

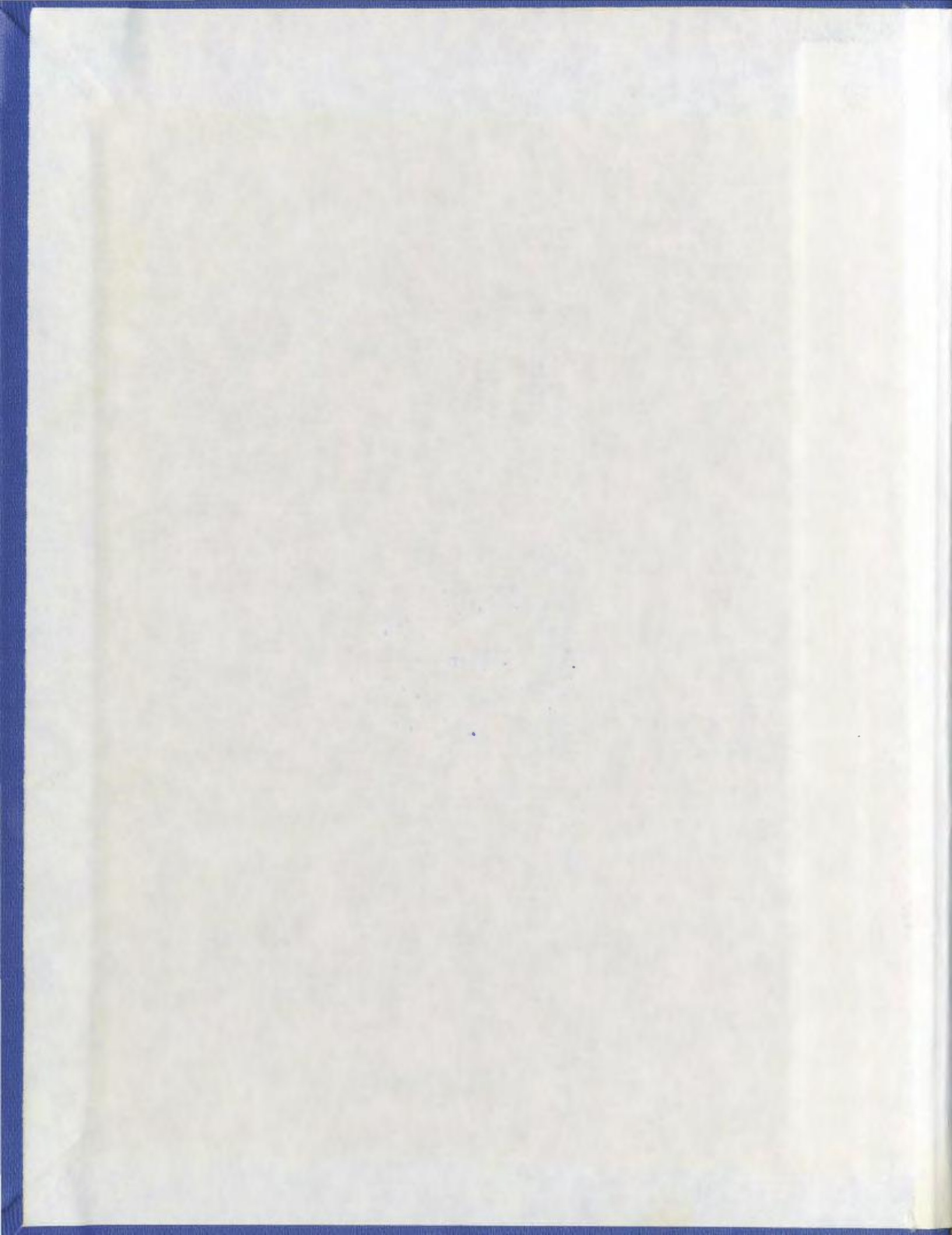
THE SOUL CONCEPTS OF
THE HURON

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

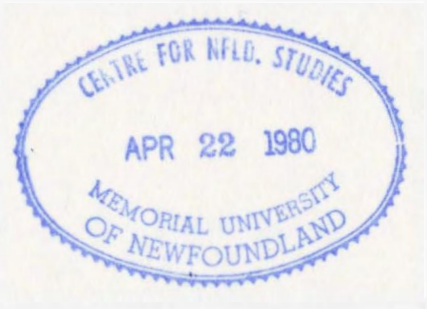
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Thesis

THE SOUL CONCEPTS OF THE HURON

by

John Lawson Steckley



A Thesis submitted in partial fulfil-
ment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

Department of Anthropology
Memorial University of Newfoundland
January 1977.

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I wish to acknowledge the kind and generous assistance given me by Prof. Roy Wright, who has helped me both academically and personally. I wish also to thank my wife Joni, she endured my company and supported me financially and psychologically while I was writing this paper. Thanks also go to Prof. John Hewson, the Institute of Social and Economic Research, my family, and the people of Newfoundland.

A speech delivered by John Hicks, a Wyandot chief, to a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1816 (Finley, 1971, p245):

"My friend, as you have given liberty to any one who has objections to the doctrines you teach, to speak on the subject and state their objections, I, for one, feel myself called on to arise in the defense of the religion of my fathers. The Great Spirit has given his red children a religion to guide their feet, and to establish them in the good way, and we do not feel like leaving it so soon as you wish us to do... We are contented with it, because it suits our conditions, and is adapted to our capacities. Cast your eyes over the world, and you will see that the Great Spirit has given to every nation a religion suited to their condition, and these all differ. Is not this the work of the Great Spirit? My friend, your speaking so violently against our modes of worship is not calculated to do us much good. We are willing to receive good advice from you, but we are not willing to have the religion and customs of our fathers thus assailed and abused."

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Missionaries working with North American Indian peoples were engaged in a process of attempting to bridge gaps in communication between the worldviews of these peoples and those of the various European-Christian nations of which the missionaries were members. This process can be depicted as consisting of three interrelated goals:

- (1)-to understand that area of cognition which, for the Indian group being proselytized, pertained directly to 'religious matters';
- (2)-to express the main tenets of the Christian religion in terms which were meaningful in the language and belief system of that group;
- (3)-to influence the belief system of that Indian group so that it did not contain elements considered to be antithetical to Christian dogma and the conversion process.

One of the areas of greatest confusion that arose in the ensuing cognitive dialogue was that which surrounded the European-Christian concept of the 'soul'. The main aim of this study is to shed some light on the nature of this problem area. In viewing this microcosm, one can gain considerable insight into the dynamics of the macrocosm of Missionary/Indian interactional discourse.

Keeping this in mind, the three goals cited above will be investigated in terms of three of my own goals of analysis:

- (1)-to understand the area of cognition which, for a particular Indian group (the Huron), pertained directly to the soul concept, and to see how it was conceptualized by the missionaries;
- (2)-to perceive how the missionaries expressed the soul concept in the context of the language and belief system of that Indian group;
- (3)-to perceive how the belief system of that group was influenced by the missionaries' presentation of the soul concept and related ideas.

The operational definition of 'soul' that I am using in this paper is as follows: a soul is a spiritual entity, exclusively identified with a particular 'self' or individual, which interacts with other spiritual entities on behalf of the self. Its actions and state of being condition the behavior and very nature of the self; often as a direct consequence of this interaction.

A problem arises in this definition over what should be termed 'spiritual'. The distinction between spiritual and physical is seldom an absolute one; often making classification a difficult, if not impossible task. For the purposes of this paper, something will be labelled as 'spiritual' if it pertains directly to the forces of cause and effect controlled by beings which have no concrete, observable, physical form, yet who 'exist' as figures believed to influence the physical world in which concrete beings do exist.

In the European-Christian belief system of the missionaries, each individual had one soul, a spiritual being that was clearly distinct from the spiritual beings and forces with which it interacted. This soul had a two-stage existence of 'life' and 'afterlife'. In the former stage it was the spiritual half of a spiritual/physical partnership of soul and body. In the latter, it stood alone as the realization of the 'self'.

^{4a}
The spirit world of most Indian peoples was populated by several beings which could answer to the definition of soul given above, and several that existed on the conceptual border, barely distinguishable from the 'true souls'. The life-span of the Indian souls often did not neatly match up with the two-stage existence of their European-Christian counterpart. Death could terminate the existence of one soul, while

heralding the beginning of life for another.

