The Early Map "Novvelle France": A Linguistic Analysis

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A map entitled Novvelle France" *(see pages* 26-27*) has recently come to light. It is the oldest* surviving *map that attempts to depict all five of the* Great *Lakes* and to *represent the location of a significant* number *of the Great Lakes tribes prior to the dispersals of the late* 1640s and *the 1650s. Most of the words on the map are Huron. In this article the Huron writing is* analyzed with *several goals* in mind. *First the date of 1641 for the map proposed by Conrad Heidenreich is supported* with *respect to the dialect of Huron used. Second, the competence of the mapmaker in the Huron language is assessed as a clue to* his identity. *Third, statements are made concerning the identity of the tribes referred* to and the *meaning of the non-tribal names. Finally,* an analysis *is made of Huron tribal* naming *practices.*

Recently, a manuscript map entitled "Novvelle France" has come to light in the archives of the Hydrographic Department of the Ministry of Defense in Taunton, England. It is an exciting and important discovery, as this is the earliest surviving map that we know of that attempts to give the locations of Native groups in the Great Lakes area, and it is the most complete map we have depicting those locations prior to the dispersals of many of those groups by the early 1650s. The historical geographer Conrad Heidenreich brought the map to light when he encountered a photostat copy in the National Archives of Canada (Cartographic and Architectural Archives Division). He suggests that the map was drafted late in 1641, with the map-maker employing information gathered from Champlain's 1632 map, **a** "Huron map" acquired or compiled by Jesuit Father Paul Ragueneau in 1639 or 1640, and from two Frenchmen, Godefroy and Marguerie, who returned from Iroquois country (in the Lake Champlain area) in June, 1641 (Heidenreich 1988). That sets the earliest possible date for the map. The latest possible date is suggested by the facts that the map does not depict Montreal, the construction of which began in the spring of 1642, nor Fort Richelieu, which the French started building in August of that same year (Heidenreich 1988:77).

In this paper I will add supporting evidence for Heidenreich's 1641 date, and will attempt to trans-late the names of, and to identify, the groups and locations recorded on the map.

Dating the map

The language in which the map is written is Huron, a now-extinct member of the Iroquoian family of languages, which includes the living languages of Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Tuscarora and Cherokee.

Material written in Huron can be used to date this map, since the Jesuit missionaries who worked with the Huron wrote yearly *Relations* to inform their superiors back in France of their progress in the New York. In these *Relations* are Huron words for personal, tribal and place names, terms for native cultural material, a few phrases, and a small number of prayers, vows and letters.

Twice in their compilation of the *Relations* during the 1640s, the Jesuits changed the way in which they recorded the language, reflecting their increased contact with speakers of different dialects and their developing sophistication in transcribing the language. The first such change, and the one most important for us here, took place in *the Relation* of 1643.

Until 1642, the form used to transcribe Huron words with an -ny- sound (pronounced like the -ni- in "companion" was -gn- (as in the French word "agneau"). Beginning with the 1643 *Relation,* with few exceptions, the form used was -ni-. The following are examples of the same two terms as they appear in 1642 and in 1643:

Year	Term	Meaning	source
1642	Atignaouantan	Bear tribe	J.R. 23:43
	Attingueenonnnahak	Cord tribe	J.R. 23:116
1643	Attinnia8entan*	Bear tribe	J.R. 26:216
	Atingueenonniahak	Cord tribe	J.R. 26:258

*Note: The symbol "8" was used to indicate a "w" sound before vowels and a "u" sound before consonants.

On the map "Novvelle France", the *-gn-* form is

A. Lake Champlain south of Great Lakes to Lake Superior

	Nouvelle France *c. 1641*	*Le Jeune - 1640* *(JR18:227-239)*	Samson: *Le Canada* *1656/1657*	*Identification*
1	Agnieronon	Agneehrono	Anneronons/Anner	Mohawk
2	Onciocheronon	Oneiochronon	Onneiochronons/Onneiohr	Oneida
3	Onontoaeronon	Onontaehronon	OnontaguerononslOnontaguer	Onondaga
4	Onontioronon			?
5	Chonkande	Konkhandeenhronon	Chonchradeen/ditto	?
6	Onioenronon	Oniouenhronon		Cayuga
7	Sonontocronon	Sonontouehronon	Sonontouaeronons/Sonontouaer	Seneca
8	Hvron	Ouendat	Hurons/ditto	Huron
9	Nation dv Petun	Khionontatehronon	Sanhionontateheronons/N. du	Petun
10	Nation Nevtre		Neutre, ou Auiouandarons	Neutral
11	Akhrakovaetonon	Akhrakvaeronon		
12	Atiovandarons	Attiouendaronk	Attiouandarons/ditto	(Neutral)
13	Enrie, Nation Dv Chat	Eriehronon	Eriechronons, ou N. du Chat	Erie
14	Ariotocronon	Ahriottaehronon	Ariatocronon/Ariatoeronon	?
15	Oskovararonon	Oscouarahronon	Oukouarararonons/ditto	Fox
16	Kovatocronon	Hvatoehronon	Couacronon/ditto	Sauk
17	Skenchioronon	Skenchiohronon	Squenquioronon/Squenqiuoronons	Fox
18	Aictaeronon	Attistaehronon	Aictaeronon/ditto	Mascoutin
19	Ontarraronon	Ontarahronon	Ontarraronon/ditto	Kickapoo
20	Aoventsiovaenronon	Aoueatsiouaenhronon	Aouentsiouaeronon	Winnebago
21	Attiovandarons	Attiouendarankhronon	Attiouandarons	(Neutral)
	B. Lower Ottawa River Valley			
22	Khionontatetonon	Ouaouechkairini ou Petite Nation	Quionontateronon ou Petite Nation	Weskarini
23	Ehonkeronon	Kichesipirini, ou S. de 1'Isle	Algonquin de 1'Isle ou Ehonqueronon	Kichesipirini
24	Sarontovane		S arontouanerenon/S arontouaneron	
25	Otohiaden		Otchiahen/Otehiahen	?
26	Tovkhiaronon			?
	C. Upper Ottawa River Valley			
27	Khiondakovananiactonon			?
28	Chaovaeronon		Chaouaeronon/Chaouaer	Montagnais
29	Terontov		Tarantou	?
30	Aebneche			?
31	Assond		Assondi/Assodi	?
32	Incheke		Enchek	(caribou)
33	Ohahavdeon			?
34	Erraon		Errahononanoate	?
35	Chioaentonati		Chiaentonati	?
36	Aentondab		Aentordac	?
37	Khiokhiac		Quioquhiac/Quoquhiae	?
38	Kovatohota		Quouatouata	?
	D. Georgian Bay to Lake Superior			
39	Eachiriovachronon	Atchiligouan	Eachiriouachaonon/ Eachiriouachaon	Achirigouan
40	Elsovtaironon	Amikouai	Elsouataironon	Amikwa
41	Cheveux Releves	Outaouan	Cheveux Releves	Ottawa
42	Aovechissaeton	Oumisagai	Aouechissatonon/ Aouechissaton	Mississauga
43	Skiaeronon	Baouichtigouian	Skiaeronon	Saulteaux
44	Astaovanchaeronon		Astakouankaeronons	?
45	Nadovess...ron...	Nadovesiv	Nadouessoueronons	Sioux (Dakota)
46	N, des Gen de Mer Puans	Ouinipigou, ou Puans		Winnebago

