

# The St-Jérôme Dictionary of Miami-Illinois

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While it might seem impossible that major French manuscripts documenting Algonquian languages are still being found, in 1999 Michael McCafferty discovered a hitherto unknown Miami-Illinois dictionary in the Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus, Province du Canada français (ASJCF) at St-Jérôme, Québec. This manuscript had lain in the archives at St-Jérôme for many decades, its language unidentified, filed among French missionary dictionaries of other languages such as Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Seneca.<sup>1</sup>

In presenting a preliminary examination of the St-Jérôme dictionary, I will begin with a general physical description of the manuscript and a survey of its contents, and then turn to its possible origins, dialect affiliations, and its relation to the other known missionary Miami-Illinois dictionaries.

The St-Jérôme manuscript is one of three Miami-Illinois dictionaries known to have survived from the French missionary period. The other two have been known to scholars for more than a century, both having been listed in Pilling's 1891 bibliography. One is the French-Illinois dictionary written by Jean-Baptiste Antoine Robert LeBoullenger, probably dating to the 1720s, now preserved in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. The larger manuscript, however, is the massive Illinois-French dictionary in the Watkinson Library at Trinity College in Hartford, now accessible in a published redaction by Carl Masthay (2002). This latter dictionary has traditionally been attributed to Jacques

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1. I would like to express my gratitude here to Julie Olds and the Miami Nation for arranging to have this priceless document filmed, and for generously giving me a complete set of digital images of the manuscript to use in my research. I also thank the Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus, Province du Canada français at St-Jérôme for allowing the filming of this document, and for permission to cite data from it. And finally, I thank Michael McCafferty, who discovered this manuscript at St-Jérôme in December 1999, for helping me better understand the history of the French missions in Illinois, and to him and Robert Vézina for help with translating the often-difficult original French.

Gravier, though as I have mentioned elsewhere (Costa 2003:11), it does not actually appear to be in Gravier's hand, and its true authorship is still unknown. However, in this paper I will continue to refer to the Illinois-French dictionary as "Gravier," simply as a convenient label.<sup>2</sup>

#### PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The entire St-Jérôme manuscript, as it has been filmed, consists of about 674 pages, but of these about 97 are blank, giving a total of about 577 pages with data on them.<sup>3</sup> The handwriting of at least four different individuals can be discerned, though perhaps 95% of it is in a single hand. Most likely, the original dictionary was entirely written by one person, and the forms from the other scribes were all added later, after the dictionary was essentially complete.

Like the LeBoullenger dictionary, the St-Jérôme dictionary is French to Miami-Illinois. However, the LeBoullenger dictionary is an extremely refined product, an obvious recopying, in perfect alphabetical order and very carefully handwritten (and in perfect condition), no doubt the result of many years of cumulative work. In stark contrast, the St-Jérôme dictionary is an obvious rough draft, compiled in the field, and clearly not a recopying. Very likely, the St-Jérôme dictionary was done by a Jesuit missionary newly in the field, as an aid to learning the language. The dictionary proper runs from pp. 13-635 of the manuscript; on the pages preceding that, p. 1 consists of mostly-illegible doodling, while pp. 5-7 and 9 have some rough drafts of untranslated religious texts. Following the dictionary, pp. 636-668 are blank. The last four pages of the manuscript, 669-672, consist of miscellaneous word lists and texts, most of them not in the handwriting of the main scribe of the dictionary. Interest-

2. McCafferty (2005, this volume) further discusses the origins of these dictionaries. Abbreviations used in this paper: D = Jacob Dunn's fieldnotes on modern Miami-Illinois; Gr = the Illinois-French dictionary traditionally attributed to Jacques Gravier; Gt = Albert Gatschet's fieldnotes on modern Miami-Illinois; Hk = Charles F. Hockett's fieldnotes; JPH = J.P. Harrington's fieldnotes on modern Peoria; LB = LeBoullenger's French-Illinois dictionary; PA = Proto-Algonquian; Th = Thornton's Miami wordlist; V = Volney's Miami wordlist.

3. The original St-Jérôme manuscript did not have page numbers; however, the archivists at ASJCF wrote page numbers at the bottom of each page of the manuscript prior to filming it. In the present paper, I use these page numbers to refer to particular pages in the manuscript.

ingly, p. 669 contains various words and phrases in the same handwriting as the scribe of the Illinois-French dictionary in the Watkinson Library, or "Gravier." Miscellaneous religious texts in at least two different hands appear on p. 671, one of them again that of "Gravier" and the other belonging to the main scribe of the dictionary. The last page, 672, contains mostly illegible scribbling, most of it apparently in Miami-Illinois. Also in the handwriting of "Gravier" is p. 670, a very interesting list of untranslated names of animals, plants, and mythological creatures, several of them not attested anywhere else in the Miami-Illinois records from the French period. This list is reproduced in (1), with the translations supplied from other Miami-Illinois sources.<sup>4</sup>

#### (1) un glossed terms (p. 670)

FORM	GLOSS / COMMENTARY
Menomanetata	??
8aban8a, Pic8nia	??; Gr <8aban8a> 'le dieu des resveurs' [sic]
akimareni8a.	'dwarf, elf'; Gr <akimareni8a> 'fausse divinités qui habitent les fontaines'
Païssa.	This is the only known attestation in the French records of the Miami-Illinois term <i>páyiihsa</i> , a name for a mythical dwarf or elf; cf. Ottawa <i>pahiins</i> 'elf, leprechaun'.
aracang8essia.	Gr <aracang8echia> 'l'homme qui est dans la lune'
Irenans8a	'buffalo'
8abicanasi8a	??
Mac8a	'bear'
Kin8nchame8a	'otter'
atchica	'fisher'
a8embaki	'giants'; (a)weempa is the name of a character in Miami-Illinois folklore, described by Dunn [no date] as 'a mythical wild man, very tall, who lives in the woods'; cf. Michelson <wám̄ba>; Gt <wém̄ba>; D <wám̄ba>. The Miami name of the large stinkhorn mushroom is <i>weempa awiilakayi</i> , literally 'Wemba's penis'.
m8ns8a	'deer'
amec8a	'beaver'
mang8a	'loon'

piressia	'raven'
8abighirac8a	'whooping crane'
kikic8a	'peregrine falcon'
Tapassia	'Canada goose'
Eric8ki	'ants'
chicag8a	'striped skunk'
Tatang8a	'spotted skunk'
sasankissa	'pine marten'; cf. (2)
Kin8nsa8e8a	'panther'
Pinchi8a	'bobcat'
[8]aban[k]ia	'swan'
Michikinebic8a	'great serpent'
Kicamanessia	'kingfisher'
petit pescheur qui a le col blanc	
arem8ki	'dogs are heard'
n8nd8ntchiki	
aber8ssaki id.	'children'
8inacat8i	'spicewood'
apacamagane	'his war club'
M8ns8kigig8minja	??
8abans8sa.	Gr <8abans8nsa> 'petit lievre, espece de manit8 de jongleur'
tching8c8a	'eastern red cedar'

The organizational strategy of the St-Jérôme dictionary seems to have been to enter French headwords in alphabetical order, leaving space between them, and then to allow the informants to free-associate, and write down anything they came up with. Every headword can have anywhere from one word to four pages of words, phrases and sentences under it. Moreover, when the manuscript was first prepared, a certain number of

4. All forms in (1) are unglossed in the original list except for <Kicamanessia>. Supporting data for most of the animal names in (1), (2) and (3) can be found in Costa (1992). The often-idiosyncratic spellings of the missionaries' original French translations are retained throughout this paper.

blank pages were allotted for each French letter, as shown by the fact that there are always one or more blank pages at the end of every letter. This further confirms that the St-Jérôme dictionary is not a recopying.