In this rough generalization of differences, one can envision three potential areas of conceptual conflict:

- (1)-singularity versus plurality of souls;
- (2)-clear identification with 'self' as opposed to conceptual uncertainty;
- (3)-a lack of precise parallels in the life-span of souls.

Much of this study will be devoted to the problems arising from these fundamental cognitive conflicts.

My investigation will be made in the context of the Huron (or Huron/Wyandot) experience. This will involve a discussion of the Huron as an Iroquoian people, with pertinent data coming from the recorded languages and beliefs of other Iroquoian people. The justification for so doing is twofold: (a) close linguistic and cultural similarities existed between the Huron and other Iroquoian (or more properly 'Northern Iroquoian') peoples; (b) the Huron mission experience was transposed onto the work done with the Iroquois, often by the same missionaries. Much of what was learned linguistically and culturally in the Huron context was applied to work done with the Iroquois.

A History of the Huron

(a) the Catholic Mission Period: 1615 - 1794

The main focus of this study will be on the 'Catholic mission period'; the stretch of time during which there was a Catholic missionary among the Huron. As we will see shortly, this was not an unbroken stretch. The Wyandot (see below for identification), for example, went for many years without having regular contact with a priest. In the pages that follow, I will briefly outline the history of the mission

4
work of the Catholics, and the socio-political fate of the Huron during this period. Interspersed throughout this outline will be a discussion of the Huron texts from which I will be drawing most of my information, and the proper historical context in which should be considered.

The first missionary to actively proselytize the Huron was the Recollect Father Joseph Le Caron, who, in answer to Champlain's call for missionaries, came to New France in 1615. He entered Huronia in the summer of that year, remaining until May 22, 1616. Shortly afterwards, Le Caron, aided by a young Huron boy he had taken with him to Quebec, completed the first Huron dictionary.

From that point until 1623, there were no missionaries living with the Huron. In the summer of that year Le Caron returned, bringing with him Father Nicholas Viel, and Brother Gabriel Sagard (both Recollects). Le Caron and Sagard left the following summer, while Viel stayed on another year. On his way back from Huronia, Father Nicholas died.

In 1625, Le Caron completed a new Huron dictionary and presented it to the King of France. This manuscript, like its predecessor, has vanished without a trace. Sagard, however, wrote a dictionary that did survive. His "Dictionnaire de la langue Huronne" was published as an appendix to his book "Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons" in 1632. It is thought that this dictionary did not result solely from Sagard's fieldwork, but was compiled in collaboration with Le Caron, with additional assistance coming possibly from Etienne Brule and from the notes that Viel had made.

In 1625, the Recollect Father Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon obtained the consent of the Jesuits to assist the Recollects in their mission work in Canada. As a result, in the summer of that year, he arrived in New France with the Jesuit Fathers Jean de Brébeuf, Charles Lalemant,

and Ennemond Masse. No missionary went to Huronia that year, but, in the summer of 1626, Brebeuf, with d'Aillon and fellow Jesuit Anne de Noue (who had just arrived in New France that year), entered the Huron mission field. They departed at yearly intervals, with de Noue leaving in 1627, d'Aillon in 1628, and Brebeuf in 1629.

In 1611, the Jesuit Father Pierre Blard, who had been in Acadia and had worked with Indian people, stated that the Jesuits had resolved that no healthy native person would be baptized unless (JR3:149): "he had, according to the Holy Canons, been well initiated and catechized." As an integral part of this policy they had decided to place a high priority on translating into Indian languages (ibid):

"...the Lord's prayer, the Angelic salutation, the Creed, and the Commandments of God and of the Church, with a brief explanation of the Sacraments, and some prayers, for this was all the Theology they needed."

In order to fulfill these requirements in the Huron mission, Brebeuf worked at translating the elementary catechism, the "Doctrine Chrestienne", written by fellow Jesuit Jacques Ledesme (hereafter this document will be termed the 'Ledesme text'). Brebeuf completed his translation sometime between 1626 and 1629. It was published at Rouen in 1630, and again in 1632 as an appendix to the last edition of Champlain's "Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France". It was the first religious tract written in an Indian language ever to be published.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which Brebeuf was influenced by the writings and personal teachings of the Recollect missionaries Le Caron and Sagard, both before he entered Huronia, and during the time that he was translating the Ledesme text. As the Recollects and the Jesuits were on good terms during this period, it

is reasonable to assume that there was some flow of information from the former to the latter. There is some question, however, as to how useful this information proved to be in the Huron mission field. 10

My feeling is that Brebeuf, and the other Jesuit missionaries, learned only a few select phrases and concepts, together with a fragmented grammar of the Huron language, from the Recollects. A comparison of Sagard's dictionary with the Ledesma text reveals that there is a much higher degree of sophistication in orthography, recognition of phonemic distinction, and in knowledge of fairly complex points of Huron grammar in Brebeuf's work. Assuming that Sagard's dictionary represented the culmination of the linguistic efforts of the Recollects at that time, this suggests that, even at this early stage, Brebeuf had contributed much to missionary knowledge of the Huron language. 11

Between 1629 and 1633, owing mainly to the military triumphs of the English in New France, there were no French priests in Huronia. In the summer of 1634, Brebeuf, along with Fathers Antoine Daniel and Ambrose Davost reopened the Huron mission. From that time until 1650 there was always a Jesuit in that area.

To the best of my knowledge, only two surviving Huron texts were written during that period. Both are found in the Jesuit Relations, a collection of the writings of the Jesuits in North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first is a prayer recorded by Brebeuf in his 'Relation' of 1636 (JR10:68-73), written in the Huron village of Ihonatiria. ¹² The second is a longer prayer recorded by Father Hierosme Lalemant (who entered the Huron mission in 1638), in his 'Relation' of 1641, written at Sainte Marie Among the Hurons. (See

Appendix 'A' for a translation of both texts).

In the mid 1640's, the pressure put on Huronia by the marauding Iroquois became quite intense. In 1648 and 1649, a steady succession of Huron villages fell prey to this well-armed foe, causing Huronia to cease to be. During the course of that last year, most of the surviving Huron (approximately 8000), together with the remaining missionaries and a few other Frenchmen, gathered on an island (now known as Christian Island) situated just a short distance west of Huronia, where a mission had been established the previous year. They remained there to suffer through a winter of famine and disease, in which well over half of them died. In the spring, many more were killed while trying to escape from Iroquois war parties waiting on the mainland.

The fate of many of the fortunate survivors and their descendants is succinctly documented in the following quote taken from the introduction to the 15th Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, written by the Provincial Archivist, Alexander Fraser (Pxiv-vii):

"On the 10th of June, 1650, thirteen missionaries--called in from neighbouring villages--four lay-brothers, twenty-two donnes, eleven hired men, four boys, six soldiers and upwards of three hundred Indians, began their journey for Quebec, attracted there probably by a previous settlement of Hurons, for whom a mission had been established in 1637, at Sillery. They reached Quebec on the 28th of July and were joined later on by other contingents, who also sought safety from the relentless Iroquois. Their first encampment was at the French fort near the Hotel-Dieu Hospital. From there they moved in the spring of 1651 to the Island of Orleans, on which land had been secured for them. Here they were augmented by the Indians of the Sillery Mission, by Indians from Manitoulin Island, and from Three Rivers, until they became a settlement of seven to eight hundred souls. A surprise attack, with severe losses, by Iroquois in 1656 convinced them that even within sight of Quebec there was no protection for them against such implacable foes, and in its turn the Island of Orleans was abandoned for a site close to Fort St. Louis, known as Fort des Hurons, provided specially for their use. In 1668 they moved to Beauport, and a year afterwards to Cote St. Michel, where they remained until 1673. In this year they occupied Old Lorette,

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remaining until 1697, when their increasing number necessitating expansion, they made their last migration to New Lorette."

The group that had been at Isle d'Orleans appears to have been
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comprised mainly of three of the five Huron 'tribes' (see Appendix B): the Bear; the Rock; and the Barking Dogs. After the disastrous defeat of May, 1656, these three tribes decided to separate: the Bear tribe linked their fate with the Mohawk; the Rock joined the Onondaga; and the Barking Dogs decided to remain with the French, following the path outlined in the preceding quote.