TABLE 1

Comparison of native names (adapted from Heidenreich 1988:106-9)

used in *"Agnieronon"*, the Huron name for the Mohawk. (In this example and those that follow, see Table 1 for this listing of Huron terms and Fig. 1 for their location on the map.)

Another change that took place in 1643 was a shift from *-khi-* to *-ti-*. Unlike the previous change, this clearly represents a dialect difference. The dialects recorded before 1643 used the *-ky-* sound (like the first sound in "cute"), while those recorded later had the -ty- sound. A good illustration of this occurs in a man's name:

Year Term	Meaning	Source
1642 Okhuk8andoron	Valuable Group	J.R. 22:134/138
1643 Aotiok8andoron	Valuable Group	J.R.26:294/298

On the map there are four names with the earlier *khi* form:

"Khiokhiac" (37),   "Khiondakovananiactonon" (27), *"Khionontatetonon"* (22), and *"Tovkhiaronon"* (26).

The mapmaker's knowledge of Huron

The mapmaker was quite clearly someone who had a very poor knowledge of Huron, if, in fact, he knew anything about the language at all. There are many more copy errors on the map than anyone with *any* experience or training in the language would have made. For example, in four names, the often recorded terms for the Seneca (7) and Oneida (2), as well as the *"Ariotocronon"* (14) and *"Kovatocronon" (16),* the mapmaker wrote **a** -c- where an -e- would have been correct. A more significant error was his use of a -t- in place of an -r-. The significance of this lies in the fact that the letter -r- occurs in the Huron populative suffix *ron(n)on-* (Potier 1920:66). It means "people of" and appears in almost all the tribal names on "Novvelle France". In four instances on this map — *"Akhrakovaetonon"* (11), *"Khionontatetonon" (22),* *"Khiondakovananiactonon"* (27) and *"Aovechissaetonon"* (42) — the incorrect *-tonon*is written instead of *-ronon-*. Thus, the mapmaker would probably not have been a Jesuit (for an opposing view, see Stothers, 1983), as any missionary sent to New France would have been trained in the Huron language from the very beginning. One of the first lessons would surely have included *-ronon-*.

One non-Jesuit candidate for the mapmaker is Jean Bourdon, a man who was in New France at the right time and who drew other maps of the period (Heidenreich 1988:86).

An analysis of the map's Huron words

We know that the vast majority of the names that appear on "Novvelle France" are tribal names because they end with *-ronon-* (or the incorrectly written *-tonon-).* A feature of Huron tribal naming, one that sometimes makes the people being referred to difficult to identify, is that many names are borrowed from other languages. When the source is another Iroquoian language, the borrowing brings no significant alteration. More often there is a replacing of "foreign" sounds with more familiar Huron ones, or the addition of *a morpheme* (meaningful word part) such as -ronon- to make the word more acceptable grammatically, a process sometimes referred to as "folk etymology" (Anthill 1972:92). Also frequent was "loan translation": taking the original term and translating it into Huron. Analysis of the Huron names will, whenever possible, entail translation of the words, or detection of borrowing, and identification of tribal affiliation.

The map's four regions

A. From Lake Champlain, south of Great Lakes, to Lake Superior

Among the names appearing in this region are those of the Five Nations of the Iroquois. All five names were borrowed, with little or no alteration except for copy errors, from the original in the Iroquois source language. The term *"Agnieronon"* (1) refers to the Mohawk, and appears to be a borrowing of their own name for themselves *kanyΛ?kehro•nΛ* (where -Λ- indicates a nasal - **e** - and -?- a glottal stop) (Fenton and Tooker 1978:478). In the dialect of Huron speaken by the Bear tribe *the phoneme* (significant sound unit) represented by the -k- here was non-existent, so it was dropped. In another Huron dialect we get *",annie,eronnon"* (FH1697:248), with the -,- showing **a** -y- equivalent for the Mohawk -k-. Pierrette Lagarde, who, in her analysis of Huron names for peoples, does not seem to entertain the idea that such names might be the product of straight borrowing or folk etymology, suggests that the Huron word is derived from the verb *",anniene" ,* meaning " to travel together in a canoe" (Lagarde 1987:414, using Potier 1920:397). The reasons for discounting this hypothesis are several. Scholars of the Mohawk name for themselves have long suggested that the term comes from a noun meaning "flint" (Fenton and Tooker 1978:478-479); the Huron

cognate is *",anniencha"* (FH1697:21). As all the other Huron names for the Iroquois are the products of borrowing, and as the majority of the tribal names in Huron were borrowed, or were the products of folk etymology or loan translation, the possibility of such an independently generated Huron term is slight.