One advantage of this approach of giving the speaker a key word, and then allowing him to give any number of Miami-Illinois words in response to it, is that the dictionary probably reflects the native speaker's concepts of what really was important in the language better than any other method would have done. This would very likely explain why verbs account for the great majority of the vocabulary in the St-Jérôme dictionary.

As a sampling of what one can find in this manuscript, there are one and a half pages under 'aimer', two and a half pages of tree names, two and a half pages of corn terminology, three pages of terms relating to houses, four and a half pages of terms relating to canoes and travel by water, two and a half pages of phrases relating to roads and trails, three pages of the verb 'to say', two pages of terms pertaining to slaves, about two and a half pages specifically pertaining to women, two pages of arrow-making terms, three pages pertaining to guns, two pages of body-part terms, a page of month names, half a page of tribal names, one page of animal names, two pages of bird names, four pages of kinship terms, two pages of tobacco terms, two pages of terms having to do with praying, one and a half pages having to do with medicines, one page of fish names, two and a half pages of terms having to do with water, and at least three pages on how to form different kinds of questions.

#### SAMPLES

The following samples are drawn from the more interesting parts of the St-Jérôme dictionary I have examined so far.

The St-Jérôme dictionary is rich in natural history terms. Example (2) lists the forms found under 'noms des bestes', where the names of several different kinds of mammals are given. The established glosses and some comparative forms from the other Illinois sources are added where the St-Jérôme forms seem not to be correct. Fortunately, almost all of these terms are corroborated in modern sources from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and their correct glosses are generally not in doubt.

## (2) noms des bestes (p. 69)

HEADWORD	FORM	GLOSS / COMMENTARY
beste	a8essa	'animal'
je ne suis pas...	nita8essa8is8	'I am not an animal'
boeuf	irenans8	'buffalo'
vache	ak8a	really 'doe, female animal'
vieux beuf	kichi8ia	really 'buffalo bull'; LB <kigi8a8a> 'masle de bœuf'
veau	irenans8nsa	'calf'
genisse	ac8nissa	really 'heifer, young doe'
Langue de b	a8irani8i	'his tongue'
La bosse	atangana	'buffalo hump'; Gr <atangana> 'le gras bossu de bœuf de desus la croupe et la bosse'
blaireau	spakac8a	'badger'; Gr <spacac8a> 'blaireau'; see <massagac8a> below
chevreul	m8ns8a	'deer'
ours	mac8a	'bear'
loup	ma8e8a	'wolf'
castor	amec8a	'beaver'
renard	irenima8e8a	really 'coyote'; Gr <irenima8e8a> 'loup d'une basse taille'; D <länimáwhĩa> 'coyote'
	v papangam8ita	'fox'; Gr <papangam8a> 'renard'
blair[eau]	memiressia	really 'woodchuck, groundhog'; Gr <memirechia> 'beste comme un blereau toujours en terre de la grosseur d'un chat qui a les dents come un castor'
rat d[e bois]	aeria	really 'opossum'
chat	essibana	really 'raccoon'
siffleur	massagac8a	really 'badger'; Gr <msacac8a> 'blereau'
beste puante	chikag8a	'skunk'
L8tre	kin8chamia	'otter'

loup cervier	pichi8a	really 'bobcat'
michipichi	kin8nsa8e8a	'panther'
rat musqué	assak8a	'muskrat'
porc epic	aka8ita	'porcupine'
ecureuil	anik8a	'squirrel'
	8iping8anic8a	actually 'gray squirrel'
ecur. noir	makatenic8a	'black squirrel'
jaune	8nsanic8a	'fox squirrel'
suisse	ac8ing8cha	'chipmunk'
Lievre	8abans8a	'rabbit'
marthe fouine	asanghissa	'pine marten'; Gr <asanghisa> 'foüinne, marthe'
voyla un chemin de beuf	irenans8ikana8i	

Among other things, the glosses given to the Miami-Illinois forms are often not terribly accurate, especially for animals not found in Europe. An example of this is *irenimahweewa* (<irenima8e8a>), which is the old Illinois word for 'coyote', yet which is given here as 'fox'. Moreover, as can be seen in the third column, Gravier often gives more precise glosses for these terms than those in the St-Jérôme dictionary. A good example here is <memiressia>, the word for 'woodchuck' or 'groundhog'; the St-Jérôme dictionary mistranslates this word as 'badger', but Gravier gives a much more precise description, 'beste comme un blereau toujours en terre de la grosseur d'un chat qui a les dents come un castor'.

The fact that the glosses for animal names are so much more precise in Gravier than in the St-Jérôme dictionary would seem to confirm the impression that the St-Jérôme dictionary was a first effort by a new missionary just learning the language, while the Gravier dictionary is a later, more refined work drawing on several intervening years of language work.

A fairly extensive list of Miami-Illinois bird names is given in (3), which also includes some comparative data from Gravier as well as the correct glosses from the modern sources.



(3) **oyseaux** (p. 409)

HEADWORD	FORM	GLOSS / COMMENTARY
oyseau	a8essensa, pl. ki	'bird, birds'
j'en ay un	nitassa	'I have one'
coq dinde	pire8a	'turkey'
cygne	8abankia	'swan'
outarde	tapassia	'Canada goose'
canard	chichiba	'duck'
gros canard, ailes blues	kitchik8egan8	really 'mallard'; Gt <tcikwekánwa>
aigle	mikitchia	really 'bald eagle'
chetec [ <i>sic</i> ]	kaskite8a	'pelican'; Gr <caskite8a> 'chetoé'; the term that the French missionaries used seems to be a loan from some Algonquian language itself, most likely Ojibwe <i>zhede</i> 'pelican'.
oys. gris	karacara8a	small species of woodpecker; cf. <garakara8a> below
petitte oye	pe[k]kissa	really 'brant'
heron	saki8a	'heron, egret'
oyseau de proye	kikik8a	probably 'peregrine falcon'
oys. pescheur	ab8taka8e8a	actually 'osprey'; D <ayapótakwówĩa>
oys. qui vient qd	nikintarane8a	Gr <nikintarani8a>, 'oyseau qui a la il doit pleuvoir queüe fourch8e'; a species of swallow?
becasse	k8rask8ta8e8a	Gr <c8rasc8ta8e8a> 'becasse', D <pálakótawĩ'a> [ <i>sic</i> ] 'yellowlegs'
perdrix	misisse8a	really 'prairie chicken'
corbeau	piressia	'raven'
oys. puant	apesk8chia	really 'turkey vulture'
hibout	mentic8a	Gr <mentic8a> 'hybou'; screech owl?
huart	mang8a	'loon'
chathuant	michimer8ia	LB <mentchimer8ia> 'chat huant'; great horned owl?

