

V.—*The Huron-Iroquois of Canada, a Typical Race of American Aborigines.*

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In a previous communication to the Royal Society of Canada I submitted some general considerations of the ethnical characteristics, and of the condition and relative status, of the aborigines of North America. In that, I aimed at a brief summary of their general aspect as the indigenous American stock upon whom, during the last three and a half centuries the same Aryan race has intruded, which in older and prehistoric centuries displaced indigenous races of Europe not without some analogous results. I now propose to glance at one of the most characteristic types of the American aborigines, which appears, according to their own traditions, to be of Canadian origin; and which, as one important branch of the common stock, claims our special consideration as preeminently the historical native race of Canada.

I have already submitted the reasonings by which I have been led to the conclusion that, throughout the whole North American continent, from the Arctic circle to the Mexican Gulf, no trace has been recovered of the previous existence of anything that properly admits of the term "native civilization." The rude arts of Europe's stone age belong to a period lying far behind its remotest traditions: unless we appeal to the mythic allusions of Hesiod, or to such poetic imaginings as the "Prometheus" of Æschylus. But all available evidence thus far serves to show that the condition of the native tribes throughout the whole area of this northern continent has never advanced beyond the stage which finds its apt illustration in the rude arts of their stone period, including the rudimentary efforts at turning to account their ample resources of native copper without and use of fire.

But this uniformity in the condition and acquirements of the native tribes, and the consequent resemblance in their arts, habits, and mode of life, have been the fruitful source of misleading assumptions. Everywhere the early European explorers met only rude hunting and warring tribes, exhibiting such slight variations in all that first attracts the eye of the most observant traveller, that an exaggerated idea of their ethnical uniformity was the not unnatural result. So soon as the systematizings of the ethnologist led to the differentiation of races, the American type was placed apart as at once uniform and distinctive; and, strange as it may now seem, this idea found nowhere such ready favour as among those who had the fullest access to the evidence by which its truth could be tested. It was the most important and comprehensive induction of the author of "Crania Americana," as the fruit of his conscientious researches in American craniology. The authors of "Indigenous Races of the Earth" and "Types of Mankind," no less unhesitatingly affirmed that "identical characters pervade all the American races, ancient and modern, over

the native Wyandot historian, they were Wyandots or Hurons, and Senecas. That they were Huron-Iroquois, at any rate, and not Algonkians, is readily determined. We owe to Cartier two brief vocabularies of their language, which, though obscured probably in their original transcription, and corrupted by false transliterations in their transference to the press, leave no doubt that the people spoke a Huron-Iroquois dialect. To which of the divisions it belonged is not so obvious. The languages, in the various dialects, differ only slightly in most of the words which Cartier gives. Sometimes they agree with Huron, and sometimes with Iroquois equivalents. The name of Hochelaga, "at the beaver-dam," is Huron, and the agreement as a whole preponderates in favor of a Huron rather than an Iroquois dialect. But there was probably less difference between the two then, than at the more recent dates of their comparison. In dealing with this important branch of philological evidence, I owe to the kindness of my friend, Mr. Horatio Hale, a comparative analysis of the vocabulary supplied by Cartier, embodying the results of long and careful study. He has familiarized himself with the Huron language by personal intercourse with members of the little band of civilized Wyandots, settled on their reserve at Anderdon, in Western Ontario. The language thus preserved by them, after long separation from other members of the widely scattered race, probably presents the nearest approximation to the original forms of the native tongue, as spoken on the Island of Montreal and the lower St. Lawrence. In the following comparative table the Wyandot equivalents to the words furnished in Cartier's lists are placed along side of them, so as to admit of easy comparison. The resemblances which are discernible to the experienced philologist may not strike the general reader with the like force of conviction. Allowance has to be made for varieties of dialect among the old occupants of the lower valley of the St. Lawrence, and also for the changes wrought on the Huron language in the lapse of three and a half centuries, not simply by time, but also as the result of intercourse and intermixture with other peoples. The habit of recruiting their numbers by the adoption of prisoners and broken tribes could not fail to exercise some influence on the common tongue. The *k* or hard *g* of Cartier is, in the Wyandot, frequently softened to a *y*; and on the other hand, the *n* is strengthened by a *d* sound, as in Cartier's pregnant term, *Canada*, the old Hochelaga word for a town, which has become in the Wyandot *Yandata*; and so in other instances. When the spelling of Cartier's words varies in different places or editions of his narrative, the various forms are here given. In writing the Wyandot words the consonants are used with their English sounds, except that the *j* is to be pronounced as in French (English *z* in "azure"), and *ñ* has the sound of the French nasal *n*. The vowels have the same sounds as in Italian and German.

