (cf. -on̄t. Element:
 -achu-, -ija-, -iyu-: big, beautiful.

133. Skin: (Cartier, 1) aiou-
asco. (Mo.) gané-w. (Mo., Br.) gannon-
 ra: peau qui couvre le crâne; agona-
 sera: un bois planté en terre sur lequel
 on gratte. Elements: -iona-, -gane-,
 -gannon-, -gona-

134. Figs (?): (Cartier, 1) asconda.
 (2) absconda. (Mo.) uskɔ̃ dāra; dry
 bark. (Onei.) ahashɔ̃ dɔ̃: to get burnt;
 askɔ̃ dɔ̃: burns...

135. Olives (?): (Cartier, 2) honuco-
hon da. (Mo.) nɛ'cahɔ̃ dɔ̃: bell, ab-
 zomen. (Onei.) hono' d'kwɔ̃: cracked
 corn soup.

136. Clover (?): (Cartier, 2) kānono-
thā (Sen.) gɛxɔ̃'not'ɔ̃: rushes.
 (Mo.) kāno unut'ɔ̃: rushes, downy
 stuff on plants, thistles.

137. Gros mil, comme poix, en
lieu de pain: (Cartier, 2) ka-
gaige. (Mo.) kagɛ'gɔ̃: eaten up; wa-
 gɛ'gɔ̃: I have eaten it up; i'gɛk:
 I am eating.

138. Apples: (Cartier, 1) honestā.
 (Mo., Br.) ouennata: pommes.

139. Bush fruit: (Cartier, 2)
aesquesgona, aesquesgoa. (Mo.)
 -gowa: big, large.

140. Carraconny: le bled duquel
ils font leur pain. (Cartier, 1) carra-
racona. (Mo.) carra..., kānā dɔ̃
 kɛ'wɛ: real bread; ɛ'sadek'oni: you eat.

141. Hare: (Cartier, 2) sonoham-
da, sourhamda. (Onon.) towahq'ta-
nek, tahq'tané-k; (Onei.) sų'kälölq:
white rabbit. (Onon.) tsonkató-tu:
split upp r lip. (W., Hale) tañyoñyaha.
142. Mackarel: (Cartier, 1) age done-
to. (Thévet) age done da. (Mo.) a gōm dé-
na: eel; āga done da: something to
carry in their bosom or body.
143. Esnoquy, chose précieuse: (Car-
tier, 1) (Mo.) oné'gwarì: thick milk,
after it has stood; gayú-ni: wampum
belt. (Onei.) oné'gwista: wampum belt.

144. Small: (Cartier, 2) estahagon,
estahagoua, estihagona: (Mo.) nistq-
hāgō-wō: belongs to mother.

People, places

145. Dom Agaya (Cartier, p. 120)
(Mo.) duwsgá-yu: old muskrat
hut, little mound. (Charles Croke:
used in other names almost similar.)
a duwsgágus: he pillages, destroys
muskrat mounds.

146. Taignoagny: (Cartier, p. 120):
(Mo., Croke) tainhoane: on top of
door, double door; unhóha: door.

147. Donnacona: (Cartier, 2)

(Mo.) donak'ú'ne': he is scratching,
he comes scratching; tahana'k'ú'ne':
he is coming angry. (Charles Coche interp.)

148. Seigneur Agouhanna - Donna-
ona: (Cartier, p. 121) (W.) homayuwá'ne'.

(Mo.) t'unukwá'u: he gets mad;
w)gēnakwá'u: I am mad, sana'kwá'
u: you-; hana'kud'u...

149. Leur dieu - Dudouagny,
cudroagny, cudongny: (Cartier, p. 139)

(Mo.) gwé'dāwá'ne': person big;
gaññunwá'ne': voice big

150. Staduconé: (Cartier, 2) (Mo., C.)

stá'ú'góné': at the rock [stand:
rock; utstára: rock.

151. Thegnignondé, thequignoude:

(Cartier, 2) (Sen.) te'kni tēyā'ndut:

two mountains. (Onei.) thekwenonde
jigā'ndā'he: where the hill is. (Mo., C.)

tēyū'yā'hū'de': two rivers branching
out (for Three Rivers.)

152. Deganon da: (Cartier, 2). (Mo.)

deganon da: two mountains, deganūi'

da'. (Cay.) t'sudeganón'de': same-sized
mountains; te'kni tēyā'ndut: two mountains.

153. Thega dech choalle; (Cartier, 2)

(Mo.) tegaksö hä re' (?). (Onei.) te-

ga de's wald : back to back; tcyūna des-

wālis : two back to back; k adisso häler;

washing my back, tega de's walis : let

us wet our backs together.

154. Agou chon da : (Cartier, 2) agu'su'in

da : her night. (Mo.) ago'cun da : her

belley. (Onei.) oꝝu'nd's : a pain in the

stomach.

155. Jella : (Cartier, 2) (Mo.) dehh :

forest; yugetha' : something floating.

(Onei.) gotha : forest.