[unglossed]	8inar8ia	[species unknown]
[unglossed]	p8k8sisiaki	really 'bobwhites'
gouelant	kiakk8a	'gull'
espece de hibout	papang8a	species of owl
etourneau	sakinak8a	'blackbird'
caille	8irin8isi8a	really 'meadowlark'
pics bois petits mangent cerises	chak8assiaki	really 'sapsuckers'; cf. <chag8issi8a> below
tourte	mimi8a	'passenger pigeon'
merle	k8akk8a	really 'pileated woodpecker'
picq. bois	papasse8a	really 'red-headed woodpecker'
autre picq. b.	chag8issi8a	really 'sapsucker'
petit picq. b.	garakara8a	'downy woodpecker'?; D <kalákalála>
corbeau pescheur	kintessia	really 'cormorant'; Gr <kintesia> 'cormoran'
irondele [ <i>sic</i> ]	mik8a v. macatemik8a	second form literally 'black swallow'; purple martin or swift?; Gr <macatemisc8a>
epervier	kin8aranissia	probably sharp-shinned or Cooper's hawk
	8inik8re8a	really 'yellow-shafted flicker'
grue	tchetchak8a	'sandhill crane'
oys. bleu	at8h8sisi8a	[species unknown]
petit oys. bleu	tentekissa	really 'blue jay'
autre oys. bl.	8anakantam8a	[species unknown]
oys. mouche	nenimeki8aki	'hummingbirds'

Even more than with the names of mammals, the French missionaries were often at a loss to translate these names, since many of the birds in question are not found in Europe.<sup>5</sup> For example, the list includes six dif-

5. In the case of <k8rask8ta8e8a> 'becasse', the gloss recorded by Dunn from Peoria speaker George Finley is "a snipe that comes in the spring, flies high, in pairs, and has a call different from other snipes. It is about the size of the Jack-snipe, but taller, with longer legs. The color is light gray, like a plover, and the legs yellow." I cannot explain the phonetic differences between Dunn's form and the Old Miami-Illinois forms.

ferent woodpecker names which the compiler obviously had no idea what to do with, though at least he saw fit to list them all.

The list of tree names in (4) includes glosses as they were collected by Jacob Dunn and Albert Gatschet for the modern language. The entries in Gravier, which are almost always the same as those of the St-Jérôme dictionary, are given in parentheses.

(4) **noms darbres** (pp. 38-39)

HEADWORD (CF. GRAVIER)	FORM (CF. GRAVIER)	GLOSS / COMMENTARY
erable (erable arbre)	apakamaganingi (apacamagana8ingi)	'hackberry tree'; Gt ⟨pakamakanīzhi⟩; D ⟨pakámakanīnji⟩ 'hackberry'; cf. Miami- Illinois <i>pakamaakani</i> 'war-club'
néflier (arbre qui porte ce fruit)	piakiminja (piakiminja)	'persimmon tree'
orme (orme)	pakac8eningi (pac8c8aningi)	'American elm, red elm'
noyer dur (noyer dur)	8issakipakiningi (8issakipacaningi)	[species unknown]
a petites noix (chesne a petit gland)	mar8tchimingi (mar8tchiminga)	[species unknown]
noyer (noyer)	mang8pakaningi (manch8pacaningi)	[species unknown]
noyer tendre (noyer tendre)	kin8chichi8ingi (kin8chichi8inghi)	'butternut tree'
sapin (sapin, arbre)	nanimihinja (nanimihinja)	'pine'
a noye akansa [not listed in Gravier]	akansepakaninji	'pecan tree'; cf. Costa (2000:31)
pommier (un pommier)	michiminja (michiminja)	'apple tree'
bois blanc (bois blanc arbre)	8akapimingi (8icapingi)	'basswood'

chesne (chaisne blanc)	8a8iping8kat8i (8a8ipping8acat8i)	'white oak'
à gros gland (vide arbores; chesne a gros gland)	manghiminji v. irenikat8i (manghimingi; irenacat8i)	[species unknown]
chesne dont le gros gland et la racine machee sont bons pour guerir une coupure (chesne a gros gland)	miching8eminja (miching8eminja)	'burr oak'
Lierre (liar, vel. leïard, gros et grande arbre)	mar8ssintia (mar8sintia)	'cottonwood'; Gt ⟨málusändia⟩ 'cottonwood', probably Eastern cottonwood, <i>Populus</i> <i>deltoides</i> ; cf. Ojibwe <i>maanazaadi</i> 'balsam poplar'
cotonnier (cotonnier, arbre)	kakinjakat8i (cakijacat8i)	'sycamore'
fevier arbre à caffe (arbres ou viennent les grains)	ch8ch8c8inagan8injaki (ch8ch8c8inaganeminjaki)	'coffee-bean tree'
feves fruit de cet arbre dont on joüe q.c. (feves, grains avec lesquels on joüe)	ch8ch8c8inaganaki (ch8ch8c8inaganaki)	'berry of the coffee-bean tree'
meurier (8igne [ <i>sic</i> ])	macac8ani macac8ani	'wild sarsaparilla, vine'
Laurier (laurier)	makinjak8i (manghinjac8i)	'sassafras'
fresne (fresne, arbre)	rapa8ar8i (rapah8r8a)	'ash tree, gray ash'; Gt ⟨napáhalwi⟩ 'ash tree'; D ⟨napáholī⟩ 'white ash, gray ash'

The first word here, given as 'erable' ('maple'), is known from later records to actually be the word for 'hackberry', a type of elm. Below that, 'noyer tendre' is given for a tree known from modern Miami-Illinois to be the name for the butternut. A tree given by the missionaries as 'meurier'

(‘mulberry’) is the modern Miami-Illinois name for wild sarsaparilla. And the tree translated as ‘laurier’ turns out to be the modern Miami-Illinois name for sassafras. However, there are tree names that the missionaries rendered accurately, such as the trees glossed as ‘orme’ (‘elm’), ‘cotonnier’ (‘sycamore’), and ‘fresne’ (‘ash tree’). No doubt the missionaries had the least trouble with trees that were familiar from France, and the most trouble with trees that were unfamiliar to them.