"Onciocheronon" (2) refers to the Oneida. The Oneida term for themselves is "oneyote?a•ka•", "people of the erected stone" (Campisi 1978:489). It is based on the noun *-oney-* for "stone", represented by *-onci-* here (the *-c-* a copy error for *-e-*), the verb *-ote?-* "to stand", represented by *-oche-,* and the population suffix *-a•ka•-* (where -•- indicates a long vowel), which is equivalent in *meaning* to the Huron *-ronnon-*. The Huron term here must have been a borrowing from Oneida or some other Iroquois language, as there is no cognate for the noun, and the cognate for the verb takes the different form *"8t"* (Potier 1920:437). While in some instances *-8t-* does appear in the term, as for example "Onnei8tronnon" (FH1697:248), the fact that it at least sometimes takes the Iroquois form still points to a borrowing.

"Onontoaeronon" (3) refers to the Onondaga. They term themselves *"onçtá?ka?ka?"* ; where -ç- refers to a nasal -o-. (Blau, Campisi and Tooker 1978:499), meaning "people on the hill". In Huron forms this typically appears as "Onontaehronon" (JR13:45 and JR18:233) in the Bear dialect and as some version of "Onnonta,eronnon" in another dialect (FH1697:248, JR28:275 and 293, JR29:145, 147 and 157, and JR30:227 and 257), with the same meaning (Potier 1920:451 and Lagarde 1987:412 for the noun). The -o- after the noun *-non:-* in the form in the map is somewhat confusing. Perhaps the writer was influenced by the similar term for the Seneca.

"Onioenronnon" (6) refers to the Cayuga. It appears to be a Bear dialect attempt to deal with one of the two similar terms that the Cauyga use to refer to themselves that is also used by speakers of the other languages of the Iroquois: *kayohkwʌhó•nç?* (White, Engelbrecht and Tooker 1978:503). No satisfactory etymology of this word exists although Lagarde makes a questionable attempt in Huron (Lagarde 1987:413).

"Sonontocronon" (7) refers to the Seneca. The -c- is a miscopy of the *-e-* that appears in contemporary references to the Seneca in the Jesuit *Relations* (JR8:115-6, 68-9, 1635; JR18:232-3, 1640; JR21:208-9, 211-2 and 220-1, 1641; and JR24:270, 1643). The Seneca word for themselves,

"onçtowa?ka" and related terms in other languages of the Iroquois translate as "people of the big hill" (Abler and Tooker 1978:516). I suspect that, although the Huron had cognates for the noun meaning "hill" (Potier 1920:451) and for the main element adding the sense of "big" which appears as ",8annen" in Potier (Potier 1920:254), this was a borrowed term. The fact that the part following the noun looks so different from ",8annen" is one reason for this suspicion.

The name *"Chonkande"* (5) is **a** poor quality copying of a term that shows up elsewhere as the placename "Onthrandeen" (Sagard 1939:53), "kontrande,en" (JR30:164, the -,- here, as elsewhere, representing a -y- like sound), "Conkhandeenrhonons" (JR 8:114) and "konkhandeenhronon" (JR18:236). The last two terms translate as "people who are joined " (Steckley 1984:33-34, Potier 1920:282 and Lagarde 1987:410). This could denote a regular, temporary coming together of the Huron with their allies who spoke Algonquian languages. Also possible, although less likely, is that the term refers to a people formed by a more permanent fusing of two formerly separate groups.

In the midst of the names for the Iroquois nations is "Onontioronon" (4). It means "people of the large hill". (Potier 1920:396 and 451). There is a distinct possibility that this refers to at least one part of the Andaste or Susquehannock nation, who lived roughly where this name appears on the map, and whose name is conspicuous by its absence from the map. In 1661, one of the tribes that made up the Susquehannock alliance or confederacy was given as "Sconondihago" (Jennings 1978:363). The linguistic argument that this is another version of Onontioronon is as follows. The initial -Sc- could be adding an optional sense of "very" (see Potier 1920:68 and 71 for Huron examples with -s- and -ts-), much as the -s- does in the Mohawk version of the Mohawk name for the Seneca (Abler and Tooker 1978:516), an element absent in the otherwise identical form in Seneca. The *-hag- is* likely the populative suffix that appears as *-a•ka•-* in the Oneida term for themselves, given above, and which is seen as *-hak-* in the Huron terms for the Huron Cord tribe, "hatingeennoniahak", and for the French, "hatinnion,enhak". The final -o- could be misplaced in copying, properly belonging after the -i-. Two other of the tribal names of the Susquehannock ended with *-haga-* (op. cit.) In the Jesuit *Relation* of 1670 (JR54:81) there appears the name "Onnontioga", referring to a people who joined with refugees from the Tahontaenrat Huron and the

Neutral to live in the village of Gandougarae in Seneca country in western New York State. The final *-ga-* could be how the populative suffix appears there, with all three terms referring to the same "people of the large hill", a branch of the Susequehannock.

The name *Akhrakovaetonon" (11),* located between "lac Des Gens Dv Chats" and "Lacs De Sainct LOVYS", refers to a group of Iroquoian speakers who were dispersed by the Iroquois in the early 1650s. This name appears elsewhere as "Akhrakuaeronon" and "Trakwaerronnons" (JR45:207), and as the name for their village "Atra^c^kwae" (JR36:141), "Atra^c^kwa,e" (JR37:111) (the -^c^- signifies an -h- like sound), and "Trakwae" (Potier 1920:662). The name can be translated literally as "people of where the sun is", with the probable meaning "people of the east" (Potier 1920:169, 325 and 452; Steckley 1985a:12-13 and Lagarde 1987:423). This possibly refers to their living east of the Niagara River, or even to the fact that their earlier homes had been located further east. Most writers identify these people with the Neutral, but the possibilities that they were linked to the Susquehannock, or that they were independent, cannot yet be ruled out.