Some of the Wyandot words placed in the following lists alongside of those furnished by Cartier are not, as will be seen, transformations of the old forms, but synonyms, or equivalents now in use. Others, however, show the changes which have taken place, under the novel circumstances which have affected the scattered Huron fugitives in the interval of upwards of three centuries. This is particularly noticeable in the numerals, where the greater number of the modern words are imperfect abbreviations of the original forms. This process of phonetic change and decay is more fully illustrated in subsequent tables of Huron-Iroquois numerals.

A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF WORDS IN THE "LANGUAGE OF HOCHELAGA AND CANADA," AS GIVEN BY CARTIER, AND THE CORRESPONDING WORDS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE WYANDOT (OR WENDAT) INDIANS RESIDING ON THE RESERVE IN THE TOWNSHIP OF ANDERDON, NEAR AMHERSTBURG, ONTARIO: BY MR. HORATIO HALE.

	CARTIER.	WYANDOT.
One .....	segada, secata .....	skat.
Two .....	tigneny, tignem .....	tendi.
Three .....	asche, hasche .....	shefik.
Four .....	honnascon, honnaceon .....	dak, or ndak.
Five .....	ouiscon .....	wish.
Six .....	indahir, indaic .....	waja, or waya.
Seven .....	ayaga, aiaga .....	teutare.
Eight .....	addegue, adigue .....	ateré.
Nine .....	madellon .....	entroñ.
Ten .....	aseem .....	ahséñ, or asáñ.
Twenty .....		tenditawahseñ.
Thirty .....		shenkiwahseñ.
One hundred .....		skatamendjawe.
One thousand .....		sañgwät.
Head .....	aggourzy, aggoursy, agonaze, aggonzi.	ayeskutañ (my h.)
Forehead .....	hetguenyacon .....	yeyéftsa (my f.)
Eyes .....	hegata, heigata, igata .....	yahkweñda.
Ears .....	ahontascon .....	yehofita, yaoñta (my e.)
Mouth .....	escahe .....	yeskareut (my m.)
Teeth .....	esgongay .....	yeskoñshya (my t.)
Tongue .....	osuahe, esuache .....	yendashya (my t.)
Face .....	hoguascon .....	yeyoñshya, yeyoñske (my f.)
Hair .....	aganiscon, agoniscon .....	ayerushia (my h.)
Arm .....	aiayascon .....	yeya'sya, hajasha.
Belly .....	oschehenda .....	yeseñeñta (my b.)
Leg .....	agouguenehonde .....	yenoñta (my l.)
Foot .....	onchidascon, ochedasco .....	yashita (my f.)
Hand .....	aignoascon, agnascon .....	yorasa.
Fingers .....	agenoga .....	yegyäyi, hañgiä.
Nails .....	agedascon .....	é'ta, yeähta (my n.)
Man .....	aguehan .....	rume ( <i>homo</i> ), halyähañ ( <i>vir.</i> )
Woman .....	agrueste, agruette .....	utehkýe, utéhkicñ.
Boy .....	addegesta .....	meñtseñtia.
Girl .....	agnyaquesta .....	yawitsinoha.
Infant .....	exiasta .....	shiaha.
Shoes .....	atha, atta .....	rashyu.
Corn .....	oeizy .....	oneñha.
Water .....	ame .....	tsañdusti, or tsakadusti.
Flesh .....	quahouascon .....	owähtra.
Fish .....	queion .....	yeyñtsoñ.
Squirrel .....	caioñnem .....	huh'tayi.
Snake .....	undeguezy ( <i>couleuvre</i> ) .....	tyugentsi (snake).
Wood .....	conda .....	utahta (wood), yaroñta (tree).
Leaf .....	hoga, hongä .....	undrahta.