Even more interesting are the ethnological details about the uses of some of these trees that the missionaries give. For example, with the word for ‘burr oak’, we find the gloss ‘chesne dont le gros gland et la racine machee sont bons pour guerir une coupure’ (‘oak whose large acorn and chewed root are good for curing wounds’). And with the word signifying the beans of the coffee bean tree (or the Kentucky coffee tree), we see ‘the beans of this tree, which one plays games with’.

Example (5) includes the terms (except for a few that were illegible or uninterpretable) found under ‘jongleur’, the seventeenth-century word all French missionaries used for a shaman or healer.

(5) **jongleur** (p. 310)

HEADWORD	FORM
jongleuse	irenimitec8e
jongleur	mite8a irenimite8a; voc. pl. mitingha
a la facon des paniasa	paniassi8enghi
je le suis	nimite8i 3 tei8a mite8itisa in sub
il fait des cris de jongl.	mamantam8a
on jongle	mite8ina
on jongle un bois pour mettre [aux] melon(s)	mantchit8na atta8ane
je le jongle panse	ninepira
il est mort en jonglant	kak8k8i mite8isig8i nip8a
en dançant	kak8c8i kani8esig8i
je tire la maladie du cor[p]s	nitatapantam. 3 atap
ce n’est pas tout de bon qu’on jongle	kittiramisin8i mite8inghi
ce dont on se sert qd on jongle soit la loutre on autre ch[oses]	mantchirinita mantchi8ni mantchirini8ni
je luy tire du cor[p]s le mal	nimahama8a
qui à les cheux. brulez en jonglant	pensig8eresita pensitchiri a8irirari

on esteint le cheveux brulez ...	chagass8nta. pentekira a8irissa
il se sert d’un fusil pour jongl.	papik8ane mite8it8a
enseigne moy la jonglerie	mite8ihiro
jonglé, appris à jongl.	mite8ihinta, 8abankihinta pembahinta
il me la enseignée	nimite8iheg8a
cest sa jonglerie qui te tue	kimite8i8ni 8intchi kinepe
jongleuse	mitek8e
tu es une jongleuse	mitek8e8iani

While it might first seem a little odd that a missionary should give all these words, vocabulary like this is in fact found in all the Miami-Illinois dictionaries, presumably so that the missionaries could recognize it when they heard it. While one could well argue that a Christian missionary is not the best person to be describing traditional Miami-Illinois religious practices, there are nevertheless many intriguing glimpses here. For example, <paniassi8enghi>, which is translated simply as ‘a la facon des paniasa’ (‘in the manner of the Pawnees’), is also found in LeBoullenger’s Illinois dictionary, and hints at some sort of Pawnee influence on Miami-Illinois shamanism. Other tantalizing phrases are ‘il fait des cris de jongleur’ (‘he makes the cry of a shaman’), ‘il est mort en dançant’ (‘he died while dancing’), ‘il se sert d’un fusil pour jongl[er]’ (‘he uses a gun in sorcery’), and several different terms used for *teaching* someone to be a shaman. The verb given for ‘I doctor him’, *ninepiraa* (‘je le jongle panse’), is the same verb used for doctoring in the 20th-century records of Miami. The reference here to one’s hair being burned in sorcery is intriguing, since the same expression appears in an unpublished Indiana Miami text Gabriel Godfroy told Jacob Dunn early in the 20th century. In this story, Godfroy describes a personal memory from his childhood where his aunt was treated for seizures by some Shawnee medicine men. One of the things these medicine men did in treating Godfroy’s aunt was to throw burning embers onto her head, which Godfroy described as ‘throwing fire’. In fact, the word given for ‘on esteint le cheveux brulez’ (‘one puts out the burnt hair’), <chagass8nta>, is the very same word Godfroy uses for this concept in his text. Thus, this manuscript provides a nice corroboration of a traditional practice that survived in the memories of Miami people to the 20th century.

The entries given under the heading 'femme' (except for those that are illegible or uninterpretable) appear in (6); for the most part, they pertain to wives:

(6) **femme** (pp. 231-233)

HEADWORD	FORM / COMMENTARY
Femme	mitem8ssa
ma femme	ni8i8a. 3 a8i8ari
ce nest pas sa femme	a8i8arisin8i ni8i8isin8i
il n'a q'une femme	nig8t88i8e8a
n'as tu q'une femme?	kinemat88i8emingano?
Il court les femmes	n8tik8e8e8a, merateskisa
il ayme les femmes	ak8essiri8a
tu touche[s] les femmes quand elles dorment	kikimini8eski
ho[mm]e femme	ik8e8ita; Gr <ic8e8ita> 'bardache'
il reprend sa femme	nina8e8a a8i8ari
il ny a que des femmes	m8nchaki mitem8ssaki
as tu pillé La femme daustruy	k8takirini8a a8i8ari, ki8kitama8a mingano?
pluralité de f.	[8]iss8e8i8ni
la premiere femme	kittasig8a; Gr <kitassata anapemari> 'c'est celle de ses femmes qu'il ayme la plus'
femme quont [sic] fait passer p[ou]r folle ses deux femmes	keiesc8ec8nta keiam8hintac8nta ninch88i8ek8ssitchiki. v. ninch88i8erintchiki
elles sont 2des femmes avec leurs ainees	8ik8ssime8aki amissa8ahe
es tu 2de femme	kita8ik8ssi. v. kita8ik8ssintiming <sup>o</sup>
les soeurs femmes d'un mesme mary	ekaperimintchiki v. anik8apitchiki
concubinage de ces 2 soeurs	anik8api8ni
a8ic8ssinti8ni	concubinage
2e femme d'un ho[mme] qui a reietté La lere	aramih8a
celle qui est femme avec elle	a8ic8ssari
lere femme	metamapita
il a changé de femme	antchi8i8eta

2de fem[me]	anik8apita
je me marie a la femme d. autre	ni8ikintamaki
il demeure chez les parens de sa femme	nahanganapi8a
elle chez les parens de son mary	nahanganak8a

The missionaries pay much attention in their dictionaries to details of intimate marital and romantic practices they observed. (This is in striking contrast with Protestant missionaries writing on Indian languages at the same time, who overwhelmingly preferred to pretend such things did not exist.) The compiler of the St-Jérôme dictionary seems to have been especially fascinated by details of men having multiple wives, as reflected here by the Miami-Illinois words for 'do you have only one wife?', 'have you stolen another man's wife?', 'his two wives', and 'second wife of a man who has rejected the first'. An especially interesting word in this regard is 'she who is a wife with her', *awiihkohsari*, which turns out to be simply the Miami-Illinois noun meaning 'her co-wife'. It is this concept that the scribe is struggling to translate into French when he translates certain of these terms with the term 'concubinage'.