Appearing as two versions of one term are *"Atiovandarons"* (12) and *"Attiovandarons" (21).* This term, associated with the Neutral, was translated in the Jesuit *Relations* as "people who speak a slightly different language" (JR21:193). The leading Iroquoian linguist Floyd Lounsbury suggests "they (who) understand the language" (White 1978:411). A literal translation would seem to be "their words are some distance away" (Potier 1920:329 and 452; Lagarde 1987:411), referring to the fact that the language of the Neutral was related to, but was not mutually intelligible with, that of the Huron.

The last Iroquoian people's name that appears on the map is *"Enrie,* Nation Dv Chat" (13). Contrary to the belief of a number of writers (White 1978:416; Lagarde 1987:416), the "chat" was not the "chat sauvage" or raccoon. "Enrie" is the Iroquoian term for "wildcat" (Mithun 1984:265), possibly a borrowing into Huron of the Erie's version of the name.

The name *"Ariotocro-non"* (14) appears more accurately in other documents as "Ahriottaehronon" (see Table 1), the copy errors being the -c-for *-e-* referred to above, and an -o- for *-a-* following the -t-. The meaning of the name is "people (who live) at the rock" (Potier 1920:453 and Lagarde

1987:425). Elsewhere (Steckley 1985b:127-128) I have argued that the similarity between this name and a placename in an 18th century list suggests that these people were located on what is now the Ecorse River, which flows into the Detroit River near the west end of Lake Erie. It is my opinion that along with another group not mentioned on this map, these were the Potawatomi (also missing from this map), prior to their dispersal in 1641.

"Oskovararonon" (15) is such an extreme example of folk etymology that it is possible that the Huron had borrowed a term that had already been through the process. The Algonquian-speaking Fox called themselves "meskwahki·haki", meaning "Red Earths" (Callender 1978:645). The Seneca represented it as "haskwahkihah" (Callender 1978:646), dropping the -m- that does not exist in Iroquoian languages. It may have been from such a half-way term, possibly from the Neutral, who were closer to the Fox, that the Huron term developed. Whether or not Huron was the original borrowing language, the -o- would make a well-formed Huron pronominal prefix, the added *-r-* giving it the appearance of a typical Huron noun (Potier 1920:445-455), and *-ronon-* making it a term for a people. It looks like the Huron noun "ok8ara", meaning "hair" (Potier 1920:453), leading Lagarde, who fails to consider folk etymology in her analysis of these terms, to etymologize this word incorrectly (Lagarde 1987:425).

Not far from "Oskovararonon"is another name for the Fox, *"Skenchioronon" (17).* This is based on the Iroquoian term for the animal "fox" (Mithun 1984:265). I suspect that the term was borrowed from another Iroquoian language, and was not generated from Huron roots as Lagarde avers in a highly improbable etymology (Lagarde 1987:426). Although there were several Huron terms for "fox" (Sagard 1939:222, FH 1697:231 and Potier 1920:448), "skenchio" only appears with reference to the Fox tribe (FH1697:176 and 248, and Potier 1920:154).

Often associated with the Fox were their neighbours, the Sauk. The term for these people that appears on "Novvelle France", "kovatocronon" (16) contains two copy errors: *-k-* for -h-, and -c- for -e-. Lag arde fails to recognize this in her analysis of the word, and this leads her into one of her two incorrect etymologies of the name. The clearest written form of this name is "8a^c^to,eron-non" (Potier 1920:154, JR18:234, as "Hvattoeh-ronon"). The most probable meaning is something like "people (who live) inside a hole in the ground"

(Potier 1920:401 and 446; for a similar use of the noun *-8at-* see the Wyandot term for Cherokee in Barbeau 1960:301). Lagarde's attempt to develop an etymology for this form founders on a violation of a basic structural principle of Huron: that is, you cannot have the semireflexive prefix *-at-* come between a noun root and a verb root). Whether this name is a loan translation, an example of folk etymology, or actually originated with the Huron, is unknown.

"Aictaeronon" (18) is difficult to interpret. The term appears only in "Novvelle France". The most likely interpretation I can discover is that it is a very bad attempt at copying "atsistaeronnon", a Bear dialect version of the name for the Mascoutins (JR18:22, 20:60, 30:88, 44:248 and 54:226). My reasons for claiming this is that Atsistaeronnon is otherwise missing from the map, and the name "Aictaeronon"appears where the Mascoutins are believed to have been, south of the Sauk and west of the Kickapoo (Trigger ed. 1978:ix). Atsistaeronnon means "people at the fire" (Potier 1920:454 and Lagarde 1987:426-427), matching the "GENS DE FEV" name that crosses that section of the map.

The term *"Ontarraronon"* (19) means "people of the lake" (Potier 1920:455 and Lagarde 1987:422). It refers to the Kickapoo (Potier 1920:154, "ontara,eronnon *kikap8"; and Callender, Pope and Pope 1978:667). What lake is being referred to is unknown to me.