156. H on gnedo : (Cartier, 1) on-

gnedo. [Lescarbot: hangne'do] [Thevet:

hangua'do] [Descelliers: ongnedo] [Mer-

cator: hucnedo] (Mo., (Onei) qūgde :

point of land; uñā' : cape.

157. Thoagahen (a village). (Cartier,

2) (Mo., Cooke) few'gan ha : people

speaking a strange tongue - Algonkins.

Missasagas, Mohicans, so named in

the old days; dwagá'nh' : Chippewas.

158. People : (Cartier, 2) ajoaste

starnatam, tailla [tarhi; W: trees,

tarhi : Mo. forest]. Situdin. (Cartier,

p. 197) tekaná'ado : both sides (p. 231);

kahowé'ya : canoe.

159. Good bye: (Cartier, 2) hedgagae,
hanygad, sedgagnehanyga. (Mo.)
gadge: when.

160. Good to eat: (Cartier, 1) que.
sandé. (Mo., Cuog) keshkonté: rôti.
(Mo.) gá'skundé: roast. (Onei.) wa.
deskundé: fried roast. (Cay.) sade.
koni: to eat. (H., Sag.) ache: viens
manger! achenka: viens manger le
pot.

161. That's no good: (Cartier, 2) sa
hauty, quahonguey, quahoaquey. (Mo.)
ya'te' yoyanté. (Onei.) ya'tega'sta: I
don't use, it's ya'te'yatsta.

162. So and so is dead: (Cartier, 2)
cameđane. (Onei.) law's' hé'yo's': he
is dead. (Cay.) hawehé-yo. (Sen.)
gawi-yo: a dead person. Radical:
-ume-, -awé-, -awi-.

163. The smoke hurts my eyes:
(Cartier, 2) quea, quanoagne, egata.
(Mo.) ak'há'da': my eyes.

164. Whence come you?: (Cartier, 2)
canađa undagneny. (Mo.) kanunda.
so: where do you come from; kanunda...
yéni: where do those two come from?
(Onei.) canudage nilurgé-nó: from town
I come; atanagensia': that's where I come
from.

165. Where has he gone? (Cartier, 2)

quena hoesnon. (Mo.) ka-nē hawe-nē

ka-wē sē ne': where are you going? ka-

wesne' wesane. (Onei.) ne hawē-nē.

(Unon.) kan hahāwē-nē'. (Gay.) gōēne-

hawē-nē.

166. Let us go to the canoe!

(Cartier, 2) quasigno quasnoy,

casnoy. (Mo.) kaze ne': come!

167. Let us go to bed! (Cartier, 2)

quasigno agnydahea, casigno. (Mo.)

yugni tā'ha; uyeni dā'wa: two persons

go to bed; aggidā'wa: one - . (Onei.)

yu nī t dā'oh': let us go and sleep; yu-

nī t dā'oh'.

168. Let us go hunting! (Cartier, 2)

quasigno donaricne' donasset. (Mo.)

gasene': let us go!

169. Come and speak to me! (Car-

tier, 2) usigny quada'dye. (Mo.) ga-

zene': come! (Onei.) guseie: come to me!

tade wadā'zi': let us speak to each other!

(Mo.) skwadā-di; kwadāda: talk to-

gether. (Gay.) go'zi': come! taktwena'

dye: speak to me! galse'.

170. Look at me! (Cartier, 3) quatgat-

homa. (Mo.) togwath a't'o. (Onei.)

togwat kat'ō. (Tusc.) nēgwat'ka to'

(Gay.) tsskat'et'u.

171. Come for a paddle! (Cartier, 2)

cazi gahculte. (Mo.) iyegá·we': to

paddle; ayuúá·we': come to paddle; kaho

wat: páicik (a canoe). (Onei.) kahúwe-

ya': boat; oha' wa. ((ay.) tasegawi;

goga' wass: paddle. (Non.) yáǵá·we'ta;

ugawá' tse: paddle. (Onei.) katzá'igá-

wet'a: where is the paddle? gawet'a:

paddle. (sen.) ga tanéé': you paddle!

Radical: -ahua-, -awa-, -awe'...

172. Give that to someone! (Cartier,

2) to quenonde. (Mo.) táywa·nú't:

give us all food!

173. Give me a knife: (Cartier, 2)

quozahoa agyohé'ua. (W., Pot.) ohé'

ta: a knife. (Onei.) zasalogóha: go

and get a knife. (Mo.) táywa' sá·ro';

tázo sahahoa': knife. (W., Hale) wa-

neñshra.

174. Go and fetch someone!

(Cartier, 2) achidas coué. (Onei) senas-

kwa: you are a prisoner; éč'i'nut

sa: go after! (Mo.) se' naksá: go after

her! se' n'áksa'.