Most of the members of the White Ears or Deer tribe of the Huron who had managed to survive the Iroquois attacks in Huronia, had, with some members of the Rock tribe, joined the Seneca a few years earlier, forming a separate village.
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Little is known of what happened to the fifth tribe; the Swamp-Dwellers. The socio-political structure was probably so weakened by the stunning defeats of the late 1640's that it ceased to function as a tribal unit. The eventual fate of the surviving members of the Swamp-Dwellers tribe was most likely determined by individual and small group choice.

Two Huron texts recorded at Isle d'Orleans before the Iroquois attack have survived. Both were prayers written by Father Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot and published with Father Francois Joseph le Mercier's relation of 1654 (see Appendix 'A' for translation).

Father Chaumonot, who entered the Huron mission field in the summer of 1639, quickly became one of the best students of the Huron language. After Brebeuf's martyrdom in 1649, Chaumonot became the most prominent figure in the linguistic work being done in that language.
15

In this study I will be making reference to several of the texts

written by Chaumonot. They are as follows:

- (1) A Huron grammar attributed to Chaumonot (n.d.); ¹⁶
- (2) A Lord's Prayer (1673) (see Appendix A for translation); ¹⁷
- (3) A vow to the Virgin (1678) (see Appendix A for translation); ¹⁸
- (4) A prayer in time of war (circa 1683)(see Appendix A for translation) ¹⁹
- (5) A French-Huron dictionary (circa 1683 (?)); ²⁰
- (6) A French-Huron dictionary (1690-2). ²¹

I will also be referring to the written works of two other missionaries who lived with the Huron at Lorette: Fathers Philippe Pierson, and Daniel Richer. Pierson was a contemporary of Chaumonot, entering New France in September, 1667, and dying at Lorette (i.e., Old Lorette) in 1688 (JR71:151). He wrote "Pour Le Dim/anche/: d'apres l'ascension/ histoire de gentilhomme q/u/i visitant La terre sainte meurs d'amour de dieu sur le mont des olives." (P542-6). ²² Richer was in New Lorette from 1715 to 1760 (Jones, 1909, P.455). His "De Religione", written sometime before or during 1751, is a document of some importance to this paper (P629-82).

Not all of the Huron shared the various fates described above. Some found refuge with the Petun or Tobacco tribe, their linguistically and culturally close (see on #6) neighbours to the southwest. The complex course that this mixed group and its descendants followed during the next half-century was carefully traced by J.N.B. Hewitt (Hodge, 1971, pp210-1):

"...in 1649, when the Iroquois had sacked on the the Tionontati Petun/ palisaded towns, the remainder of the tribe, in company with the refugee Hurons, sought an asylum on..Christian id... Finding that this place did not secure them from the Iroquois, the majority fled to Michilimakinac, Mich.....But even here the Iroquois would not permit them to rest, so they retreated eastward to Monitoulin island...Thence they were driven to

the Huronne, at the entrance to Green Bay, Wis., where the Ottawa and their allies sought shelter with them. From this point the fugitive Hurons, with some of the Ottawa and their allies, moved farther westward 7 or 8 leagues to the Potawatomi. Here, in 1657, the Hurons, numbering about 500 persons, erected a stout palisade...

Having murdered a party of Iroquois scouts and fearing the vengeance of the Iroquois, the Hurons remained here only a few months longer. Some migrated to their compatriots on Orleans id., and the others, in 1659-60, fled farther west to the Illinois country, in the Mississippi, where they were well received. It was not long before the Hurons found new enemies. The Sioux brooked no rivals, and as the Hurons numbered fewer than 500, they could not maintain their position against these new foes, and therefore withdrew to the source of Black r., Wis., where they were found in 1660. At last they decided to join the Ottawa, who were then settled at Chequamigon Bay, on the s. shore of Lake Superior, and chose a site opposite the Ottawa village. In 1665 Father Allouez, met them here and founded the mission of La Pointe du Saint Esprit between the Huron and the Ottawa villages. He laboured among them 3 years, but his success was not marked, for these Tionontati Hurons, never fully converted, had relapsed into paganism. Father Marquette succeeded Father Allouez in 1669. The Sioux, however, sought every possible pretext to assail the settlements of the Hurons and the Ottawa, and their numbers and known cruelty caused them to be so feared that the latter tribes during Marquette's regime withdrew to the French settlements, since the treaty of peace between the French and the Iroquois in 1666 had delivered them from their chief enemies. The Hurons, who had not forgotten the advantageous situation which Michilimackinac had previously afforded them, removed about 1670 to a point opposite the Island, where they built a palisaded village and where Marquette established the mission of St. Ignace."

In 1701 this group, historically known as the Wyandot, were fleeing

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from the threat of Seneca attack. In their search for a place to settle, they decided to stay near the French colony of Detroit, where they had been promised protection. In the course of the next half-century they established villages near Detroit, in Sandwich (later Amherstburg, Ontario), and in Sandusky, Ohio, on the south shore of Lake Erie.

Father Armand de la Richardie founded a mission among these people in 1728. To aid him in his work, Father Pierre Potier was sent from Lorette in June, 1744. Potier had been studying the Huron

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language under Father Richer since his arrival in Quebec in October, 1743. Within five months he had copied into two volumes ("Radices Linguae Huronicae, Tom I", completed by December 22, 1743; and "Radices Linguae Huronicae, Tom II", completed by February 18, 1744) the manuscript dictionaries on Huron verb and noun roots that had been compiled by Father Etienne de Carheil between the years of 1666 and 1700. (Father Jones, 1907, p457).

When he arrived at his first mission post in September, 1744, Potier encountered a mixed Huron-Petun dialect which was somewhat different from the Huron dialect he had become accustomed to in the writings of his predecessors and in the speech of the Huron at Lorette. This is only barely suggested in the Huron grammar ("Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae", P1-157, completed by May, 1745),²⁶ and the various treatises on religion that he rewrote or copied,²⁷ ("Extraits de l'Evangele", P456-682, completed in 1747), but it becomes more apparent in his revision of the two previously volumes of Huron roots ("Radices Huronicae", P159-454, completed²⁸ by September 20, 1751).

The period in which Potier lived with the Wyandot was a time of great turmoil for Indian and White alike. The Wyandot, although relatively small in number, had a powerful voice in the joint councils²⁹ held by tribes living in Ohio and Michigan. For the better part of the eighteenth century they were involved in every major struggle that took place in that crucial frontier.

Potier had arrived in Detroit at a time when the great Wyandot war chief Orontondi or Nicholas was working towards the formation of an alliance of Indian nations whose main purpose was to drive the French³⁰ out of the area. In 1745, as a step in this direction, a substantial

number of the Wyandot living near the French colony of Detroit left with Orontondi for the secluded marshes of Sandusky Bay, Lake Erie. By 1747, French-Indian relations had become so unstable that Potier's mission on Bois Blanc Island, situated just a short distance from the fort at Detroit, was abandoned for a safer location.

Scarcely had this threat subsided (with Orontondi's failure to capture Detroit) when, in 1754, the French and Indian war terminated the brief interlude of peace. The Wyandot, joined by their brothers from Lorette, figured prominently in that war. In 1755, they were key participants in the defeat of General Braddock's English and Colonial troops near the site of present-day Pittsburgh.

The early 1760's saw the decline in the fortunes of the French met with a corresponding increase in the determination of their Indian allies to dislodge the English from every foothold west of the Allegheny mountains. This determination resulted in the series of raids on English forts from 1763 to 1765 that became popularly known as the 'Pontiac Conspiracy'.

Although some Wyandot were strong supporters of Pontiac, the whole tribe did not join in the fighting. One small band of about 60 warriors, uncertain as to which path they should take was finally convinced not to fight by Potier, who threatened them with refusal to give the Holy Sacrament if they took an active part in the struggle.

(b) After the Catholic Mission Period

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When Potier died in 1781, no one took his place. The Wyandot were to go through the rest of their history without the presence of a resident Catholic missionary. Yet even though such was the case, most Wyandot, including those who had rejected the church and were

termed 'pagans' for so doing, remained at least nominally Catholic in a significant amount of their beliefs, prayers, hymns or songs, and religious paraphernalia.