"Aoventsiovaenronnon" (20) is a miscopy of a name that appears elsewhere as **"A8eatsi8aenrrhonon"** (JR10:82), "Aoueat-siouaenhronon" (JR18:234), "(Aoueatsiouaenron-non" (JR30:112), **"Aoeatsioaenronnon"** (JR34:204), and **"A8e,atsi8aen**ᶜronnons" (JR38:180). As we can see, the *-n-* **before the** *-t- is* **a copy error for -a-.** The name is developed from a noun -e(,)a- meaning "water" (Potier 1920:454) and a verb *-tsi8aen-* meaning "to taste or smell **bad"** (Potier 1920:369). We know that this refers to the Winnebago, as it is a loan translation of that name, which **also** means "dirty or **foul water"** (Lurie **1978:706), as does also in part the French term "Puans", sometimes used to identify the people who were referred to with the Huron loan translation (JR18:235 and JR34:205).**

B. Lower Ottawa River Valley

North of the Ottawa River and a short distance west of the St. Lawrence River we read the map entry *"Khionontateronon ou* **petite nation des Algonquins"** (22). **This refers to an Algonkin group typically called the Petite Nation or the Weskarini**

in the ethnohistorical literature. Khionontateronon means "people (who live) where there is a hill" (Potier 1920:360 and 451), and was usually used to speak of the Petun (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:396-397; Lagarde 1987:410-411). This is a descriptive name that could apply both to Petun country below the Niagara escarpment near Collingwood, Ontario, and to the country of the Petite Nation below the Laurentian escarpment.

"Ehonkeronon" (23) refers to the Kichesipirini ("large river people") Algonquin or "Algonquins de 1'Isle" (Table 1; Sagard 1865: Dictionnaire, "Nations, de quelle nation"; JR 17:164; Potier 1920:662). The most likely interpretation of this name is that it means "people of where there are geese", based on the word that typically shows up as ",ahonk" (Potier 1920:264, FH1697:232 and Lagarde 1987:420-421).

The term "*Sarontovane*" (24) means "very large tree" (Potier 1920:254 and 453). One interpretation of the use of this term is that the mapmaker copied in the wrong place one of the names given to the Oneida by the Mohawk and the Oneida themselves (Campisi 1978:490). There appears to be some history of misapplying this name, as **Champlain** seems to have misused one version of it, "Carantouan", to apply to the **Susquehannock** or Andaste (Steckley 1985a:11, 12 and 14).

The term *"Otohiaden"* (25) has two possible interpretations that I can see. One is that the word was actually "otechiaten", meaning "one carries something on his shoulders" (Potier 1920:213, #20), and possibly signifying the site of an important portage. On other **Huron maps** of the **period** there is **a** term for **portage, "Khionckiara**" or **"chion kiara" (Heidenreich** 1971: **maps** 15, **and** 12 **and 14, respectively), literally meaning "where they carry** something" (Potier 1920:188, #75).

The other interpretation is that the word was actually "otohiahen", meaning "it is split in two" (Potier 1920:406, #13), **possibly referring to the height of land between the Ottawa and Trent River systems. This is slightly closer to what appears on the Sanson maps of 1656 and 1657, "Otchiahen" and "Otehiahen" (Table 1).**

"Tovhiaronon" (26) **is a difficult term to deal with. It may be derived from the word for Montreal, "te otia,i" (Potier** 1920:154 **and 264) meaning "it is split in two" referring to the way in which the St. Lawrence River flows around Montreal Island.**

Situated more or less in the same place on Sanson's New France maps of 1656 and 1657 we

have "Tonthata = ronon" and "Tonthatar" respectively. While it is possible that "Tovkhiaronon" could also refer to this Algonquian group, whose name appears in the Jesuit *Relations* as "Tontthrataronons" (JR21:246), "Atontrataronnons" (JR27:36) and "Atontrate^cronnons" (JR38:172), it would have to have been very badly copied. More research is required.

C. Upper Ottawa River Valley

This part of the map is different from the rest. None of the terms occurs in the Jesuit *Relations,* and only three of them have the populative suffix *-ronon-*. The most difficult words to translate are in this section. All this argues that these names came from a different source from that which provided the other names.

A very challenging term to try to analyze is *"Khiondakovananiactonon" (27).* While the *-khi-* clearly means "where" (Potier 1920:26-27) and the *-tonon-* (a miscopy of *-ronon-)* obviously is the populative suffix, the rest of the word poses quite a problem. The most likely interpretation of "Khiondakovananiactonon" is that it is based on the verb "ak8a,annen", which means "to speak a language badly, to have a strange accent" (Potier 1920:168). A Wyandot version of this verb was used to refer to the Odawa (Steckley 1990), and speakers of other Iroquoian languages used it to refer to the Shawnee (Feest and Feest 1978:785). The -oral- following the *-khi-* provides the appropriate pronominal prefix, meaning "they" (Potier 1920:7). As this word is in the Bear dialect (which can be seen from the initial -khi-), which did not have the -,- phoneme, the verb would have had *-aa-* rather than -a,a-. Having an *-a-* represent this proposed *-aa- is* quite conceivable. The only problem with this hypothesis is the -ia-, the -c- probably representing an *-h-* like sound that often was recorded prior to the populative suffix. At this point I cannot explain its presence.

The term *"Chaovaeronon"* (28) appeared in Sagard's dictionary in the following entry:

"Montagnets. Chauoironon, Chaughagueronon" (Sagard 1865 Dictionnaire "Nations, de quelle nation")

I suspect that this name is a folk etymology referring to a southern branch of the Montagnais. It is the northernmost *-ronon-* name south of the area labelled "Montaignets" in the map. The part of the name preceding the *-ronon-* bears a strong resemblance to the Algonquian term for "south" (Aubin 1975:140). The term for "in the south" in

Eastern Ojibwa, for example is "sa:wenonk" *(ibid.)* In the 18th century a similar folk etymology appeared in a term for the Shawnee (a people whose name is based on the term for south) — "-cha8anonronron" — (Potier 1920:154).