## A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF WORDS, ETC.—Continued.

	CARTIER.	WYANDOT.
Knife .....	agohoda .....	wanēššra.
Hatchet .....	addogne, zsoigne .....	tuyé.
Bow .....	ahena, ahenea .....	enda.
Arrow .....	quahetam .....	o'ondā.
Deer .....	aiionnesta (stag), asquenondo (doe) .....	skanoššōš (deer).
Hare .....	sourhamda .....	taiyōšyaba.
Dog .....	agayo .....	yašyēš.
To-morrow .....	āchide .....	ašitak.
Heaven .....	quenhia .....	yarošya.
Earth .....	danga .....	ondēt (earth), omešša (world).
Sun .....	ysnay .....	yandishra.
Moon .....	assomaha .....	wasuššeyi-yandishra (night-sun.)
Stars .....	siguehobam .....	tishyōš.
Wind .....	cahoha, cahena, cahona .....	yaora, jukwas.
Sea .....	agogasy, agougasy .....	šūštare, tariššye.
Island .....	cohena .....	yawenda.
Mountain .....	ogacha .....	ononta, onontija.
Ice .....	honesca .....	udishra.
Snow .....	canisa .....	dišyēšta, dišyēhta.
Cold .....	cathau .....	ture.
Warm .....	odazan, odayan .....	tariššasti.
Fire .....	azišta, asista .....	tsista, tehista.
House .....	canocha .....	yanoššha.
Town .....	canada .....	yandāta.
My father .....	addathy .....	haišta, haištaš.
My mother .....	adanahoe, adhanaoc .....	anēšš, anēšš.
My brother .....	addagnin .....	he'yēšš.
My sister .....	adhoassēne, addasene .....	eyēšš.
Beard .....	sotone .....	uskwaššraš.
To sing .....	thegoaca .....	tewariwākwe.
To laugh .....	cahezem .....	kyeskwatandī.
To dance .....	thegoaca .....	yendrawa.
My friend .....	agniase .....	nyāššerō (friend).
Run .....	thodoathady .....	yetake, tiarahtat.
Chief .....	agouhana .....	hayuwānešš.
Night .....	auhena .....	wasuššeye.
Day .....	adeyahon .....	meteye, mentaššōš.
Pine-tree .....	annedda .....	handehta.

When Champlain followed Cartier into the St. Lawrence after an interval of sixty-eight years, the well-fortified towns had disappeared, along with their builders, and the few occupants of ephemeral birch-bark wigwams belonged to another race. Had he been curious to learn the facts of an event, then so recent, there could have been no difficulty in recovering the history of the exodus of the Hochelagans. But it had no interest for the French adventurers of that day; and the idea most generally favoured by recent writers ascribes

*f, v, w*—no labials of any kind.”<sup>1</sup> The statement, so far as the Mohawk infants are concerned, is open to further inquiry; but Dr. Oronhyatekha, the Mohawk referred to, and to whom I have been largely indebted in this and other researches in Indian philology, not only rejects the six letters already named, but also *c, g, l, z*. The alphabet is thus reduced to seventeen letters. Professor Max Müller notes in passing, that the name “Mohawk” would seem to prove the use of the labial. But it is of foreign origin, though possibly derived from their own *oegwehokongh*, people. The name employed by themselves is “Canienga.” The practice of speaking without ever closing the lips is an acquired habit of later origin than the forms of the parent tongue. A comparison of any of the Iroquois dialects with the Huron as still spoken by the Wyandots of Ontario, shows the *m* in use by the latter in what is no doubt a surviving example of the oldest form of the Huron-Iroquois language. This Huron *m* frequently becomes *w* in the Iroquois dialects, e. g., *skatanendjuweh*, “one hundred,” becomes in Mohawk *waskadeuennyaweh*; *rume*, “man,” Mohawk, *ronkwe*, etc. These and other examples of this interchangeable characteristic of Indian phonology, and the process of substitution in the absence of labials, are illustrated in the table of Huron-Iroquois numerals on a subsequent page. The habit of invariably speaking with the lips open is the source of very curious modifications in the Iroquois vocabularies when compared with that of the Wyandots. The *m* gives place to *w, nr, nh, or nhu*; also to *ku* and *nkwo*, and so frequently changes the whole character of the word by the modifications it gives rise to.