Phonetic signs

Vowels

a	as in English mat, French parade
e	" French é, English cave
ɛ	" " è, " pet
ə	" " ne, " palmer
i	" " i, " fit
o	" " vos, " owe
ɔ	" " parole, " awe

Nasalized vowels

ɑ̃, ɛ̃, ĩ	nasalized French o, e, i
ɑ̃	as in French marchand
ɛ̃	" " vin
ə̃	as in English vowel
õ	the open o as in French bun
ɔ̃	" " English fun
ũ	English u nasalized, in loom

Semivowels

w	as in English wine
ɥ	used only by the ancient French missionaries, for ou, like English w
y	as in English yes

Consonants

c	as in English she, French chat
ʃ	French jamais
s	English sit
t	followed by a slight aspiration t'
ɖ	" " " "
k	{ as in English done } often preceded as in key { by a weak n
g	{ the sonant g followed by y, often preceded by a weak n
kh	k followed by y
ɖh	" " " y
m	n as in English and French
ɱ	{ as in Spanish, the gn in Espagne [Horatio Hale's ɱ is erratic]
ɽ	like the English deep palatal r
h	aspiration followed by a vowel
ɟ	for ɖj
ɟ̃	for ɖj̃

Superior letters indicate very brief and unvoiced consonants and vowels, as in *ṅḁtrá-skújü'ṅdi*, or whispered syllables, fairly common in Cayuga, and occasional in Onondaga.

Diacritical marks

- glottal stop, as in ^hgá'wic
- breathing after a vowel or consonant, and before a consonant, in a^oček
- over a vowel shows the main stress or accent. It usually coincides with a rising pitch
- minor or weaker accent
- an inverted period after a vowel indicates that it is long, as in ^hyó'ts'
- over a vowel makes it brief as in tĕhat

Unmarked vowels are of medium length

The language of the "countries and kingdoms of Hochelaga and Canada" was Iroquoian.¹ In the two lists accompanying the *Voyages* of Jacques Cartier, 170 words and expressions were identified and analysed.² Here, in this monograph, they are given under their varied forms in at least some of the seven dialects of Iroquois-Huron.³

As an example of the method adopted in their linguistic presentation, the word *ears* (No. 2) here follows with brief comments:

EARS (No. 2) as it appears in *Voyages* 1 and 2; in list 1: *Hontoasco*; in list 2: *ahontasco*. The Recollet missionary Gabriel Sagard Théodat, in the country of the Huron, recorded it around 1620 as *ahonta*. In the mid-seventeenth century, the Jesuit missionary Chaumonot, at Huron Lorette, gave it as *ahonta*. Nearly a hundred years later, another Jesuit missionary, Potier, both among the Hurons of Lorette and, later, among the Wyandot of the Detroit River, wrote it as *yaonta*. And it was *honhta* or *yonhont* for the last Wyandot survivors still speaking the dialect in Oklahoma in 1911-1912 (as recorded by the author). The Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, and the Cayuga, of Grand River, Ontario, call "ears": *dhuantaskon*, *haontaon*, *uhonhta*, and *ohonta*. The radical or stem in these variants, once stripped of its prefix and suffix, remains fairly the same, that is: *hont* (Cartier), *hont* (Huron), *honht* (Wyandot), *hunht* (Mohawk), *unht* and *onht* (Onondaga). The nearest approximation to the earliest record in the days of Cartier, over four hundred years ago, occurs in the Huron and Wyandot variants; Mohawk and the other Iroquois dialects are further removed. That is why "ears"—*hont* (Cartier), and *hont* or *honht* (Huron, Wyandot)—may be considered as belonging to the same dialect, whereas the other forms—*hunht*, *unht*—from elsewhere, are slightly different.

The prevalence of Huron and Wyandot at the head of the repertory, as furnishing near-equivalents to the vocabulary in the "language of the countries and kingdoms of Hochelaga and Canada," is quite marked. The Huron-Wyandot dialect actually leads in 72 items, out of a total of 142;⁴ and it falls behind Mohawk in only 31 numbers.⁵ It is actually present in a total of 110 items. Hence the conclusion prevails that Huron-Wyandot at the time of Cartier's visit was the language of Canada, that is, of the Stadacona tribe.

But an unexpected problem now confronts us. Along with those Huron-Wyandot terms in heavy majority, we find that 31 numbers belong to

¹ Huron and Wyandot—nearly one and the same—were a sub-dialect of Iroquoian.

² Different items, 195 in all, appear in the two lists, but 25 are erratic. Our informants could not recognize them; they may be in another native language.

³ Cherokee, an Iroquoian dialect of the South, has not been utilized.

⁴ Cf. Nos. 1-52, 56-66, 73-76, 81-83, 87-90, 92-100, 132.

⁵ Cf. Nos. 53, 53a, 54, 55, 67-72, 77-80, 85, 86, 91, 101, 102.

Mohawk, or at least are closer to Mohawk than to any other dialect. And in nine more, Mohawk alone has so far yielded a variant.¹

What Indians gave the information in the two vocabularies appended to the *Voyages* of Jacques Cartier and who recorded it, is the question that forces itself upon us at this stage. Was Cartier, the St. Malo pilot in the service of King Francis I, himself their compiler? Was he, indeed, the skilled writer of the very *Voyages* which led to the earliest inquiry into a North American language?