This is important to keep in mind against the background of: (a) the relatively positive response of the Wyandot to native prophets such as Neolin, the Delaware visionary who provided the spiritual rationale for Pontiac in 1762-3; Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee shaman who performed the same function for Tecumseh in 1808-11; and Ganeodiyo or Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet from whose teachings and visions (from 1799 to 1815) the 'longhouse religion' was derived; and (b) the generally poor record of the Protestant sects which proselytized the Wyandot. During the course of over a century and a half of intermittent Catholic missionary work, elements of Catholicism had been integrated into the belief system of the Wyandot. The native prophets that many Wyandot listened to and believed, drew upon both Catholic and aboriginal elements in their revelations. The Protestant sects, however called for what amounted to a denial of both. The acceptance of the former would do little to take away from the 'Catholic' nature of the beliefs of the Wyandot, and could, particularly when coupled with the rejection of Protestantism, contribute to a further embedding of Catholicism in the thinking of the Wyandot.

During the last years of Potier's life, a new face began to appear on the battles between white men. They were no longer fought between English and French, but between British and Americans. The Wyandot, like most Indian nations on the American frontier, came to side with the British. When the peace following the War of 1812 brought an end to the fighting, this fact was given as one of the main justifications

for the wholesale land grab by American settlers. The Wyandot, as a
 'conquered' ³⁴ people who had sided with an 'enemy power', were to be
 pushed farther and farther west, on ever diminishing pieces of land. ³⁵

In 1815, the Wyandot owned a large tract of land encompassing
 much of present-day Ohio and Michigan. Within four years most of it
 was 'sold' under treaty provisions. ³⁶ In 1829 it was estimated
 that the Wyandot numbered about 600, ³⁷ most of whom lived on a reserve
 situated in the area surrounding what is now the town of Upper San-
 dusky, Wyandot County, Ohio. The rest were scattered in pockets of
 land in Ohio, Michigan, and Ontario: some were located at a place called
 Blanchard's Fork (possibly situated where the Blanchard River joins the
 Auglaize, or where it forks just northwest of Wyandot County, Ohio);
 about 40 lived just south of Detroit on the River Huron in Michigan;
 and about 100 were in the area of present-day Amherstburg in Essex
 County, Ontario. With the steady influx of white settlers, most
 of the Wyandot moved west to the site of what was to become Kansas
 City, Kansas. ³⁸ They stayed there from 1843 until 1855. In that
 year (P.D. Clarke, 1870, in Barbeau, 1915, p388):

"...the Wyandots made their last treaty with the United States
 Government; it was a final settlement. At this time, their
 number was reduced to about 560, their lands, what they had
 then, in common, were parcelled out to each head of families,
 and all of their funds in Government trust, the accumulation
 (by several different treaties) of about sixty years, and from
 which they had derived their annual income, was all paid over
 to them in three years, from the date of this last treaty,
 /they were/ citizens of the United States, but they were not
 required to swear allegiance to the Government of the United
 States."

After this treaty, the Wyandot moved south into Oklahoma,
 gradually at first, then in great numbers. In 1867, when they
 were reinstated as a tribal unit, they were given a reserve in the

northeast corner of that state.

The noted Canadian folklorist, Marius Barbeau, did field work with the far-flung remnants of the Huron and Wyandot from April, 1911, until September 1912. He wrote that at that time there were (Barbeau, 1915, p. ix):

"Six or seven hundred half-breed Hurons and Wyandots... still to be found; about three hundred and fifty of these live at Indian Lorette, over two hundred and fifty on Wyandotte and Seneca reservations /in Oklahoma/, and a small number in Anderdon Township, Ontario, Detroit, Michigan and Kansas City, Kansas." 40

The Huron at Lorette lost their last missionary, Father Etienne Girault, in 1794. Unlike the Wyandot, however, they continued to be under the constant influence of the French Catholic church. During the course of their history after settling at Lorette they had become more acculturated than their Oklahoma Wyandot counterparts (at least until the turn of the twentieth century.) During the eighteenth century they were often described in glowing terms as being the model for other Indian communities. 41 At the time that Barbeau was doing his field work, there was no one at Lorette 42 who still spoke Huron. Their native language was French.

Footnotes

- 1- Missionaries were involved in trying to understand more than just 'religious' matters, as indeed they attempted to express more than just the religious beliefs of Christianity. They tried to influence the belief system of the Indians in a broader range of matters than just to eliminate that which was not in accord with Christian dogma and the conversion process. I am merely attempting here to get at the main 'religious' aims or goals of the missionaries.
- 2- One should ask here the question of whether, while exclusively relying on biased reporting, one can not only judge the bias, but discern what it is that is being reported. My answer is a qualified yes. I believe that with the extensive documentation available in the source material, one can in some instances see through the cloud of missionary bias to determine what they were actually seeing.
- 3- This is intended to apply at any single given point in time. As we will see, some kinds of souls can be transferred from one individual to another. At any particular time, they should belong exclusively to one individual.
- 4- Such beings will hereafter be called 'spirits'.
- 4a- See Hultkrantz, 1953 and Frederiksen, 1968.
- 5- I will be using the term 'Huron' as a general term of reference and the term 'Wyandot' when the mixed Petun-Huron group is being specifically designated (see pages 8-13).
- 6- The Iroquoians are divided into two linguistically and culturally distinct groups: Northern, and Southern. The former was comprised of the Huron, Petun, Neutral, Erie, Andaste, and the six nations of

the Iroquois:-the Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida and Tuscarora. The sole member of the Southern Iroquoian group was (and is) the Cherokee.

7-The Fathers Pierre Chaumonot, Etienne de Carheil, and Jacques Bruyas, for example, all worked with the Huron and one or more Iroquois nation.

8-Father Chretien Le Clercq, a propagandist for the Recollects writing in 1691, asserted that the Recollect Father William Poulain spent some time in Huronia during the latter part of the summer of 1622 (Le Clercq, 1973, p345). Jones (1909, p443) cautioned that this assertion was not corroborated by any other author. He believed, and I concur, that Poulain was probably with the Nippissing at the time.

9-After Brebeuf returned to France in 1629, he completely revised his translation of the Ledesme text (Shea, 1855, p171-2). As I have only seen the 1632 publication, I do not know whether or not this revision affected both publications.

10-Father Chretien Le Clercq created a scenario in which the Recollects were portrayed as having learned a great deal about the Huron language and as a consequence, were quite helpful in their verbal and written instructions to the Jesuits (Le Clercq, 1973, p250-2). It is to be remembered, however, that Le Clercq often overstated the role played by his fellow Recollects. A more believable portrayal was made by Victor Hanzeli (Hanzeli, 1969, p 19) who wrote :

"The two orders worked hand in hand, concentrating on the three missionary centers that had been founded by the Recollects in Tadoussac, Three Rivers and Quebec. Le Caron, who seems to have been the best linguist among the Recollects, began to teach the newcomers the language of the Huron tribes on whom they were to concentrate their first missionary efforts. The manuscripts of Le Caron and Viel served as guides, but the Jesuits soon realized

the inadequacies of the latter and decided to go out to live among the natives to acquire the necessary practice in speaking their language."

11-Support for this suggestion comes not only from the evidence of Brebeuf's later work with the Huron language, but from the fact that Brebeuf had already proven himself to be a skilled linguist in Indian languages. He had demonstrated this by the surprising degree of success he had had with the Montagnais language before he had entered Huronia. He had lived with the Montagnais from the fall of 1625 to the early spring of 1626, and had managed to compose a rudimentary grammar and dictionary of their language. (Campbell, 1910, page 79).

12-Father Jones(1909,p187) incorrectly translated the name of this village as "The Little (Hamlet) above the Loaded Canoe."

13-To give tribal status to the five socio-political units making up the Huron nation may be a bit misleading. For this runs the risk of having the Huron confederacy confused with a political union of the stature of that of the Iroquois (a more sophisticated linking of groups of greater diversity). The divisions of the Huron do not seem to have achieved the full tribal status of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, Cayuga, and Tuscarora, yet they were distinctive enough in dialect and cultural tradition, and were separate enough politically, to be termed 'tribes' (See Tooker, 1967, p9-12; and Appendix B of this paper).

14-Father Paul Le Jeune wrote (JR44:21, 1657) that in the middle of the country of the Seneca there was:

"...the Huron village called Saint Michel, whose inhabitants sought refuge there to escape the general destruction of their nation. They retain their own customs and peculiar usages, and live apart from the Iroquois, satisfied to be united with them in good feeling and friendship."