A comparison of the numerals of cognate languages and dialects is always instructive; and with the growing disposition of American philologists to turn to the Basques, as the only prehistoric race of Europe that has perpetuated the language of an allophylian stock with possible analogies to the native languages of America, I have placed their numerals along side of those of the Huron-Iroquois. The permanency of the names for numerals, and their freedom from displacement by synonyms, are seen in the universality of one series of names throughout the whole ancient and modern Aryan languages of Asia and Europe. But the Basque numerals bear no resemblance to them, unless such be traced in the probably accidental resemblance of the *bi*, two, and the *sei*, “six,” as in the *assem*, “ten,” (*decem*), of the old Hochelaga, the *aisen* of the later Wyandots. The *chum* of the Basque has also its remote, and probably accidental resemblance; but the *milla*, “one thousand,” is certainly borrowed, and serves to show that the higher numerals, with the evidence they afford of advancing civilization, were the result of intrusive Aryan influences. With the growing tendency to turn to the prehistoric Iberians of Europe as one possible key to the origin of the races and languages of America, it is well to keep this test in view for comparison with the widely varying native numerals. But the correspondence is slight, even with probable Turanian congeners. One Biscayan form of “three,” *harum*, is not unlike the Magyar *harom*; while the *eyg*, “one,” of the latter, seems to find its counterpart in the inseparable particle that transforms the Basque radical *ham*, “ten,” into the *hamaika*, “eleven.” But such fragmentary traces are in striking contrast to the radical agreement of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Slavonic, and Teutonic numerals. Mr. Hale has drawn my attention to the curious manner in which the names of the first five Hochelaga numerals in Cartier’s list are contracted and strengthened in the modern

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on the Science of Language, 2nd Ser., p. 162.

Wyandot; and some of the modifications in the Iroquois dialects are no less interesting. *Socata*, the Hochelaga "one," survives in the Onondaga *skadah*, while it becomes *skat* in the modern Huron, the Cayuga, and the Seneca. But in the compounded form of the Wyandot "one hundred," *skatamendjawe*, as in the Onondaga *skadahdewennyachweh*, the terminal *s* reappears. *Tignony*, the old form of "two," is abridged and strengthened to *tsadi*; *ascha*, "three" (originally, in all probability, *aschen*, or, as still in use by the Hurons of Lorette, *achin*.) survives as *ahsunh* or *ahsenh* in nearly all the Iroquois dialects, including the Tuscarora. In the Nottoway it is still discernible in the modified *arsa*. The exceptions are the Seneca, where it becomes *sen*, while one Wyandot form is *shenk*; which reappears in the Seneca compounded form of "thirty," *shenkwasen*. *Honnacon*, "four," loses both its initial and terminal syllables, and becomes *dak* in the Wyandot, and *keih* or *kei*, an abbreviation of the Mohawk *kayerih*, in the Cayuga and the Seneca dialects. The ancient form of "five," *onison*, has partially survived in the Huron *ouisch*. It becomes *wisk*, *whisk*, *wish*, or (in the Seneca) *wis*, in all the Iroquois dialects,—the Wyandot and Cayuga once more agreeing in form. The *iyaga*, "seven," of the old Hochelaga, nearly resembles the *jadak* of several of the Iroquois dialects, as in the Cayuga *jadak*, in the Tuscarora *janah*, and in the Nottoway *oyag*; whereas in the Wyandot it is *tsolare*. The *adigue*, "eight," in its oldest form, is *sadekoph* in the Mohawk, and *dekrunh* in the Cayuga; with the substitution of the *l* for *r* it becomes *deklonh* in the Oneida; and after changing to *tektion* in the Seneca, and *nagronk* in the Tuscarora, it reappears in the Nottoway as *dekra*. The ancient *madellon*, "nine," curiously survives in abridged form, with the substitute for the labial, in the Oneida *wadlonh* and the Onondaga *wadonh*, while one Wyandot form is *entron*, and that of the Hurons of Lorette *entson*. In the Hochelaga *assem*, "ten," we have the old form which is perpetuated in the Wyandot *ahsen*, the Onondaga and Cayuga *wasenh*, the Tuscarora *wasenh*, and the Nottoway *washa*; while the Mohawk and the Oneida have the diverse *oyerih*, or *oyetih*, with the characteristic change of *r* into *l*. The form of the Mohawk for "one thousand," *oyerihnadewennyachweh*, is an interesting illustration of the progressive development of numbers. *Na* is probably a contraction of *nikonh*, "of them," or "of it,"—the whole reading "of them ten hundred."