The same questions were put forth in my earlier paper, in 1948, before the American Philological Society in Philadelphia:²

"From whom were secured these 230 items contained in the two vocabularies of 1535 and 1536? If the first went back to the two young captives [brought back to France after the first voyage, in 1535], the second may be ascribed to Donnacona, the 'King' of the Stadaconas, who was captured with seven others at the end of the second voyage and brought to France; there he learned the language, told tall tales about his homeland, was baptised, and a few years later died in exile."

The elaborate vocabularies of Iroquoian words and expressions and their translations could only be the fruit of prolonged linguistic work at home, in due leisure, by a competent linguist (following a preconceived plan), with informants who had already learned enough of the French language to understand the questions and furnish the correct answers. Hasty inquiries on the spot by an untrained seaman, using an improvised sign-language while standing on a wild shore, would not produce such substantial results.

Jacques Cartier, like the sailors of his day, could not have been a chronicler and a linguist. But his seaside schooling enabled him to keep a log book and to sign his name at the bottom of baptismal certificates on the church records, as he often did in later years. He could not have penned the unique *Voyages* in the lucid and literary language embodying them, which is unlike the Breton French of a sailor from St. Malo. Indeed, they read much like the Loire River French immortalized by François Rabelais, in the five books of his famous Pantagruel! "Cartier's Relations," according to H. P. Biggar, his historian, "must originally have taken the form of an ordinary day by day ship's log. On his return to St. Malo, these *journaux de bord* would be worked up into the present Relations. Traces of this process can still be discovered . . ." Cartier may never have seen his *Voyages* in anything near

¹ Mohawk was the favoured medium in my inquiries with the Iroquois proper (the Six Nations). I examined, item by item, every word or expression in the lists, with my Iroquois informants in recent years, whereas this was not done with my Wyandot informants in 1911-1912.

² *Proceedings of the Am. Phil. Soc.*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (June 10, 1949), pp. 226-232.

their present form, still less the "Language de la Terre Nouvellement découverte," which may not at first have formed part of the *Voyages*. Every chance there is that a "ghost writer" (in today's language) served the King of France in preparing a formal report on his pilot's discoveries.

François Rabelais journeyed to St. Malo in Brittany, after the first or the second voyage, and stayed with Jacques Cartier long enough to familiarize himself with the knowledge and terminology of the sea. This much we have learned from Abbé Doremet, a Breton chronicler, writing about fifty years after the event, in a document recently discovered by Jotun des Longrais and quoted by Abel Lefranc in his book on the wonderful navigations of Pantagruel.¹

Rabelais, besides, was not the only man of learning who proceeded to St. Malo to meet the King's pilot and his Indian captives, and to carry out investigations on behalf of the King, who was the enlightened patron of writers and craftsmen. André Thévet, in his *Cosmographie universelle*,² has written (p. 1014): "The captain Jacques Cartier with whom I stayed for five months, in his house at St. Malo in Brittany, and other captains and gentlemen worthy of confidence, even a canon from the town of Angers who was present at the embarkation [have given me the following information]."³

Thévet added, elsewhere:⁴ "God, in their tongue, is called Osannaha, and they say that Audouagni calls Him by that name . . . They believe that souls are immortal. This is what we have been given to understand by the Lord of the country of Canada, named Donnacona Aguanna, who died in France as a good Catholic, speaking French, after he had been a guest there for four years." In a footnote to Thévet's text,⁵ we read: "Donnacona [the Lord of Stadacona—later Quebec] died in France less than two years after his arrival. Three Indians who were the only ones to survive him were baptised on the 22nd of March 1538, at N.D. of St. Malo—Cartier became the god-father to one of them." Relying upon the information which he had obtained from the King's pilot at St. Malo and his Indian wards in enforced captivity,

¹ See my *Kingdom of Saguenay*, Macmillan Company of Canada, 1937. First chapter: "A Tarande for the King."

² La / Cosmo / graphie universelle / d'André Thévet cosmo- / graphe du Roy / illustré de diverses figures des / choses les plus remarquables vues par / l'Auteur & incognues de nos Anciens et Modernes. / Tome Premier. / A Paris . . . / 1575. / Avec Privilège du Roy.

³ "Le capitaine Jacques Cartier avec lequel [je] me suis tenu cinq mois, en sa maison à Saint Malo en Bretagne, et d'autres capitaines et gentils hommes dignes de foy, même un chanoine de la ville d'Angers qui assista à l'embarquement . . ."

⁴ Pp. 406-408: "Dieu, en leur langue [est] appelé Osannaha, disant que Audouagni l'appelle ainsi . . . Ils croient que l'âme est immortelle . . . Ce que nous a fait entendre le Seigneur du pais de Canada, nommé Donnacona Aguanna, qui est mort en France bon chrétien, parlant François, pour y avoir été nourry quatre ans."