"Terontov" (29) is difficult to interpret, as it is virtually impossible that it is a Huron word with *-ter-* , and as Huron words rarely end with -ov- (i.e. "8"). I suspect that the word involves the noun root *-ront-* meaning "tree" (Potier 1920:453) and the verb -o- meaning "to be in the water" (Potier 1920:401), possibly referring to a bridge *(ibid.)*

The word *"Aebneche"* (30) violates several rules of the Huron sound system, the most serious of which is the fact that there is no *-b-* in the language. Either, therefore, it is not a Huron word, or it is a badly miscopied one. It could be that the mapmaker was attempting to write "Abenaki", an Algonquian-speaking people who lived east of the St. Lawrence River. Alternatively, the form that he was trying to copy might have been a version of that which appears in Sanson's map of 1656 as "Agoyaheno". The most likely interpretation of this word is that it is "Aoiahenche", meaning "the pot is about to boil" (Potier 1920:263 #27). It could be a reference to what the river does there, such a pot reference not being unusual in an Iroquoian placename (see the Mohawk name "Canajoharie" in Lounsbury 1960:28).

"Aossond" (31) appears in Sanson's maps of 1656 and 1657 as "Assondi" and "Assodi" respectively. As far as I can see two interpretations are possible here. The term may be "Asondi", meaning "it forms or makes a plate" (Potier 1920:408 #26 and 453), possibly referring to the flatness of the area. In the map it is an area that is surrounded by hills. Alternatively, it may be an attempt to write "otsijondi" or "Atsiondi", the Huron term for pickerel (FH1697:232), a fish so important to the Huron that April was named "when the pickerel run" (Steckley 1983:11).

The term *"Incheke" (32),* presented in Sanson's maps more accurately as "Encheke", is easily seen to be the Huron term for "caribou" (FH1697:231). Interestingly, this has caribou northeast of Lake Nipissing, while an earlier reference, Champlain's "Carte de la Nouvelle France" of 1632, has "chasse des caribous" written south of Lake Nipissing.

The term *"Ohahavdeon"* (33) appears to be constructed with the noun *-ahah-,* meaning "path" (Potier 1920:445). While it is not yet certain, it is most likely that the term has been incorporated into the verb "ontion" (Potier 1920:425), which with

this noun would give the meaning "the path goes there".

"Erraon" (34) means "sturgeon" (FH 1697:232). While it is not unusual for a band or clan within a tribe to have this name (see "Nameuilini" in White 1971:331 and in Huron see Potier 1920:152), this seems not to be the case here. What we seem to have with "Aossond", "Incheke" and "Erraon" are references to the animal species locally available as resources. This is further suggested by the form that appears in the Sanson map of 1656: "Errahonanoate". This could be something like "eran annaoche" meaning "sturgeon, it runs" (Potier 1920; 301 #34; also see Steckley 1983 for similar terms naming months after the availability or runs of fish).

The terms *"Chi oaentonati"* (35) and *"aentondab"* (36) are treated together here because I suspect that there is a relationship between them. These terms are difficult to translate, but I believe that they both bear the noun root *-ent-,* meaning "pole, tree" (Potier 1920:446), which appears in a number of Huron placenames (e.g. in "ekaentoto", meaning "where there are plenty of trees, poles", a term for Manitoulin Island; see Du Creux's map of 1660 in Heidenreich 1971:map 11). One possibility for the verb into which the noun is incorporated is *-,ondat-,* meaning "to become large" (Potier 1920:253-254). If such is the case, then the translation could be as follows: "chi 8aentondati", "before the poles, trees become large"; and "aentondache" (see "Aentodac" in Table 1), "the poles, trees are becoming larger".

The last two terms will require additional research before anything definite can be said about them. *"Khiokhiac"* (37) means "it (river) is split in two" (Potier 1920:264; see the term for Montreal). North of the name, the river does just that.

"Kovatohota" (38) is extremely difficult for me to analyze. One possibility is that it means "where one gets out of the water" (Potier 1920:403).

D. Georgian Bay to Lake Superior

"Eachiriovachronon" (34) is another example of folk etymology, a "Huronized" version of the Algonquian word that appears in the Jesuit *Relations* as "Atchiligouan" (JR18:230), with the *-r-* replacing the -1- that does not exist in Huron (see this also in JR38:130, "Achir8achronnon"). It refers to what may either be called an Ojibwa band or grouping of bands (Rogers 1978:770).

"Elsovtaironon" (40), on the other hand, is a loan translation of "Amikwa", the name for a band or group of bands of the Ojibwa (Rogers 1978:770). Amikwa means "beaver" (Aubin 1975:10 #129). The Huron term for beaver is "ets8tai" (FH1697:231). Thus we have in this case a word meaning "beaver people" with the mapmaker committing the copy error of putting an -1- where a *-t-* should have been. As there is no -1- in Huron, this provides additional evidence that the writer was not familiar with the language.

The term *"Aovechissaeto — non"* (42) appears in the Jesuit *Relations* as "Aoechisaeronon" (JR34:204) and "a8echisae^{c}ronnon" (JR38:180), and earlier in Sagard as "Chiserhonon" (Sagard 1865 Dictionnaire "Nations, de quelle nation"). It is a rather extreme case of folk etymology, making almost completely unrecognizable the Algonquian name for another Ojibwa group, the Mississauga (Rogers 1978:769). It has such a changed form that Lagarde mistakenly linked it with ",atsista,eron-non", the name for the Mascoutins (Lagarde 1987:417).