## PROVENANCE

I now turn to the origins and dialect affiliations of the St-Jérôme dictionary. Based on his examination of the handwriting in this manuscript, Michael McCafferty has determined that the primary scribe of the St-Jérôme dictionary was Pierre-François Pinet, a French missionary born in 1660.<sup>6</sup> The full story can be found in McCafferty (2005), but what is relevant for the present discussion is that upon arriving in Illinois country in 1696, Pinet first established the Mission de l'Ange Gardien on the lower Chicago River (at the site of present-day Chicago). Although it is often described in the records as a Miami mission, it appears to have actually been inhabited by Weas (see Delliette 1934:392 and Voegelin, Blasingham & Libby 1974:8). When this mission closed in 1700, Pinet relocated to southern Illinois, where he spent the next two years at the Cahokia and Des Pères missions, serving among the Tamaroas and Kaskaskias until his death in 1702 (Garraghan 1928:115-116).

6. This name is variably spelled as *Pinet* and *Pinette* in the records, so it was very likely pronounced with the final *t* (Michael McCafferty, personal communication).



If the St-Jérôme dictionary is in Pinet's handwriting, this indicates that it was written between 1696 and 1702, predating the LeBoullenger dictionary by at least 17 years. This also gives us some evidence as to the primary dialect of the dictionary, based on where Pinet was posted and which tribes he served among. If Pinet wrote the dictionary between 1696 and 1700, it represents the dialect of the Weas; if he wrote it after 1700, it would presumably be in the Tamaroa or Kaskaskia subdialects of Illinois.

Given that there is no direct indication of when Pinet compiled his dictionary, we have no choice but to identify the dialect of the manuscript by linguistic means. This is not a simple proposition, since the attested dialect variation in Miami-Illinois has always been minimal. No consistent dialect differences can be found distinguishing the Old Illinois dictionaries of Gravier and LeBoullenger, nor the Allouez prayerbook. Modern Miami-Illinois is significantly different from Old Illinois, but the dialect variation found within the modern language is also minimal.

Two of the main sound changes that distinguish Old Illinois from modern Miami-Illinois are the shift of noun-final *-eewa*, *-iiwa* and *-iwa* to modern *-ia*, and the change of older *sk* and *sp* to *hk* and *hp*. The Pinet, Gravier, and LeBoullenger dictionaries all show forms which variously have or have not undergone these changes, in essentially equal measure (cf. Costa 2003:82-86, 157). This variation could be due to several factors; while it is possible that the missionaries drew their data from different tribes and different places, it is just as likely that there was already dialect mixing in the missions, or that the missionaries gathered data from both older and younger speakers at a time when the sound changes in question were still under way. Because of the variation within each of the three dictionaries, evidence of these sound changes cannot be used to identify the dialect of the Saint-Jérôme dictionary, nor to ascertain whether it is in the same dialect as that seen in Gravier and LeBoullenger.

The third sound change differentiating Old Illinois from modern Miami-Illinois – namely the reflexes of Proto-Algonquian *\*l* and *\*θ* – is more useful. Gravier, Allouez, and LeBoullenger virtually always have Old Illinois *r* for Proto-Algonquian *\*l* and *\*θ*. By the late 18th century, this *r* appears as *l* intervocalically in all Miami-Illinois records. Word-initially, older *r* appears as *l* for some Peoria subdialects as well, but Miami, Wea and other Peoria dialects shift older word-initial *r* to *n* (see Costa 2003, summarized in (7)).

### (7) Proto-Algonquian *\*θ* and *\*l*

Old Illinois	<i>r</i> in all environments
modern Miami and Wea, some modern Peoria speakers	<i>l</i> intervocalically, <i>n</i> word-initially
other modern Peoria speakers	<i>l</i> in all environments

It is a striking fact about the Pinet dictionary, however, that, unlike other Miami-Illinois materials from the missionary period, it often shows word-initial *n* from older Proto-Algonquian *\*l* and *\*θ*. An example of a word for which Pinet writes initial *n* where every other French source has *r* is his *nabikagane* 'necklace' (pp. 124, 446),<sup>7</sup> for which Gravier has *rabicagane* and *rabiscagane*, and LeBoullenger has *rapicacane*.<sup>8</sup> Likewise, for 'cornstalk', Pinet has *napek8i* 'sucét de blé' (p. 571), while Gravier has *rapesc8i* 'succet ou tige de bled qui reste, tige sans epy'.<sup>9</sup>

In the St-Jérôme dictionary it is much more common to find words which derive from earlier *\*r* showing word-initial *n*, but with this "corrected" to *r* by later scribes. A typical example of this is the word for 'sand'; from a Proto-Algonquian form *\*le-kawi*, this appears as Illinois *reekawi* in Gravier and LeBoullenger (*rega8i* and *reca8i*, respectively), as *neekawi* in modern Miami,<sup>10</sup> but as *neekawi* (*nega8i*) in the St-Jérôme dictionary as well (p. 549), though with an *r* later written above the *n*.

A second example is the verb for 'it is cold weather'. This appears as Illinois *ripanwi* (*ripan8i*) in Gravier and LeBoullenger, as *nipanwi* (or changed conjunct *neepanki*) in modern Miami and Wea, and as *lipanwi* ~ *leepanki* for some modern Peoria dialects.<sup>11</sup> In the St-Jérôme dictionary,

7. Glossed by Pinet as 'ce qui se pend au col'.

8. Gravier glosses this as 'collier ornement qui pent au col'; cf. Attikamek Cree *ta-piška-kan* 'necklace, harness' and Kickapoo *naapihkaakani* 'necklace'. For 'necklace' Dunn has a form *n'lápkakáni*, with a remarkable initial *n'l* not found elsewhere in his materials.

9. The modern sources show a plural form of this noun *naapeehkwa* 'corn stalks, fodder' (Gt *nápáxkwa*, D *nápákwa*).

10. Note Gatschet's *nékáwi* and Dunn's *nákáwi*. Gatschet also has *lekáwi*, probably a Peoria form.

11. For Miami, compare Trowbridge *nepāunwee*, Hockett *népāngi* and Dunn *nipānwi*. For Wea, note Gatschet's *nápāngi*. However, from the Peoria speaker George Finley, Truman Michelson collected *nepāngí* for this word. Finley is the only known Peoria speaker with *n* for initial *l* (see Costa 2003:46). Note Gatschet's *lápāngi* and Hockett's *lipa-nwi* from other modern Peoria speakers.



this word was originally transcribed as ⟨nipan8i⟩ (p. 251), but a later scribe has clearly written an ⟨r⟩ over the initial ⟨n⟩.