⁵ A footnote (Thévet, p. 408) explains: "Donnacona mourut en France moins de deux ans après y être arrivé [en 1536]. Trois sauvages qui survécurent seuls furent baptisés le 22 mars 1538 à Notre-Dame de Saint-Malo. Cartier servit de parrain à l'un des trois."

Thévet concluded: "Of the land of Canada, formerly called Baccalos [Codfish], discovered in our time . . . I have taken it upon myself to write briefly what seemed to be worth preserving."¹

The possibility that Thévet himself, rather than Rabelais, undertook the study of the language of the Indian captives in France and recorded it for the King, in the two lists now in our possession, cannot stand close inspection, because at least a dozen of the same words which he recorded have been preserved, and they are with a different spelling of his own,² also because of his lack of prestige as a savant in the entourage of the King, who would not lightly have entrusted him with the task in preference to his scholars, Rabelais or Robert and Henri Etienne, father or son. Ferdinand Denis has said of Thévet:³ "He stooped all his life under the load of his native ignorance, and, in spite of his efforts to appear learned, the headgear which the shrewd Rabelais had put upon his head, always let out at the seam the tip of his [pointed] ear."

Whoever was first to record these samples of a native American language, whether he be Rabelais, Thévet, or one of the Etiennes, accomplished a task which is to the credit of a pioneer linguist in a new field, this at a time when the Renaissance masters of France were discovering and exploring the dead languages of classical Greece and Rome.

The services of which Indian captives were utilized, on two different occasions, in the elaboration of the two lists now under scrutiny? The answer would be obvious if all the items analysed were Huron-Wyandot. For the first list, the informants no doubt were the two young captives seized by Cartier at Honguedo in 1534 and brought back to France at the end of the first Voyage—no other than Dom Agaya (Cf. No. 145 above—*Dumaga'yunh*, Old-Muskrat-Hut), and Taïnoagny (Cf. No. 146—*Tainhoanay*: On-Top-of-the-Double-Door); both of them Hurons of Stadacona. But 31 recorded items in the two lists are primarily Mohawk, not Huron-Wyandot. They could not be from the young Huron-Wyandot of Stadacona, as the two dialects stand apart.

For instance, 'head' in the lists (No. 19) is *agonazé* and *aggonosy*; in Mohawk, *agunondzi*; and in Huron, *ononisira*. 'Eyes' in the first list is *ygata*, and in the second, *hegata* and *hetgata*; in Mohawk, it is *agaada*, *uga'ada*, and *ugahta*; whereas in Huron-Wyandot it is *yahukwenda*, *e'acta*, and *ahkwe'nda*. 'Ten' in list 2 is *assen*; in Wyandot, *ahsen*; and in Mohawk, *tawasen*. But Mohawk takes the lead over Huron-Wyandot in such terms as 'two', *tigneny*, in list 2; *tegeni* and *tegni* in Mohawk, and *tendi* in Wyandot;

¹ P. 398: "De la terre de Canada, dite par cy devant Baccalos, découverte de nostre temps . . . Je me suis avisé d'en escrire sommairement en cest endroit, ce qu'il me semble mériter d'estre escript."

² Those are marginally added, under his name, in the two lists.

³ Cf. In *André Thévet* . . . Introduction: "L'intéressante notice qu'il a consacrée à Thévet: *Lettre sur l'introduction du tabac en France*, 1851.

and for 'eight,' in list 2, *addegué*; in Mohawk, *sa'degunk*; and in Wyandot, *atéré*, an entirely different word. It also happens, as for 'hair,' that two different nouns were recorded in lists 1 and 2. 'Hair' in list 1 appears as *hochosco*; in Huron, as *arochia* or *uskoucha* (radical: *-och-*); it fails to appear in Mohawk. But in list 2, *ununkwis* in Mohawk is given as the equivalent of *aganyscon* in list 2 and appears as *omna* in Huron-Wyandot [radical: *-ny-*, *-huh-*, *-nonh-*, *-non-*].

The presence cannot be disputed of two distinct Iroquoian dialects (i.e. Huron-Wyandot and Mohawk) in the vocabularies appended to Cartier's *First and Second Voyages*, the Mohawk running behind the Huron-Wyandot in the proportion of about 31 to 72.

How to explain this inclusion of mutually exclusive elements remains a puzzle. This brings to mind a caption at the head of the second vocabulary; "Here follows the language of the Countries and Kingdoms of Hochelaga and Canada, otherwise called New France," whereas the first refers only to the "Language of the land called New France recently discovered." Hochelaga and Canada, we infer, were then considered distinct "countries and kingdoms," and their languages must have differed at least to the extent of being dialects of the same family. Several expressions, besides, bear the hallmark of the Stadacona or Huron-Wyandot, who were the tide-water branch of the Iroquoian; they reveal a knowledge of the sea; this knowledge did not exist among an inland folk like the Hochelaga. These saltwater terms are: *ajunehonné* (whale), *agogasy* (sea), *coda* (sea waves); "Note that their chief is named Donnacona. When they wish to call him chief, they say *Agouhanna*." In the first list, we find: *aganie* (sail), *gadogourseré* (codfish), *amet* (sea, a word different from the above), *casoamy* (ship), *agedoneta* (mackerel).¹