(Also see JR36:179, JR46:28, JR44:321, 51:293, 54:81, 121)

15-His excellent linguistic efforts were not confined to the language of

the Huron. He also wrote dictionaries of the Neutral and Onondaga languages. (see Bibliography for letter)

16-Unfortunatly, the only copy of this grammar that I have seen is one that was translated from latin and french by John Wilkie in the early eighteen hundreds, later printed in the 15th Report of the Bureau of Archives of the Province of Ontario (P725-77). The translations are often awkward, even mistaken at times, and many of the Huron words have been altered in the printing process or in transcription. This lessens the value of this text as a historical document.

17-This is found in Daniel Wilson's "The Huron-Iroquois of Canada, a Typical Race of American Aborigines" (1885, p101)

Wilson wrote that the copy that he received (ibid):

"... is authenticated by M. Paul Picard Tshourenche, son of the late Huron chief, Tshourenche, and is accompanied by the following memorandum, from the pen of the Reverend Father, by whom it has been transcribed for me:

"Je soussigne certifie que la langue Huronne n'a pas changes. C'est la meme que a ete ecrit par le Reverend pere Jesuite Chaumonot, qui residait a l'ancienne Lorette avec le Reverend pere Jesuite Pierre Martin Bouvert, Procureur des Missions.

18-"Voeu a la Sainte Vierge de la nation des Hurons en langue Huronne, envoye a chapitre de Chartres en 1678", found in Chaumonot's autobiography (La vie du R.P. Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot de la Compagnie de Jesus, 1688, pl05-6).

19-The copy that I have seen is found in the 64th volume of the Jesuit Relations, as a photocopied illustration across from page 58. I do not know how the date of the text had been determined.

20-There is some question as to the actual date that this text was written. Rev. Prosper Vincent, a Huron priest resident at Lorette, wrote on September 2, 1909 that (unpublished letter found with manuscript):

"Je soussigne certifie avoir constamment entendu direr par mes parents

que ce Dictionnaire francais-huron avoit ete compose par le Pere Jean-Marie Chaumonot (Jesuite missionnaire des Hurons du Canada) circa 1663."

The copy found at John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, is catalogued, however, as being written circa 1683. To add further to the confusion is the fact that in one of the pages following the dictionary proper (p250) under the heading of "Les Missions", we find a name given for "l'ancienne Lorette" ("andatrake") and one for "Lorette" ("Rorake"). If "l'ancienne Lorette" received the qualifying adjective 'ancienne' only after the Huron had moved from the first Lorette to the second (in 1697), and if the writer of this part of the dictionary was also the author of the main text (a reasonable assumption as the handwriting appears to be the same, then one must assume that this dictionary was written sometime during or after 1697, several years after Chaumonot had died.

*The fact that a Lorette was mentioned as a Huron mission would seem to cast doubt on Rev. Prosper Vincent's assumption that this dictionary was written circa 1663. As we have already seen (p8), the Huron moved to Lorette in 1673.

21-For a description of the way that I arrived at this date, see Appendix C.

22-Pierson wrote other religious tracts that, like "Pour Le Dim/anche..." were printed in Potier's "Extraits de L'evangéle". They were:

- (a) "in ascensions Domini" (P539-42);
- (b) "histoire de N/otre/. Dame de Tongral" (P556-62); and
- (c) "festin des Noces" (P570-4).

"Pour Le Dim/anche/...." is the only one of these works by Pierson that I have used as reference material for this paper.

23-The proper term is 'etionnontateronnon' - 'the people who dwell where there is a mountain or hill'. This name was recorded in many different forms (see article by Hewitt in Hodge. 1971, pp 456-7).

24- This is according to the Wyandot historian P. D. Clarke, (in Barbeau, 1915, p377; also see page 362 taken from a manuscript written by Joseph Warrow).

25- Prior to this time, in the first few years of the eighteenth century, the Wyandot were ministered to from the mission in Detroit. When the missionaries there encountered strong opposition from the Wyandot leaders, their work with the Wyandot was halted.

26- Richard R. Elliot, who translated and edited the "Account Book of the Huron Mission at Detroit and Sandwich. (1740-1751)" (1891, p689-715), wrote that (P707-8, fn #20):

"Dr. John Gilmary Shea states in his "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll," 1888, that Father Potier composed a Huron grammar and vocabulary, taking Father Chaumont's /sic Chaumonot/ manuscript as a model..."

The various entries in Potier's grammar clearly reflect the fact that ~~it was based on the grammar attributed to Chaumonot~~ (or a similar text). The explanations and examples given in most entries are the same in both texts. As is to be expected, in Potier's grammar there are added sections and greater elaboration in certain places.

27- As is also the case with the grammar and the dictionary, one cannot truly say that Potier 'wrote' (i.e., created) the works recorded in the "Extraits de l'Evangele". Much of it was specifically attributed by Potier to earlier missionaries (i.e. Pierson and Richer). In the case of most, if not all, of the other works, Potier was probably merely copying what other, authors, not readily identifiable, had written, adding little in interpretation to what represented the culmination of almost a century and a half of missionary dialogue with the Huron. Repetition, not innovation was the main aim of the Jesuit missionary linguist. Further, the unidentified works were completed by July 2, 1746,

less than two years after Potier had arrived in Detroit. He would not yet have had time to learn enough to make a significant contribution. 28-The revisions consisted largely of additions made to a previously written manuscript. It is my belief that this previously written manuscript was one that Potier had begun after having arrived in Detroit.

Some of the more commonly found additions are as follows:

(a) The word 'non' was used to indicate that the immediately preceding entry, was not encountered by Potier in his work with the Wyandot: i.e., (P452) "adir ~~soon~~ (non)".

(b) The word 'valet' was used to indicate that the immediately preceding entry, was encountered by Potier in his work with the Wyandot: i.e., (P162, #9 "ache") "...achonkannion quantite de petites mares. (valet)."

(c) The word 'dic', followed by a word or phrase meant that word or phrase was what was encountered by Potier in his work with the Wyandot.

It was usually accompanied by a crossed out Huron word or phrase that had been written earlier: i.e., (P385, #47 "etsi") "...~~dic~~ ^{dic de inientsi} ~~vector~~ "

(d) Sometimes a super or subscript addition, accompanied by a crossed-out entry written previously, was used to indicate the same thing as

(c): i.e., (P336#19 "ararati ") "...~~chatirarati~~ ^{chatindiararak} ..."

29-See Parkman, 1855, pp21 and 135 Schoolcraft, part V, page 523, and part VI, pages 301, and 343, and Hewitt (~~Handbook (Canadian)~~ in Hodge, 1971, page 212.

30-Hewitt in Hodge, 1971, pp211-2) described the situation in the following way:

Orantony was a wily savage whose ermyty was greatly to be feared, and he commanded men who formed an alert uncrupulous, and powerful body. The French having provoked the bitter hatred of Nicholas, which was fomented by English agents, he conspired to destroy the French, not only

at Detroit but at the upper posts, and by Aug., 1747, all the tribes of the middle W., with the exception of those of the Illinois country, had entered into the conspiracy; but through the treachery of a Huron woman the plot was revealed to a Jesuit priest, who communicated the information to Longueuil, the French commander at Detroit, who in turn notified all the other French posts, and although a desultory warfare broke out, resulting in a number of murders, there was no concerted action. Orontony, finding that he had been deserted by his allies, and seeing the activity and determination of the French not to suffer English encroachments on what they called French territory, finally, in Apr., 1748, destroyed his villages and palisade at Sandusky, and removed, with 119 warriors and their families, to White r., Ind. Not long after he withdrew to the Illinois country on Ohio r., near the Indiana line, where he died in the autumn of 1748. The inflexible and determined conduct of Longueuil toward most the the conspiring tribes brought the coalition to an end by May, 1748."

31-For sometime after Potier's death, fervent Catholic Wyandot relied on priests at nearby trading posts (i.e., Fathers Hubert and Clapion) to perform religious functions.

32-Such features as prayer beads, silver crosses, and Catholic hymns and prayers, incorporated into the religious beliefs of the Wyandot, were often encountered by Protestant missionaries (see Finley, 1971, pp 233, 240, 245, and 477-8) .