Another example of this is the word for ‘between, among’, which Gravier gives as *rarakwi* ⟨rarag8i⟩ ‘au milieu’. Pinet first wrote this word as ⟨nanag8i⟩, with ⟨r⟩ later written over both ⟨n⟩s (p. 370), while in modern modern Miami it is *nalakwe* (D ⟨nalákwä⟩).<sup>12</sup>

Likewise, for ‘coat’, *raapinaakani* in Old Illinois (Gr, LB ⟨rapinagane⟩ ‘capot, chemise’), Pinet first wrote ⟨napinagane⟩. Later the initial ⟨n⟩ was crossed out and an ⟨r⟩ written above it (p. 98).<sup>13</sup>

However, it is not difficult to find cases where this pattern is reversed; that is, where initial ⟨r⟩ was written first and later changed to ⟨n⟩. For ‘equally, likewise’, for instance, Pinet first wrote ⟨rapi⟩, then reduplicated ⟨rassapi⟩, and then doubly-reduplicated ⟨rassapi⟩ (p. 189); then, a later scribe wrote an ⟨n⟩ over every ⟨r⟩ in all three words.<sup>14</sup> Likewise, for ‘it is light (in weight)’, Pinet first wrote ⟨ranghirechin8i⟩ (p. 327), but with an ⟨n⟩ later written over the first ⟨r⟩ (Gr ⟨niranghirechi⟩ ‘I am light’).<sup>15</sup>

Finally, there are also several forms in the St-Jérôme dictionary where only word-initial ⟨r⟩ appears, and not ⟨n⟩; for example: *ripwaa-hkaawa* ‘he is wise, modest’ (Pinet ⟨rep8aka8a⟩, Gr ⟨reb8aca8a⟩, LB ⟨rep8aca8a⟩),<sup>16</sup> *rapaholwa* ‘ash tree’ (Pinet ⟨rapa8r8a⟩, Gr ⟨rapah8r8a⟩, LB ⟨rapahoro⟩),<sup>17</sup> and *raaraawa* ‘cicada’ (Gr, Pinet ⟨rara8a⟩, LB pl. ⟨rara8oki⟩).<sup>18</sup> Many more examples like this could be listed.

Thus, it seems that the St-Jérôme dictionary was compiled at a Miami-Illinois speaking community where the shift of word-initial *r* to *n*

was already underway, though apparently not yet complete for all words or for all speakers. Since word-initial *n* for older *r* is extremely rare in LeBoullenger and almost non-existent in Gravier, this can only mean that the St-Jérôme dictionary is in a different dialect from that of LeBoullenger and Gravier.

If Pierre-François Pinet indeed compiled the St-Jérôme dictionary, as McCafferty’s analysis of its handwriting seems to indicate, then a ready solution to this dilemma presents itself. It will be recalled that Pinet spent 1696 to 1700 ministering to the Weas at the Mission de l’Ange Gardien. Then, from 1700 to 1702, he was in southern Illinois with the Tamaroas and Kaskaskias. Since the LeBoullenger and Gravier dictionaries were most likely written at the Kaskaskia and Peoria missions in southern and central Illinois, this would strongly suggest that Pinet compiled his dictionary during the *first* half of his time in Illinois, while at the short-lived Mission de l’Ange Gardien. This would mean that instead of being in some dialect of Illinois proper, like the LeBoullenger and Gravier dictionaries, the St-Jérôme dictionary is actually in the Wea subdialect of Miami.

If the St-Jérôme dictionary was compiled with the help of Wea speakers, then an explanation also presents itself for the later additions to the dictionary. As McCafferty found, three missionaries aside from Pinet inserted numerous later additions and corrections into the St-Jérôme dictionary, including the same unknown missionary who wrote out the Gravier dictionary. What seems highly likely is that Pinet compiled the dictionary at the Mission de l’Ange Gardien, and then took it with him to the southern Illinois missions, where it continued to be added to, by both Pinet and later missionaries.

Thus, it seems likely that many of the numerous “corrections” in the St-Jérôme dictionary are in fact attempts to revise the Wea data to bring it more into line with the southern Illinois dialects. The frequent alterations of initial *n* to *r* might well fall into this category.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it seems likely that the dialect of the original dictionary is Wea, but that the words that are not in Pinet’s hand are in one or another of the dialects of Illinois proper, and were added after 1702 by Pinet’s successors at the southern Illinois missions.

19. The frequent revisions of initial *r* to *n* were probably done at l’Ange Gardien as Pinet became aware that these words could be pronounced in that dialect with either initial consonant.

12. From PA \**θaθakwi*; compare Shawnee *lakawi* and Gros Ventre *tótóú?uh* ‘between’.

13. Compare modern Miami *naapinaakani* (D ⟨napínakánī⟩ ‘shirt’) and modern Peoria *laapinaakani* (JPH ⟨lahpéneka-n⟩ ‘shirt’, Hk ⟨nilapinakani⟩ ‘my shirt’).

14. From Proto-Algonquian \**θa-pi*; in Illinois, compare *raapi* (Gr ⟨rapi⟩) and reduplicated *raahsaapi* (Gr ⟨rassapi⟩); in modern Miami, compare *naapi* (D ⟨nápi⟩), *naahsaapi* (D ⟨nasápi⟩), and *naanaahsaapi* (Gt ⟨nanaxthapi⟩). Note also Ojibwe *naasaab* ‘like. the same’.

15. In modern Miami, note *naankiciwi* ‘it is light’ (V ⟨nanguétchéoué⟩, D ⟨nangĩ’tcíwī⟩).

16. Cf. modern Miami *neepwaa-hkaata* ‘he revives, comes to’ (D ⟨náp-wakat⟩); note also Shawnee *lep-wahka* ‘he’s sober, conscious’ and Cree *yip-wa-hka-w* ‘he is wise’.

17. Modern Miami has inanimate *napaholwi* (Th ⟨naapaholueh⟩, Gt ⟨napá-hulwi⟩, D ⟨napáholī⟩).

18. Dunn collected modern *naala* (⟨nála⟩) from George Finley.

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE THREE DICTIONARIES

Finally, I would like to make some preliminary observations about the relationship of Pinet's Illinois dictionary to the other two missionary Miami-Illinois dictionaries. Despite the slightly different reflexes of Proto-Algonquian *\*l* and *\*θ*, the language found in all three missionary dictionaries is strikingly uniform, with a huge overlap in vocabulary, and so it is worth asking whether any of the dictionaries appear to have been used in the compilation of any of the others.