Mohawk could not have been recorded from a Huron-Wyandot of Stadacona (Quebec), nor would Cartier himself have had the time while on a brief excursion to Hochelaga (Montreal) in 1535 to collect and translate about 175 words and expressions, some of which are Mohawk; and he was not a scholar. For the Malouin pilot stopped there only from Saturday to Monday, October 2 to 4. All he had time for in one short visit was to stop at the palisaded town and climb Mount Royal, hastily observe the people and their habitations, and walk through cornfields. Welcomed by the "King" or head chief, a hunchback, he accepted gifts of corn bread and distributed trivial presents. He jotted down *carracomy* (corn bread), *esnogy* (grains of wampum), *agouhanna* (chief or king), *agojuda* (enemies or bad people to the west), *caignetdazé* (copper). In the absence of interpreters, Taïnoagny and Dom Agaya having refused to escort him up the river, his only resort was to sign language; or as he stated, "they explained by signs." Nor did Cartier bring back captives from this up-river Iroquoian

¹ Of the relations between the Canadians (Stadacona) and the Hochelaga, we read in the *Second Voyage* (p. 161) that the first were subjects of the others: "non obstant que les dixz Canadiens leurs soient subjects."

town, as he had, the previous year, at Hunguedo (Gaspé). Nowhere, in the *Voyages* is there any mention of Hochelaga Indians having been brought back to France, together with the eight Stadacona (Huron), where a French linguist could sit down with them and write notes on information they might have, after they had learned enough French to interpret their language suitably.

Yet the caption at the head of the second list, "Language of the Countries and Kingdoms of Hochelaga and Canada, otherwise called New France," is a clear indication that both Stadacona and Hochelaga had contributed to the second vocabulary; and, indeed, we find that more than one-third of the words and expressions are Mohawk or Mohawk-like, that is, presumably from Hochelaga.

The conclusion then becomes clear that, at one time or another, the author of the second vocabulary in France had at his disposal as informant at least one Hochelaga Indian, and the Hochelaga was a Mohawk, since Mohawk is the other dialect incorporated pell-mell in the list. How could an up-river Iroquois be found in France at approximately the same date as the eight Stadacona (I'uron-Wyandot) taken captives by Cartier in 1534 and 1536? The available records of contemporary exploration have failed so far to provide an answer; a hypothesis is all that we can suggest.

Actually, two more *Voyages* up the St. Lawrence took place a few years later, under the same royal auspices. In 1541 Jacques Cartier was sent up the St. Lawrence, then called Ripvière des Moluës, on a third exploration. Either this voyage was not recorded in writing like the first two, or the manuscript has since been lost. And such a record may also have been accompanied by one more vocabulary, this one incorporating Mohawk; or again, the second vocabulary itself may have been prepared after 1542 with the help of Mohawk captives in France.

That some Hochelaga (Mohawk) captives may have been brought back to France in the 1540's is more than a possibility. Not only did Cartier have a further opportunity to produce for the king live evidence of his own truthfulness, but his commander, le Sieur de Roberval, on this third official errand, could hardly have failed to conform to an early custom of bringing back captives. And Roberval's presumed accomplishment, independently of Cartier, who travelled a year ahead, was to have proceeded up the Grand River beyond Hochelaga, up the rapids toward (the Ottawa) what he presumed to be the Kingdom of Saguenay—a fabulous Eldorado of the north.

Because of the absence of authentic records of these later *Voyages* forming part of the same enterprise, we fall back upon *The third and last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* . . . Collected by Richard Hakluyt . . . , London 1600 (Pp. 232-237). In this early publication we find: "The third voyage of Discovery made by Captaine Jacques Cartier, 1540 (1541), unto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay."

Hakluyt's story, obviously a summary of records no longer available, adds details to what was already known through the first two *Voyages* of Cartier. And here they are:

"King Francis the first, having heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of discovery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and scene in the Western partes discovered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and having also scene and talked with the people, which the sayd Cartier had brought out of those Countreys, whereof one was king of Canada, whose name was Donacona, and others; which after that they had been a long time in France and Britaine were baptized at their owne desire and request, and died in the sayd cuntry of Britaine. And albeit his Majestie was advertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought over by him (which were tenne in number) saving one little girle about tenne years old, yet he resolved to send the sayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with John Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberval, whom hee appointed his Lieutenant and Governour in the Countreys of Canada and Hochelaga, and the sayd Cartier Captaine generall and leader of the shippes, that they might discover more than was done before in the former voyages, and attain (if it were possible) unto the knowledge of the Countrey of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention unto the King, that there were great riches, and very good countreys.