33-According to William Langdon ("A Summary of Missions to the North American Indians", found in Schoolcraft, 1857, part VI), the Quakers preached to the Wyandot from 1804 to 1809 and had no converts or 'hearers' (ibid p732 "actual attendants upon public worship and the preaching of the gospel"). The American Baptist Missionary Union and the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who worked with the Wyandot during their periods of 1818-9; and 1819-44, and from 1849 until at least 1857, respectively, had similar results. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church South seems to have done a little better, with a reported 70 converts and 25 scholars resulting from missionary work done from 1844 to 1857.

James Finley (1971, pp264-9, 291, and 362), a preacher for the

Methodist Episcopal Church, claimed that missionaries from his church converted a large number of Wyandot at Upper Sandusky during the period from 1817 to around 1826. While there may have been momentary acceptance of the preacher's words, and emotional reaction to the frenzy of the camp meetings of the church, I seriously doubt if more than a very few lasting conversions were effected.

34-For a good explanatory illustration of the kind of thinking involved here, see Wallace, 1970, pages 150-4, regarding the fate of the Seneca after the American Revolution.

35-Following the American Revolution, for example, they were involved (along with neighbouring tribes such as the Delaware, Shawnee, and Ottawa) in a quick succession of treaty-justified land grabs. On August 3, 1795, at the Treaty of Greenville, they were among a group who signed away approximately 11,808,499 acres, at Fort Industry on July 4, 1805, 1,030,400 acres and at Detroit on November 17, 1807, 7,862,400 acres.

6

36-P. D. Clarke (in Barbeau, 1915, p388) stated that:

"In 1817, Lewis Cass, then Governor of Michigan, was commissioned to conclude treaties with Indians. He made a treaty at Fort Meigs in Ohio, with the Wyandotts of that state, by which they ceded a large tract of land, reserved a tract 12 by 14 miles, in the Sandusky River country. And before the Wyandott delegation signed the treaty, one of the Chiefs, named Between-logs, requested the Governor to add 6 miles (making it 14 by 18 miles reserve), for the Wyandotts in Canada, who, he said, might in the course of time become homeless..."

Hewitt (Hodge, 1971, p212) wrote that:

"After the peace of 1815 a large tract in Ohio and Michigan was confirmed to them, but they sold a large part of it in 1819, under treaty provisions, reserving a small portion near Upper Sandusky, Ohio, and a smaller area on Huron r., near Detroit...."

37-These figures were given by General Peter Porter, the American Secretary of War (in Schoolcraft, part III, p590).

38-P.D. Clarke (op.cit., Barbeau, 1915, p388):

"In 1842, the Wyandotts ceded all of their lands in Ohio. In the same year, it was decided in their council, at Upper Sandusky, to send an invitation to those of their nation in Canada, to join and emigrate with them to Kansas. But five families accepted this invitation. The emigration thither, took place in the summer of 1843; they then numbered about 800."

39-According to Clarke (ibid):

"A portion of this remnant of the Wyandot nation /i.e., those in Kansas/, still adhering to their ancient custom and mode of living, migrated some 200 miles southward, in Kansas, from now Wyandott city, and obtained a tract of land from the Senecas."

40-Hewitt (in Hodge, 1971, p212) stated that there were 378

Oklahoma Wyandot in 1905, and 487 Lorette Huron in 1911. Fraser,

in his introduction to the Potier manuscripts, (Pxxvii), wrote

that the population of Lorette was 488 in 1901, and 509 in 1904.

Jenness (1932, p299) gave 399 as the population of Lorette in

1924. The federal government publication "Linguistic and Cultur-

al Affiliations of Canadian Indian Bands", printed in 1970, stated

that there were 1,041 Huron at Lorette.

41-The following quote from a letter written by Pierre Charlevoix

on February 15, 1721 (1761, pl17) is a typical example:

"The inhabitants are savages, or Indians, but who derive nothing from their birth and origin but what is really estimable, that is to say, the simplicity and openness of the first ages of the world, together with those improvements which Grace has made upon them; a patriarchal faith, a sincere piety, that rectitude and docility of heart which constitute a true saint; an incredible innocence of manners; and lastly, pure Christianity, on which the world has not yet breathed that contagious air which corrupts it; and that frequently attended with acts of the most heroick virtue. Nothing can be more affecting than to hear them sing in two choirs, the men on one side, and the women on the other, the prayers and hymns of the church in their own language. Nor is there anything which can be compared to that fervour and modesty which they display in all their religious exercises; and I have never seen any one, who was not touched with it to the bottom of his heart."

42-At the turn of the twentieth century, Leon Gerin wrote that (1900,

p563):

"The Huron tongue is no longer spoken at Lorette. French has replaced it. Even the older members of the tribe, in answer to my inquiries, had the greatest difficulty in recalling a few disconnected words. Some of them could barely tell the meaning of their own Huron name which on exceptional occasions they affix to their every-day French. As far back as fifty years ago, the Huron tongue was already out of general use at Lorette."

Classification of the Soul Concept

One of the most difficult problems that one encounters when analysing the multi-faceted soul concepts of most North American Indian peoples is that of adequately classifying the various 'souls' that pertain to any given individual. What seems to me to be the most exhaustive treatment of this problem occurs in Ake Hultkrantz's book "The Conceptions of the Soul Among North American Indians". Unfortunately, while in itself Hultkrantz's system of soul classification is a useful analytical device, it was employed by the author to map out a questionable theory of the 'evolution' of soul concepts. One should not completely reject it on these grounds, however, as it is possible to disregard the notions of linear development in Hultkrantz's thinking without taking away from the value of the rest of his theorizing.

In the pages that follow, I will attempt to outline what I have judged to be the most useful parts of his classification system in terms of the aims of this study.

(a) Body-Souls

Following the work of Ernst Arbmán (Untersuchungen zur primitiven Seelenvorstellung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Indien", in Le Monde Oriental, vol. 20, 1927) Hultkrantz identified one basic category of souls as being that of body-souls. In his interpretation of the term, body-souls are those which (1953, p27):

"...endow man with life and consciousness, and which on account of their functions and permanent connection with the body and its organs he [Arbmán] refers to as functional souls or body souls.../The idea of the body-soul may easily be split up into a number of functional souls bound to different organs whose vital principles they are. By the side of the separate life-souls the great embracing body-souls can exist as a general expression for the total life in the organism; no contradiction is felt in this...Also of importance are the souls giving expression to the ego-consciousness; Arbmán calls them ego-souls (Ichseelen)." /emphasis mine/

The distinction made above between life-souls and ego-souls is a crucial one. Each one of these two types of body-souls represents one of the polar extremities that makes up the fundamental dualism contained within the body-soul concept.

According to Hultkrantz, the life-soul (in its 'pure' form) is characterized as follows (op.cit., p149):

"The life-soul is the real organ or function-soul of the body, the 'motor' responsible for the vital manifestations of the individual and evincing itself, accordingly, in the respiration, the activity of the heart, the beat of the pulse, the circulation of the blood and the muscle movements. Since in this way life appears split up in many places simultaneously, the vital principle may also be subdivided among several lesser life-souls, whose existence does not, however, exclude the presence of a life-soul holding all the parts together."

He goes on to point out that a life-soul (op.cit., p151):

"...is a potency in the individual which is not identical with particular organs but is a source of strength which imbues these organs -or the individual himself-with life and activity."

On the other end of the scale of body-souls, the ego-soul is described as being (op.cit., p208):

"...a body soul of a rather heterogeneous and sometimes obscure nature. In its 'pure' form it constitutes a hypostasis of the stream of consciousness, the centre for thinking, willing and feeling-the 'mind' in a wide sense. But at the same time as in this way the ego-soul shows its close kinship with our concept of the ego, it manifests certain peculiar features which make it clear that it is not an expression for the individual's own personality, but a being within the individual which endows him with the thought and will etc.."

Like the concept of the body-soul, the ego-soul concept contains within it two contrasting aspects which can, in turn, represent or can be represented by separate souls: one pertaining specifically to the emotions or feelings of the individual, an 'emotive-soul'; and one which pertains specifically to reason, understanding, memory, or simply thought, an 'intellect-soul'.

(b) Free-Souls

In opposition to the notion of the soul associated with the body,

Hultkrantz placed the concept of the free-soul. The free-soul is often a hard entity to pin down conceptually. It can vary dramatically. Hultkrantz described two sorts of distinctions which are useful in analysing free-souls: (a) 'specific' as opposed to 'psychological' free-souls; (b) 'non-objectified' or 'pure' as opposed to 'objectified' free-souls.