From a comparison of the three dictionaries, it quickly becomes clear that the St-Jérôme dictionary almost certainly served as a primary source for the LeBoullenger dictionary. This is shown by the many striking parallels between Pinet and LeBoullenger, in both the Miami-Illinois forms and the French glosses. This extends to wording, idiosyncracies of transcription, and even errors. To start, it is easy to find words and phrases in LeBoullenger and the St-Jérôme dictionary which are translated almost identically. For example, compare the translations for the phrase in (8), evidently a description of the opossum, *aayeeriiwa*:

- (8a) rat de bois qui porte ses hors de son ventre [*sic*] (Pinet p. 515)  
 aïare8aki pemag8ratchiki ang8eg8ratchiki anitsanissahe akinghi
- (8b) rat de bois qui porte ses petits hors de son ventre (LeBoullenger p. 153)  
 aiari8oki pemag8ratchiki ang8eg8ratchiki anitjanissahe akinki

The French translations of these two phrases differ in nothing more than the addition of the word *petits* in the LeBoullenger form, presumably inserted to correct its inadvertent omission by Pinet. The original Miami-Illinois sentences show slightly different transcriptional practices but are otherwise identical.<sup>20</sup>

Also compare these two entries for 'garlic':

- (9a) aïl (Pinet p. 22)  
 8inisisia v. chikag8a abusive
- (9b) aïl (LeBoullenger p. 5)  
 8anississia si8a. chicac8o abusive

20. It is clear that LeBoullenger deliberately respelled Pinet's data when copying it into his dictionary. The two main changes LeBoullenger made were to change Pinet's <k> to <c> before <a>, <o> and <8>, and (less consistently) to change Pinet's <8a> to <8o>.

*wiinihsisia* is the word for 'wild onion', and *šikaakwa* is normally the word for 'skunk', but evidently can also be used for a type of wild onion. Again, there are slight transcriptional differences, LeBoullenger also indicating that the word could be pronounced with a final *-iwa*, and the forms differ in the initial vowel,<sup>21</sup> but otherwise they are the same – the most striking similarity being the presence of the word for 'skunk' followed by the notation "abusive."

The two examples found under 'root' demonstrate the same tendencies:

- (10a) racine pr se garentir des morsures du serpent et qui le fait fuir. loignon est blanc et sort tout hors de terre; la tige à un pié de haut, les feuilles de 4 cotes. et à un petit bouton rouge à la tette (Pinet p. 510)  
 8iskapisia
- (10b) racine pour se garantir de la morsure des serpents et qui les fait fuir. Loignon est blanc et sort hors de terre. la tige a un pied de haut Les feuilles de 4 cotes et a un petit bouton rouge a la teste (LeBoullenger p. 151)  
 8icapisia

Again, there are slight pronunciation and transcription differences in the Miami-Illinois forms: for the *k* sound Pinet uses <k>, while LeBoullenger uses <c>. Moreover, Pinet seems to have heard this word as *wiiskapisia*, while LeBoullenger heard it as *wiihakapisia*. However, the French glosses of this word are essentially identical in the two sources, to the point where it seems inescapable that the LeBoullenger form was taken from the Pinet manuscript.

Likewise, LeBoullenger and Pinet have essentially identical sets of month names:

- |                      |                           |          |
|----------------------|---------------------------|----------|
| (11a) Pinet p. 337   | (11b) LeBoullenger p. 113 |          |
| essibana kiriss8a    | assepana kir.             | January  |
| tchetchak8a kiriss8a | tchaktchac8o kir.         | February |
| takingamiask8a       | takingamiac8e kir.        | March    |
| m8tchapingha         | m8tchapinga kir.          | April    |
| m8naha kiriss8a      | m8na kir. on pioche       | May      |
| atchikata v anakapa  | atchicata, anacapi kir.   | June     |

21. The <a> in the first syllable of the LeBoullenger form is probably a miscopying; compare Gravier <8inisisi8a>, Gatschet <winsissia>, and Dunn's <wĩnsĩ'ssia>.

tak8aki	tac8aki kir.	July
michi8eïa	michi8eia kir.	August
chachak8re8a~chachak8ria	chachac8ra8o kir.	September
emare kiriss8a~m8ns8i kiriss8a	emare kir.	October
pina8e kir.	pina8e kir.	November
pip8n8i kiriss8a	pip8n8e kir.	December

Above his list of month names, Pinet writes: "Les mois par les lunes selon Les ilinois." Immediately below, in smaller handwriting, is an additional comment: "nous contons autrement les lunes," followed by its direct equivalent in Miami-Illinois, <8takinghi irakimakintchi kiriss8ki> 'we (exclusive) count moons differently, otherwise'.

This is the only marking for dialect I have found in Pinet, though its interpretation is far from certain. He seems to be saying that, even though the terms he lists are in the Illinois dialect, these are not the month names used by the Indians he worked with at the mouth of the Chicago River. If so, this would support the hypothesis that the bulk of Pinet's data is not in the Illinois dialect of Miami-Illinois.

The two lists of tribal names are even more strikingly similar.<sup>22</sup>

(12a) Pinet p. 396		(12b) LeBoullenger p. 125	
HEADWORD	FORM	HEADWORD	FORM
noms des nations depuis montreal iusquà missisipi.			
1 Miami	miami8a	1 miamis	miami8a
2 p8te8etami.	8a8rahe	2 pout8atamis	8a8rahe
3 puants	8ndakia	3 puans	8ndakia
4 8tagami.	pk8askimina	4 8tagamis	pac8askimina
5 Sakis.	saki8a	5 sakis	saki8o
6 mask8tens	mask8tenta	6 masc8tins	masc8tenta
7 kikab8	kikap8a	7 [not glossed]	kicap8
8 Si8s.	chahe	8 chaha	scioux
9 8ta8.	kiskak8a	9 outa8as	kiskac8a
10 Sauteurs	8tchip8eïa	11 8tchip8eia	sauteurs
11 folles avoines	piressi8a	10 folles avoines	piressi8a
12 hurons	nad8eïa	13 hurons	nad8eia
13 iroquois	atchiss8e8a	12 Iroquois	atchiss8ara psicania

14 ilinois in gre.	in8ka	16 Illinois	inoca
15 je parle in8ka	nitin8kata8e	14 je parle Illinois	nitin8cata8e
16 renards	pak8askimina	15 renards	pac8kimina

There are numerous parallels between these two lists; first, the ordering of the terms is almost identical. Second, LeBoullenger and Pinet list exactly the same terms, except that LeBoullenger adds <psicania> as a synonym for <atchiss8ara> 'Iroquois'. Third, the terms are translated almost identically, including the translation of the name for the Ojibwes as 'Sauteurs' and the translation of <8ndakia>, the name for the Winnebago, as 'puan[t]s'. And, finally and perhaps most tellingly, both lists inadvertently give the name for the Fox twice: LeBoullenger gives <pac8askimina> as '8tagamis', the same gloss Pinet gives <pk8askimina>; and further down, LeBoullenger gives <pac8kimina> 'renards', the same gloss Pinet gives to <pak8askimina>.<sup>23</sup> Evidently, Pinet did not realize that these were just slightly different pronunciations for the same name, and entered both as separate terms, a confusion that LeBoullenger perpetuated when he copied out Pinet's list.<sup>24</sup>

The parallels between Pinet and LeBoullenger even extend to Pinet's errors being carried over into LeBoullenger's dictionary. Good examples

22. The order of LeBoullenger's list is rearranged here to emphasize the similarity; line numbers indicate the original order. See Costa (2000) for a more detailed explanation of these tribe names, plus several others attested in other Miami-Illinois sources.