"Now because we were the space of three moneths in sayling on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monsieur Roberval, and taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, wee arrived not before the Haven of Sainte Croix in Canada (where in the former voyage we had remayned eight moneths) until the 23. day of August. In which place the people of the Countrey came to our shippes, making shew of joy for our arrivall, and namely he came thither which had the rule and government of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed King there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him [Donacona] into France: And hee came to the Captaines ship with 6. or 7. boates, and with many women and children. And after the sayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the rest were the Captaine answered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were married, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the said Agona made no shewe of anger at all in these speeches: and I thinke he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Governour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona . . . And after that he [Cartier] had made him [Agona] and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the shore with their boates. After which things the sayd Captaine [Cartier] went with two of his boates up the river, beyond Canada and the Port of Sainte Croix, to view a Haven and a small river, which is about 4. leagues higher; which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships, than the former."

Another chapter of Hakluyt is headed by the caption:

"How after the departure of the two shippes which were sent backe into Brittain, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, the Captaine prepared two boates to goe up the Great River to discover the passage of the three Saults or falles of the River."

And under it, we read:

"The sayd Captain . . . determined . . . to make a voyage with two boates furnished with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpose to view and understand the fashion of the *Saults* of water, which are to be passed to goe to Saguenay, that hee [Cartier] might be the readier in the spring to passe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readiness for their businesse. The foresaid boates being made ready, . . . they went up the river, the Captaine went to see the Lord of Hochelay, which dwellth betweene Canada and Hochelaga; which in the former voyage had given said Captaine a little girle, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treasons which Taignoagny and Domagaya (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had carried into France) would have wrought against him. In regard of which his curtesie the said Captaine would not passe by without visiting of him, and to let him understand that the Captaine thought himself beholding unto him, hee gave unto him two yong boyes, and left them with him to learne their language, and bestowed upon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yellow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles . . . This done, the Captaine and his company departed from that place: And wee sailed with so prosperous a wind, that we arrived the eleventh day of the month [of September 1541] at the first Sault of water, which is two leagues distant from the Towne of Tutonaguy.¹ And after wee were arrived there, wee determined to goe and passe as farre up as it was possible with one of the boates, and that the other should stay there till it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe up against the course or streame of the said Sault . . .

"To the sayd way, and soone after we found an habitation of people which made us great cheere, and entertained us very friendly. And after that he [Cartier] had signified unto them, that wee were going toward the Saults, and that wee desired to goe to Saguenay, foure yong men went along with us to shewe us the way, and they brought us so farre that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell over against the second *Sault*, which came and brought us of their victuals, as Pottage and Fish, and offered us of the same. After that the Captaine had enquired of them as well by signes as wordes, how many more Saults wee had to passe to goe to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people shewed us and gave us to understand, that wee were at the second *Sault*, and that

¹ Biggar: This is the first appearance of this name which resembles the Huron word, *Tionontaté*, "people beyond the mountains." It seems to have been a new Huron-Iroquois village near the site of the old Hochelaga.

there was but one more to passe, that the River was not navigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the sayd *Sault* was but a third part farther than we had travailed, shewing us the same with certaine little stickes, which they layd upon the ground in a certaine distance, and afterwards layde other small branches betweene both, representing the *Saults*.

"But a man must not trust them for all their faire ceremonies and signes of ioy, for if they had thought they had bene too strong for us, then would they have done their best to have killed us, as we understood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boate, and passed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelay . . . when we were arrived at our Fort, wee understoode by our people, that the Savages of the Countrie came not any more about our Fort as they were accustomed, to bring us fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of us. Wherefore our Captaine [Cartier], having bene at Stadacona to visite them, that there were a wonderful number of the Countrie people assembled together, caused all things in our fortresse to bee set in good order: etc. [The rest is wanting]."

"A certain booke made in the manner of a sea Chart . . . by the hand of my . . . uncle [Jacques Cartier]," according to Jaques Noël of S. Malo, in a letter later written to John Growte,¹ contains a drawing of "all the River of Canada." And, "in the sayd Chart beyond the place where the River is divided in twaine . . ." [at the mouth of the Ottawa River], "these words following [are] written in the hand of Jaques Cartier: 'By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, That here is the Land of Saguenay . . .'"

Roberval's own Voyage, in 1542-1543,² is likewise known to us only through Hakluyt's brief summary, under the heading: "The Voyage of John Francis De La Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberval to the Countries of Canada, Saguenai, and Hochelaga, with three tall Ships, and two hundred persons, both men, women, and children, begun in April, 1542. In which parts he remained the same summer, and all the next winter."

Here we learn that in the "Rode of Saint John [New found lande]" Roberval, in the following year, met Cartier who was returning from Canada. And from him he was disappointed to hear that "he could not with his small company withstand the Savages, which were about daylay to annoy him: and that this was the cause of his returne to France."

Linguistic work, in the circumstances, would have been impossible, even if Cartier had been capable of such an effort. And there is no indication that, this time, he was bringing back any captives to France with him, either from Canada or Hochelaga. As for Roberval, "he sayled³ so farre . . . that he arrived in the sayde countries [of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other countreyes in the West parts], accompanied with two hundred persons . . ."