According to Hultkrantz, a specific free-soul is one which (op.cit., p241):

"...never functions as a body-soul but which appears as an extra-physical soul. It is commonly identical with the soul of dreams... When it does not function outside the body it is passive."

On the other hand, the psychological free-soul is (ibid):

"...a soul that on a given occasion functions as an extra-physical soul. Ideologically is /sic 'it'/' represents a soul which, when not appearing as an extra-physical soul, is either a passive entity (the free-soul is a restricted sense, the 'specific' free soul) or else an active body-soul (life-soul, ego-soul)."

To avoid the confusion that can easily result from use of these terms (and from the fact that a specific free-soul is, by its very nature, also a psychological free-soul), I will replace them with terms of my own: Part-time and full-time free-souls. A full-time free-soul corresponds to Hultkrantz's category of specific free-souls, and a part-time free-soul corresponds to his category of psychological free-soul with the specific free-souls removed.

Unlike the specific and psychological free-souls, the non-objectified and objectified free-souls were not explicitly identified as being distinct types of souls. Hultkrantz described several different kinds of free-souls and expressed his belief that each one could become more or less 'objectified', that is, each could be strongly identified with the self (non-objectified), or it could be conceived of as being an 'object' outside of the self (objectified).⁵ In his

characterization of the former, two significant points seem to emerge:

- (a) the physical resemblance of the soul to the physical self; and
- (b) the lack of supernatural or spiritual power possessed by the soul.

On the other hand, the objectified soul does not generally resemble the individual and it possesses great power. This characterization is most closely approximated in the figure of the "guardian-soul". According to Hultkrantz (op.cit., p374), this soul is:

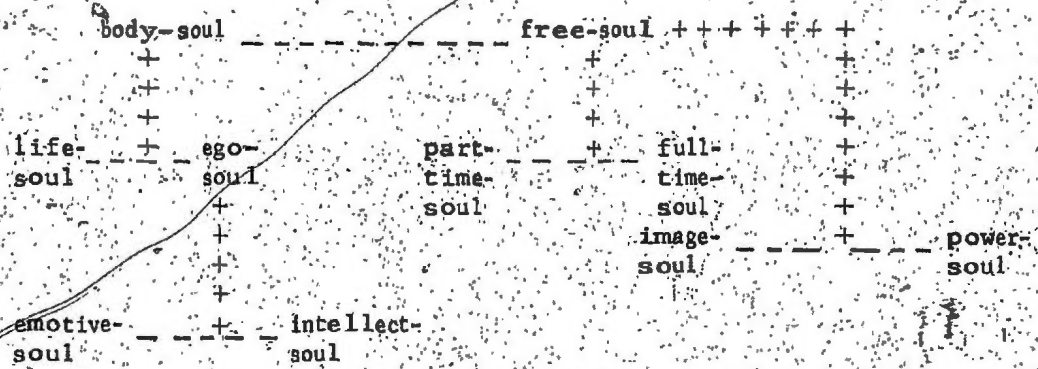
"...a spiritual entity whose essence is leavened with supernatural power. It is associated with the individual as a personal guardian spirit to which he is subordinate, and it is often as independent in relation to its owner as is an ordinary guardian spirit acquired from without. It helps and supports, watches over and punishes its protégé, and it sometimes receives sacrifices from him. But at the same time it has functions which show its close connection with the free soul of dreams and visions."

The classificatory line separating guardian-soul and guardian spirit is very fine. As a guardian-soul becomes more objectified, it crosses over and is no longer part of the self. It becomes a spirit (see chapter 1, page 2, and footnote #4).

I find the terms 'non-objectified' and 'objectified' to be somewhat cumbersome titles for the opposing ideal-types existing on the continuum of free-souls. Therefore, I am replacing them with the terms which express the positive traits of each: Image-souls for the former; and Power-souls for the latter.

As adapted to the purposes of this study, Hultkrantz's system of classifying soul concepts can be roughly mapped in the following manner.

Figure 1: The Hultkrantz System of Classifying Soul Concepts.



1- Hultkrantz believed that the soul concepts of North American Indian peoples could be put on a scale ranging from a "Primitive, unreflected, regular dualism" (op.cit., p441) separating free-souls from body-souls, to a more 'advanced' "soul-monism". Between these two extremes were numerous minor dualisms which in some way reflected developments away from the 'original' dualism to the 'eventual' monism.

2- One should question, however, Hultkrantz's application of his classification system to specific soul concepts, as he tended to uncritically accept the reports of erring missionaries and ethnologists. For example, the major errors in his analysis of Iroquoian soul concepts stemmed basically from his unquestioned acceptance of Hewitt's often misleading statements.

3- When such a distinction exists in the belief system of a people, there does not have to be a clear line separating the appropriate realms of the two souls. As we will see later, overlap can exist.

4- While these two distinctions are separate, there is a definite tendency for alignment to occur. The psychological free-soul which is a body-soul (i.e., a part-time free-soul) tends to be a relatively 'non-objectified' free soul. The specific free-soul is much more likely to become 'objectified'. This stands to reason as the body-soul has definite roots in the physical world of the individual, while the specific free-soul does not.

5- Hultkrantz described three types of free-souls: (1) the 'pure' free-soul (one that is usually restricted to the dreams and visions of an individual, and of those who know him); (2) the "double-ganger"; and (3) the "guardian-soul". While each can vary as to the degree to which it is objectified, one can generally place them on an increasing scale of cognitive distance from the 'self' in the order in which they have been named here.

The 'pure' free-soul was defined by Hultkrantz as being (op.cit., pp242-3):

"...a shadowy representative of the individual himself, a commonly neutral mirror image of the living psycho-physical individual, with whom it stands in a constant reciprocal relation. The free-soul appears when the physical man does not appear as an actively operating being, for it is a conception which is identical with other people's memory images and recollections of the individual, and with the latter's own impressions of his activity while dreaming and in stated equivalent to the dreaming state."

He described the double-ganger as being (op.cit., p354):

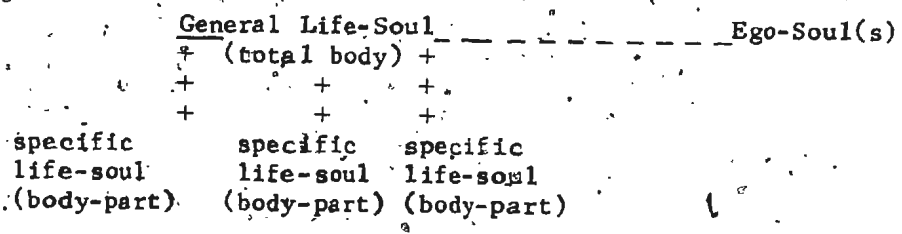
"...a spiritual being coordinated with the individual and sonneted with his existence, and for different reasons - sometimes on account of its resemblance to him - identified with him and appearing simultaneously with its human partner, but in another place."

General Body-Soul

In the quote given above concerning body-souls (pp25-6) as a general classification, Hultkrantz differentiated between souls which are identified with particular body organs, and the "great embracing body-soul". The former were said to be the "vital principles" behind the performance of the assumed functions of the organs, and the latter was said to be a "general expression for the total life in the organism". This matches the distinction he made in the next quote (p26) concerning life-souls, in which he differentiated between "lesser life-souls" which are associated with the "vital manifestations" of life, and a general life-soul "holding all the parts together." This leads one to the conclusion that the "great embracing body-soul" and the general life-soul are the same entity. This is further suggested by the fact that the body-souls which do not directly provide 'life' - the ego-souls - were added as a kind of after-thought in the first quote; seemingly outside the distinction of general whole to specific part, set-up for the life-souls.

One can illustrate what appears to be Hultkrantz's view in this matter in the following way:

Figure 2



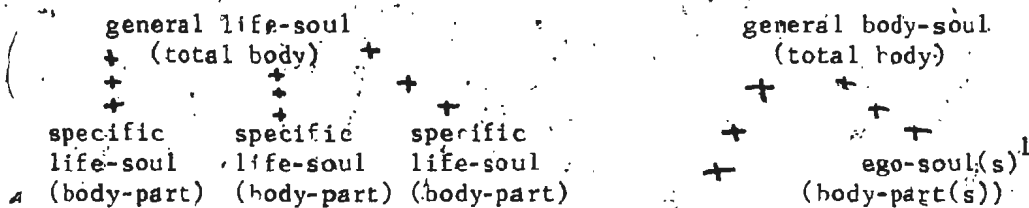
This is misleading on at least two counts. To begin with, the ego-souls tend generally to be associated with specific body-parts: the intellect-soul with the head or mind; and the emotive-soul with the heart. Thus, they should be included in the whole to part body-

soul scheme.