23. See Callender (1978:646) for a discussion of these two French names for the Fox.

24. It is interesting to consider the terms that are *missing* from Pinet's list of tribe names. Pinet's list gives a general name for the Illinois but none for any of the Illinois subtribes such as the Kaskaskia, Peoria, or Cahokia, names for whom can all be found in Gravier, or often in other places in LeBoullenger's dictionary. Pinet's list even lacks names for any of the groups considered to be *Miami* subtribes, such as the Piankashaw, or, most surprisingly, the Wea. The only names for any Miami-Illinois-speaking groups Pinet gives are <in8ka> 'Illinois in general' and <miami8a> 'Miami'. The lack of any names for the southern or central Illinois groups is odd by any account, but it suggests that Pinet might have been on the lower Chicago River at a time when these groups were not frequently visiting northern Illinois. However, given that the historical records indicate that the Mission de l'Ange Gardien was a Wea mission, the omission of any name for the Weas is even stranger. Significantly, the first name Pinet gives in this list is *myaamiiwa* 'Miami'. Assuming that the first name Pinet would give in a list like this would probably be name of the tribe he was working with, this raises the interesting question of whether the Indians Pinet worked with at the mission were in fact Miamis, or, at least, whether Pinet *considered* the people he was working with to be Miamis. A more conclusive answer to this question will have to await further research.

of this can be found in Pinet's list of bird names on p. 409 when compared to LeBoullenger's list on his p. 128. Pinet and LeBoullenger both mis-translate the word for 'meadowlark' as 'quail', they both mistranslate the word for 'pileated woodpecker' as 'blackbird', and the word for the yellow-shafted flicker, a kind of woodpecker, as 'hawk'. These errors also extend to LeBoullenger copying Pinet's mistranscriptions of Miami-Illinois words; on p. 459 of his dictionary, Pinet mistranscribes *paahpaah-seewa* 'red-headed woodpecker' as <pakasse8a>, with <k> for expected <p>. Under 'pic bois', LeBoullenger dutifully repeats this error, giving this word as <pacasse8a>, even though in his bird name list on p. 128 he correctly gives the word as <papasse8a> (compare plural <papasseaki> in Gravier).

Countless other examples could be cited of exact or near-exact matches between LeBoullenger and Pinet. Moreover, it also appears that there is a certain amount of vocabulary shared by LeBoullenger and Pinet which is not found in Gravier, despite the fact that the latter contains considerably more words than either of the other two dictionaries. I have not had the chance to investigate this fully, but a few notable examples of words which are missing from Gravier follow:

(13) FORM	COMMENTARY
<i>niišomeneehki</i> 'eight' LeBoullenger, Pinet <ninch8meneki>	For 'eight' Gravier has only <parare>, which LeBoullenger and Pinet also have as alternates to <ninch8meneki>; cf. Rhodes & Costa (2003:201), Costa (2003:252).
<i>pikiwi</i> 'pitch, tar' LeBoullenger, Pinet <piki8i>	<PA *pekiwa (with shift in gender); translated by LeBoullenger and Pinet as 'bray'. Gravier and the modern sources attest only <i>šinkwa</i> 'pitch, gum'.
<i>irenaakohša</i> 'fox sp.' LeBoullenger <erenac8cha>, <irenac8sa>; Pinet <irenak8ssa>	Literally 'ordinary fox', with a final <i>-aakohš-</i> , derived from PA * <i>wa-kwehša</i> 'fox' (not attested as an independent noun in Miami-Illinois); cf. Nipmuck <ilinan'kos <sup>c</sup> > 'fox' (Day 1975:305). Gravier attests only <i>paapankamwita</i> and <i>paapankamwa</i> .

While it is possible that these words were present in the dialect of Illinois that Gravier studied but simply not collected by him, it is also possible that these are words which Pinet collected, and which were simply copied by LeBoullenger. Thus these words may in fact be Wea or Miami

dialect forms, which are absent from Gravier simply because they were not used in Illinois proper. No doubt more such words will be found with future research.

The parallels between Pinet and Gravier are also extensive, though not as striking. Many of the same words are found in all three dictionaries, but it is worth noting that when the glosses of these words are imprecise or simply wrong in the Pinet or LeBoullenger dictionaries, they are often corrected or elaborated in the Gravier (see the discussion of (2) above). Moreover, in addition to the fact that the Gravier dictionary simply has more data than either of the other two, the understanding of the Miami-Illinois language demonstrated in Gravier is often superior. One such example I have found is in the area of kinship terms. While the coverage of kinship terms in Pinet is extensive, it is not quite as complete or accurate as that seen in LeBoullenger, or, especially, in Gravier. There are a handful of kinship terms Pinet misses that the later missionaries got, especially words from the rich supply of Miami-Illinois in-law terms. This would seem to reinforce the impression that the St-Jérôme dictionary represents the Jesuits' first in-depth study of the Miami-Illinois language, and they simply had a better sense of the language by the time of the later Gravier dictionary.

#### CONCLUSION

The St-Jérôme manuscript is the earliest known dictionary of the Miami-Illinois language and was very likely compiled between 1696 and 1700 by Pierre-François Pinet at the Mission de l'Ange Gardien near the site of present-day Chicago. This dictionary is very likely in the Wea dialect of Miami, based on contemporary accounts of the tribal composition at the mission.

It appears that Pinet took the dictionary with him to the mission at Cahokia and revised it somewhat to bring it more into line with the dialect spoken there. Then, after Pinet died, the dictionary seems to have been kept at the southern Illinois missions, later being used at the Kaskaskia mission, where three other missionaries inserted numerous additions and corrections. The Pinet dictionary was a primary source, if not the main source, for the LeBoullenger dictionary, which was compiled at Kaskaskia sometime after 1719.<sup>25</sup> However, since so many of Pinet's



errors were carried over into LeBoullenger's dictionary, and since LeBoullenger seems to have generated many scribal errors of his own, it is quite possible that LeBoullenger did not yet have much experience with the language when he wrote it out.

The relation of the Illinois–French dictionary attributed to Gravier to the St-Jérôme dictionary is less clear, though much of the data in the Pinet dictionary was also carried over into the Gravier dictionary, often corrected and elaborated. However, it is unknown whether the compiler of the Gravier dictionary actually consulted Pinet's dictionary directly, or got Pinet's data via LeBoullenger, or whether he got it from some third source which is now lost.

We are left with two overriding impressions. The first is the remarkable uniformity of Miami-Illinois as attested three centuries ago. Second, it once again shows that the language scholarship of the Jesuit missionaries was very much a cumulative process, with every missionary explicitly drawing on and advancing the knowledge of the scholars who preceded him. Three centuries later, we cannot help but be impressed with their insight and thoroughness, and grateful that what they learned is still preserved.

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25. In fact, it seems likely that the LeBoullenger dictionary was written because the Pinet dictionary was by this time such a messy jumble of data that the need was felt for an easier-to-use French–Illinois dictionary.