"Skiaeronon" (43) is the term for the Saulteaux (Rogers 1978:769-770), the people who lived near the rapids/waterfalls of what is now Sault Ste. Marie. It is a difficult term to analyze. It bears little resemblance to the Algonquian word for the Saulteaux, that appears in the Jesuit *Relations* as "baouichtigouian"(JR18:230), "Pauo-itigoueieuhak" (JR23:222), "Paouitagoung" (JR33:148), "Pagouitik" (JR44:251) and "Pahouiting dach Irini" (JR54:132). It appears in Huron in the 17th century as "Squierhonon", "Eskiaeronnon" and "Enskia,e^{c}ronnon" (Sagard 1865 Dictionnaire "Nations, de quelle nation"; JR34:204 and JR38:180, respectively). The possibility with the greatest likelihood is that it is derived from the noun ",ia", meaning "canoe" (Potier 1920:455). In two Huron dictionaries, this noun plus the location noun suffix -(,)e- (see [44] below) and *-ronnon- is* presented as meaning "les navigateurs" (HF59) and "mattelot" (HF62; sailor). Add the repetitive suffix -(e)s- (Potier 1920:24-5 and see the discussion in nare [4]), which changes -,- to -k-, and we could have "people characterized as canoeists". In the 18th century, two terms seem to have emerged, one for the place, "te oskonchia,e" meaning "there are two waterfalls" (Potier 1920:242 #80 and 453) and one for the people, "ekieeronnon" (Potier 1920:154). The latter term could mean "people of where they (i.e. the waterfalls) are two" (Potier 1920:264 and 26-27). This may represent the completion of the folk etymology process, wherein an originally meaningless Algonquin term came to have meaning when the Huron learned more about

the nature of the area.

The main component of the name "Astaovanchaero — non" (44) is -astaovanch-, meaning "rattle", particularly a turtle shell, what was typically termed "chichikoi" in the ethnohistorical literature (see "Chichicoyas"in Kinietz 1965; and ",asta8ench^ra" in Potier 1920:453). With the -ae as the locative noun suffix (Potier 1920:76 "ad... apud... in" and 77 "Dc.. . e... ex") appearing in nares (1), (2), (3), (7), (11), (14), (18), (23), (28) and (43) and the populative suffix -ronon- we get the translation "people (who live) where the rattle

is".

There are two interpretations that can be made concerning this name, both of which include the notion that it is a loan translation. One alternative is that the turtle meaning was primary, that animal being a significant image in the area. "Michilimackinac", for example, means "large turtle". The second, and more likely, alternative is that the noun was used in the Huron word for rattlesnake, "osta8enchont" meaning "it has rattles attached to it" (FH1697:193 and Potier 1920:418 #52). This would make the name a loan translation for "Nadovess — ro", discussed below, which involves the Algonquian term for rattlesnake. Thus we could have, as with the Fox, a pair of names drawn from two linguistic sources, Iroquoian and Algonquian, referring to one group.

"Nadovess— ro" (45) is a folk etymology of the Algonquian word "natowe", referring both to rattlesnakes and to disliked speakers of the Iroquoian and Siouan language families (Tooker 1978:406; J. Hewitt, in White 1971:325-326). In this case the reference is to the Sioux (cf. FH1697:248 "les scioux Nad8echioronnon").

Conclusions

Two main types of conclusions can be derived from the preceding analysis. We have already seen one, the identification of the locations of Great Lakes tribes prior to the dispersals of the late 1640s and the 1650s. Additionally, from the analysis of the Huron words on the map, specifically of the names of tribes, conclusions can be drawn concerning the nature of the Huron naming of "outsiders", conclusions that can be verified by looking at Huron names for people not on the map and at names assigned to individual French people. We can say that the Huron's names for peoples were frequently, perhaps typically, borrowed. The source was either the people themselves, or was another tribe closer to them than the Huron. The

borrowing process could involve some restructuring of the original term. The populative suffix -ronnon- would be added to the term (see names numbered 15, 20, 28, 34, 40, 42 and 45) or it would replace another populative suffix — the Iroquois -hak- (see 2 and 3). If the original term has a foreign element, such as an -1-, -m-, or -p-, the Huron changed it either by translating the term (see 18, 20 and 40, a loan translation in other words), or by reworking the sound to make it "more Huron" (see 15, 34 and 42), a process I have here termed folk etymology.

A form of verification for this hypothesis can be provided by Huron names for peoples not on the map, peoples for which we know both the original term and the derived Huron one. Loan translations exist in the Huron terms for the Micmac, Miami and Inuit.

The Micmac, living in what are now New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, were called "porcupines" by their neighbours to the west, the Malecite (White 1971:290). The Huron called them "tsi,enronnon" (FH1697:248) or "tsinnienronnon" (Potier 1920:154). This appears to be derived from a Huron term for porcupine that we see in the Wyandot "tsinE?^Eka'?a" (Barbeau 1960:133 #43-44).

The Miami have a tradition that their original name was `Twaatwaa' or "Twautwau", a name imitating the sound of the crane (Callender 1978:688). The Huron name for the Miami was recorded in 1640 as "Attochingochronon" (JR 18:234; cf. FH 1697:248). This is based upon the Huron word for crane "atochingot" (FH1697:232; Potier 1920:445 and 446).

The word "Eskimo" is derived from a Micmac word referring to the fact that the Inuit ate much of their meat, fish and blubber raw. Two Huron terms for Inuit that appear in Jesuit Father Pierre Potier's writings are "ok8ch iech-ronnon" (Potier 1920:408 #20) and "ok8chtronnon" (Potier 1920:408 #20 and 154). Both are based on a verb meaning "to be raw" (Potier 1920:252 #3). The first version thus means "people who eat things raw", the second "raw people".