¹ Biggar, loc. cit., pp. 259, 260.

² Loc. cit., pp. 262-270.

³ Loc. cit., 264-265.

⁴ Loc. cit., pp. 266-267.

This "upon the great river of Canada, called *France prime* Ly Monsieur Roberval . . ." And later he built a Fort, where he stayed with his would-be colonists, for a year and more, "neare and somewhere Westward above Canada" [at Cap Rouge]. In Hakluyt's summary, a short but apt dissertation is given on "The maners [*sic*] of the Savages."¹ A few paragraphs bear on "The voyage of Monsieur Roberval from his fort in Canada unto Saguenay, the fifth of June, 1543." On the "14 of June . . . [they] returned from the voyage of Saguenay, possibly having left Roberval at the rapids [above Hochelaga].² On the "19th of June aforesayd, there came from the Generall [Roberval] six score pound weight of their [Indian] corne . . ." And here ends abruptly the account of the most elaborate of the voyages to the river of Canada, depriving us of further knowledge on the natives of Canada, Hochelaga, their customs, and languages. And it is fair to presume that, like Cartier in his first voyages, Roberval brought back captives to France to prove to his King, if nothing else, that he too had ascended the river of Canada up to Hochelaga and even beyond. From such captives *alone* could the language of Hochelaga have been recorded later in France, and this, from our analyses here, has definitely proved to be Mohawk.³

Besides, the two vocabularies appended to Cartier's voyages do not seem to embody the casual observations of a rough and ready explorer, pencil in hand, on a broken shore like that of the St. Croix river near Stadacona (Quebec) or the rapids of Sault St. Louis next to Hochelaga (Montreal). They are a carefully thought-out and classified compilation of words and terms, first concerning parts of the body, then the plants and vegetables and fruits, and other categories such as numerals, natural phenomena, including bits of conversation. This assumption is further enhanced by the occurrence of Mohawk features, here and there interspersed in vocabularies chiefly Huron-Wyandot; for instance, in the numerals from 1 to 10 are the Huron-Wyandot: One (*segada*, No. 27, above), four (*honnacon*, No. 28), five (*ouyscon*, No. 29), six (*judaié*, No. 30), nine (*wadellon*, No. 31), and ten (*assen*, No. 10). But the others are Mohawk: two (*tigneny*, No. 33), three (*asche*, No. 34), and eight (*addegué*, No. 35). This indifference to the exclusiveness of separate dialects could not have happened in the field, but only at a work table where raw materials are sorted out according to a

¹ Loc. cit., pp. 268, 269.

² According to Biggar's footnote, p. 270.

³ The instability of the native language, which the Missionary Sagard spoke of, in the first part of the seventeenth century, could not account for the mixture of Huron, Wyandot, and Mohawk dialects in the two Cartier vocabularies. For it is surprising to find out how stable, after all, the Huron and Mohawk words have remained in the course of more than four hundred years among a small native population on the verge of destruction and disappearance. Here is the Sagard quotation (Sagard, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne*, Paris, 1632, p. 9): "Nos Hurons, et généralement toutes les autres Nations, ont la même instabilité de langage, et changent tellement leurs mots, qu'à succession de temps l'ancien Huron est presque tout autre que celui de présent, et change encore, selon que j'ai peu coniecturer et apprendre en leur parlay."

scholar's preconceptions and put down in careful script. Otherwise, all the numerals up to ten consecutively would have been either Huron-Wyandot or Mohawk, not seemingly at random.

The unimportant residuum of the two vocabularies consists of two sets of words or expressions: 28 terms are brief phrases in the original and in the translation (Nos. 145-173), which were recently examined with the help of Mohawk authorities or interpreters. And 25 words are called here "erratic," for they could not be identified; some of them may be in a foreign native language. These are put down at random: *sodanagames gamy* for "keep that for me," *isnez* and *ysnay* for sun, *hebbehin* for chin, *chastaigné* for womb, *xista* for testicles (*onnhonchia*, for egg, in Huron-Wyandot, according to Potier), *addhaty* for my father (*haistan* in Wyandot, according to Hale), *ysaa* for my wife, *toudamans* the name of a foreign tribe presumably Algonkin, *casaomy* for ship, *adhothuys* for marsouin (porpoise) or whitefish at Isle aux Coudres, *zisto* for lamprey, *agadogourseré* for codfish, *yeo* and *hecxon* for feather, *estogaz* for sand (*unehsa* in Mohawk), *castrua* for a cap (*nahoutxa'* in Cayuga), *henondoua* for stockings, *cochy* and *bacan* for hatchet, *houcquehin* for thin (*hugwe'nay*: "towards the people," in Oneida), *aigay* for "good day!", *adgnyeyusce* for "many thanks"; *aista* for "silence!"; *quazahwa quascahoa* for "give me breakfast" (in Iroquoian no word exists for any repast), *quazahoa quatiream* for "give me supper," *quazahoa quea* for "give me a drink," and *quasigno caudy* for "let us go and bet!"