In comparing the languages of the different members of the Iroquois confederacy with the Wyandot or Huron, some of the facts already noted in the history of the former have to be kept in view. Nearly two centuries and a half have transpired since the three western nations of the confederacy, the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas received great additions to their numbers by the successive adoption of Attiwendaronk, Huron, and Erie captives, while the Cayugas, or Mohawks, and the Oneidas remained unaffected by such intrusions. There is direct evidence that the Onondaga language has undergone great change; as a Jesuit dictionary of the seventeenth century exists, which shows a much nearer resemblance between the Mohawk and Onondaga languages at that date than now appears. Allowance must be made for similar changes affecting the Hurons in their enforced migration from the St. Lawrence to their later homes. Here, as in so many other instances, it becomes interesting to note how the language of a people reflects its history.

In tracing out slighter and more remote resemblances, such as may be discerned on a close scrutiny, where the variation between the Hochelaga and the modern Wyandot

## COMPARATIVE TABLES OF NUMERALS IN HURON-IROQUOIS AND BASQUE.

	HOCHELAGA. (Cartier.)	HURON. (Lorette.)	WYANDOT.	MOHAWK.
1	segada .. } secata .. }	skât .....	scat .....	uneka .....
2	tigneny } tignem }	tendi .....	tendee .....	dekenih .....
3	asche .....	achin .....	shaight .....	absunh .....
4	honnacon ..	ndak .....	andaght .....	kayerih .....
5	ouiscon ..	wisch .....	wecish .....	wiak .....
6	indahir ..	wahia .....	wsuahau .....	yayak .....
7	syaga .....	tsotaré .....	sootaié .....	jadah .....
8	adigue .....	ateré .....	atarai .....	sadekonh .....
9	madellon ..	entson .....	sintra .....	tyodonh .....
10	asem .....	asen .....	anghsagh .....	oyerih .....
11	.....	asenskatiskaré .....	assan escatc escarhet	unakyawenreh .....
12	.....	asentenditiskaré .....	asanteni escarhet....	dekenihyawenreh .....
13	.....	asenachinskaré .....	.....	absunhyawenreh .....
14	.....	asendakskaré .....	.....	kayerihyawenreh .....
15	.....	asenwischskaré .....	.....	wiskyawenreh .....
16	.....	asenwahiaskaré .....	.....	ysakyawenreh .....
17	.....	asentsotaréskaré .....	.....	jadahyawenreh .....
18	.....	asenateréskaré .....	.....	sadekonhyawenreh .....
19	.....	asenentsonskaré .....	.....	tyodonhyawenreh .....
20	.....	tendi eouasen .....	tendeitawaughsa .....	dewasunh .....
30	.....	achink iouasen .....	.....	absunhniwasunh .....
100	.....	enniot iouasen .....	scutemaingarwe .....	unskadewennyaweh .....
1000	.....	asenate ouendiare .....	assen attenoinaouy	oyerih-nadewennyaweh .