Restructuring a borrowed word containing foreign sounds happens in the Huron words for the Spanish (i.e. espagnols), and the Potawatomi. In the first case we have two sounds alien to Huron: -p- and -1-. In the altered Huron form -p- was replaced by the fellow labial (consonant formed with the lips) -kw-, and -1- by -n-. The populative suffix -ronnon- was added to give us "Esk8annionron-
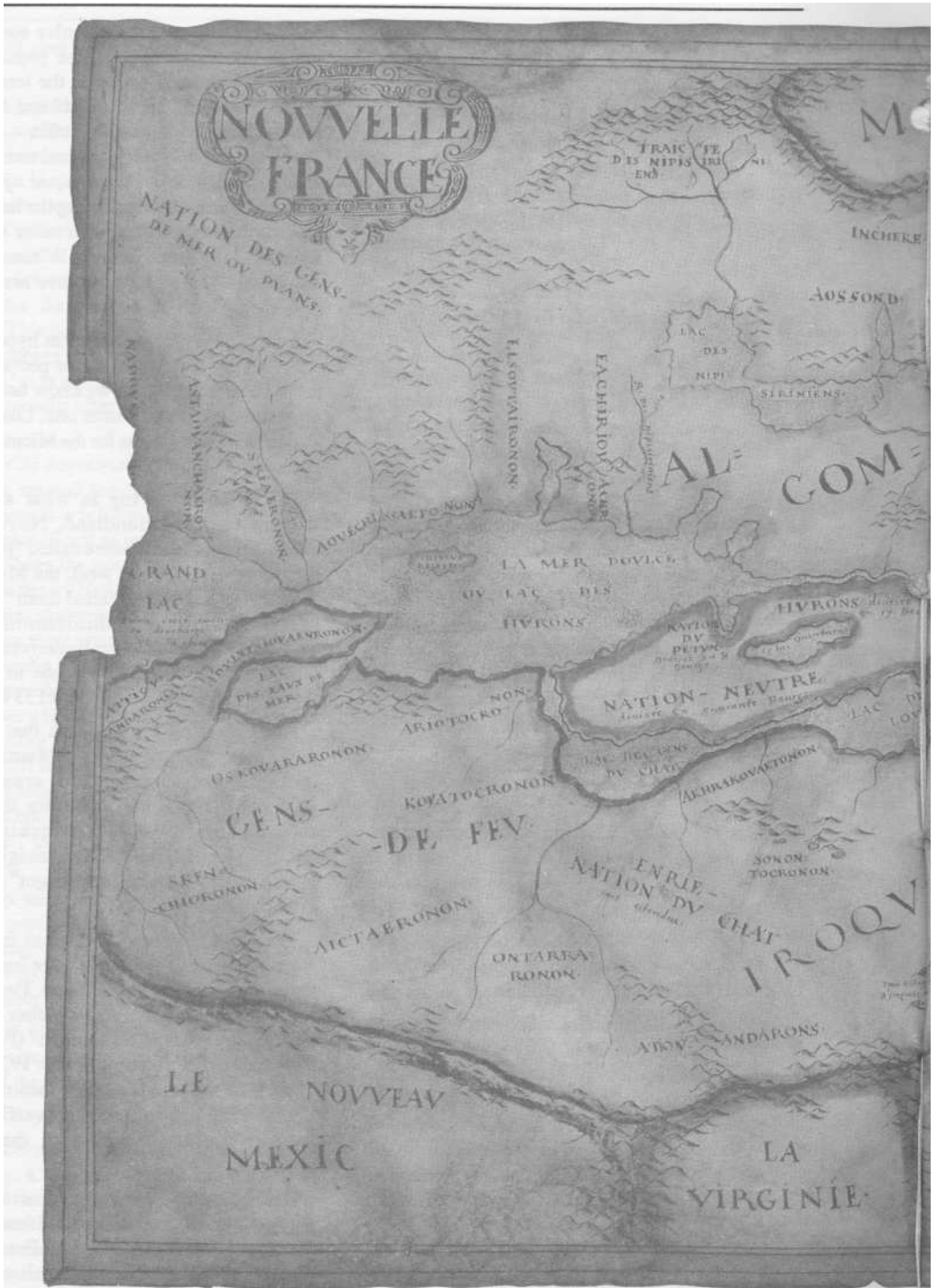
The map NOVVELLE FRANCE is reproduced by permission of the Hydrographer of the Navy, Taunton, England, and produced in co-operation with the Huronia Museum, Midland, Ontario; the Institute for Great Lakes Research of Bowling Green State University, Ohio; Theodore D. Wakefield, Clifton, Ohio; and

non" (FH1697:248 and Potier 1920:154).

According to J. A. Clifton:

The name Potawatomi is from Ojibwa *po•te•wa•tami,* which corresponds to the Potawatomi self-designation *potewatmi.* (Clifton 1978:741).

We know that *-p-* and *-m-* do not exist in Huron, so the word would have to be altered. In the Jesuit *Relations* the term shows up as "Ondatouatandy" (JR33:151) and "A,otonatendia" (JR38:181). The -p- has been dropped and the *-m-* has become an -n-. Nasal vowels (indicated by vowels followed by *-n-* in the Jesuit writing) followed by oral vowels such as -i- tended to have a *-d-* between them. This is what developed in this form. The initial syllables *-ond-* and -a,o- are pronominal prefixes that can be used with *-a-* conjugation verbs to mean "they".

Huron names for the French also often involved loan translations and reworked borrowings (Steckley 1986). Concerning the former phenomenon we have "Arioo" for Pierre Chastellain (JR16:238). It appears to be a bad recopying of ˮ,ari8ᶜta", meaning "pierre" or "stone" (Potier 1920:453). Guillaume Couture (the last name meaning "sewing") was termed "ihandich", "he sews" by the Huron (JR28:183; Potier 1920:291 #100). The French Governor Montmagny had his name loan translated into "Onnontio" (initially JR35:165 and JR36:103), meaning "large hill" (Potier 1920:396 and 451). It became the Huron name for subsequent French governors.

Two reworked names appeared for Marie, "Onarie" (Steckley 1978:110) and later "8arie" (JR10:72 and JR41:166, 168 and 174). Huron did not have the sound represented by -j- in French. The closest sound was that represented by -ch-. Therefore Jean de Brébeuf was called "Hechon", the *-he-* adding a masculine pronominal prefix to the word (JR8:92, 96 and 98). A similar reworking occurred with "Chauose" for Francois Joseph Le Mercier (JR16:239), with -s- the closest thing to the *-f-* sound that ended the word "Joseph".

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