Secondly, Hultkrantz apparently failed to allow for a general body-soul whose scope was broader than just providing life, a soul which would express the total being - its life, thoughts, and feelings.

A classification system which would allow for these two changes is the following:

Figure 3



Note that in this system there can exist two separate body-souls, each conceived of as concurrently inhabiting the whole body. Such was not the case with Hultkrantz's system.

I feel that part of the reason for his failure to allow for a general body-soul as illustrated above, a soul which serves as the basic existential expression of self, is that such a soul need not be seen as providing a vital function. Following Arberman, Hultkrantz believed that body-souls were function souls. A classification system based on such a belief might exclude a soul which expressed existence, but did not provide for it.

The General Body-Soul of the Huron: aata

The general body-soul illustrated above can be characterized as being a spiritual entity possessing three basic features: (1) it should be closely associated with the body without necessarily being thought of as in some way providing that life; and (3) it should be identified with the whole or total self.

My investigation of the Huron spiritual world suggests to me that

the concept represented by the noun ,aata (noun root -at-) answers this description. I believe that, at one time, ,aata probably was the general body-soul of the Huron, but, through time and the influence of European (particularly missionary) thinking, it became reduced to a concept that signified little more than the physical entity 'body'.

The word ,aata was translated by Chaumonot in 1683 ((?)). Ch.I:144) as meaning "personne". He later expanded this (1690-2, Ch.II:273) to also include "substance" and "entite". Potier, rewriting in 1751 that which was recorded by Carheil during the last third of the seventeenth century, glossed it as "substance, chose vivante" (P446). The scope of its meaning appears to be somewhat narrower in the writing of Marius Barbeau, who, like most other Iroquoian linguists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, consistently translated ,aata as 'body'.

A quick look at both early and relatively recent texts soon reveals how one could easily arrive at the latter translation. In many instances in which ,aata was used in combination with a verb, there was explicit reference made to the body; particularly with respect to something being done to the body (i.e., its being cleaned, crushed, or pierced; see ^{p. 29} list), or to the state of the body (i.e., its being warm, weak, or its smelling bad; see ^{p. 29} list). There is also the more implicit evidence of the frequent use of ,aata in noun + verb combinations to signify the physical presence of a given individual, the existence of his or her body in a specific place or together with a particular group of individuals (^{p. 29} see list). Through such usage as this, one discovers that ,aata was, indeed, closely associated with the body.

The evidence for the second feature, the expression of the life

in the body, is also readily available to the observer. This was clearly stated in Potier's translation, and alluded to by Chaumonot. The apparent connection between ,aata and the life in the body can be seen in the fact that the noun ,aata was often used (in noun + verb combinations) to make a verb relate to an 'object' or 'subject' which was a living being; be it human, animal, or spirit figure (see below). With the addition of ,aata, the meaning 'something living' was added to the semantic content of the verb (see list).^{p. 9}

The identity with the total self is, of course, suggested through the close association with the body. There are, however, more direct sources of evidence available. For example, one sometimes encounters instances in which ,aata (as part of a noun + verb combination) was used with reference to the self in a way which definitely went beyond the scope of the purely 'physical' body, to the self as a total entity (see list). Further, one finds that ,aata was not used with pronominal reference to its being a 'possession' (as were most parts of the body), but the pronominal prefixes used suggest some kind of complete identity between semantic party (i.e., I, you, he, she..) and ,aata.³ It would, for example, be more accurate to translate the word ',iata' (I-n/nr/ns; see Appendix D for explanation of abbreviations) as 'I realized in ,aata' (i.e., myself as I exist as a general body-soul), than as 'my ,aata or body'.

A more difficult problem lies in trying to satisfactorily answer the question of whether or not ,aata was a spiritual concept. In terms of the definition of 'spiritual' given above (p2), it would seem at first glance that such was not the case. For ,aata appears to have been used to refer specifically to the physical realization of self; seemingly outside of the spiritual sphere of cause and effect. I would

argue, however, that aata did fit the definition of a spiritual entity, that aata meant 'body' only in the sense that it was the fundamental spiritual embodiment of the self. Further, I would suggest that, like other body-soul concepts of the Huron (i.e., -eiachi- and -ndi,onr-; see below), it was the spiritual side of a spiritual-physical partnership. The purely physical entity 'body', its form and substance (i.e., 'flesh') was more precisely represented by the noun root -eron- than by aata.

The evidence to support my hypothesis is admittedly somewhat scanty and indirect, yet it is too significant to be totally ignored. To begin with, one should note that, in combination with the appropriate verbs, aata was sometimes used to refer to the 'character' of individuals, and to their emotions (see list).^{p.40} As we will see later, such reference was characteristic of several Huron soul concepts; emotions in particular were identified by the Huron as being the expression of spiritual entities. Secondly, one finds that aata could be used with reference to the non-physical embodiment of the Huron soul concepts cognitively separate from the physical body. Significantly, the missionaries also often used aata in such a way, referring to certain Christian spiritual beings (i.e., the Holy Ghost, and the angels; see list).^{p.12}

One should keep in mind that the fundamental nature of the problem of finding solid evidence that aata was a spiritual concept lies in the difficulty of cross-cultural understanding of spiritual concepts. Specifically, we are dealing here with two of the three potential areas for conceptual conflict discussed above (p3): (a) singularity versus plurality of souls; and (b) a lack of clear parallels in the life-span of soul concepts. The missionaries conceived of man as

having a two-fold nature while alive: half body and half soul; half physical and half spiritual. There was only one soul, and it survived after the death of the body. The concept aata would thus have three strikes against it, as: (a) another Huron soul concept was judged by the missionaries to be the soul of the Huron (see below); (b) there was a strong association of aata with the body; and (c) aata was rarely associated with an individual after he or she had died.

These three factors would tend to cause the missionaries to relegate aata to the physical side of man's nature. Evidence suggesting that aata might more appropriately be placed on the spiritual side might then tend to be ignored, or simply not seen.

The fact that Barbeau, and other latter day students of Iroquoian languages) as 'body', may in a few cases have reflected the fact that it was a convenient short-hand translation for a commonly used noun. However, I think that in most, if not all instances the purely physical entity 'body' was all that was intended to be represented. This could be due to: (a) the fact that these writers were pursuing a line of logic similar to that of the missionaries; or (b) the fact that among the speakers of the dialect recorded in each case, - the products of centuries of acculturation- the meaning of aata (and its cognates) had been reduced at the expense of its spiritual connotations. While both factors may have been involved, the latter probably became increasingly the most influential in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

List of Illustrations of the Use of ,aata

(1) Something being done to the body:

- (a) The verb ",a8e,en", given by Potier (P319, "94) as meaning "essuier, nettoyer, purger", when taken in combination with ,aata gives us ",aata8e,en", meaning "nettoyer q/uelqu'un/"
- (b) The verb "kari,i", given by Potier (P347) as meaning "presser, fouler, écraser...etendre applatir q/uelque/.c/hose/en la pressant, foulant ou frappant", when taken in combination with ,aata gives us "kaatari,i", meaning "presser,écraser le corps".
- (c) The verb ",aron,i", given by Potier (P349 #48) as meaning "se percer, s'ouvrir, se faire plusieurs trous", when taken in combination with ,aata gives us ",aataron,i", meaning "le corps de q/uelqu'un/. se percer ou l'etre /perce/...hoataronch...il se forme des ulcères dans son corps."

(2) The state of the body:

- (a) The verb "atarihen", given by Potier (P181 #30) as meaning "etre chaud", when taken in combination with ,aata gives us such forms as "hoatatarihen", meaning "il a le corps chaud".
- (b) The verb ",annen", given by Potier (P301 #35) as meaning "etre foible, sans force, sans fermete...etre tendre, delicat, sensible", when taken in combination with ,aata gives us ",aatannen", meaning "etre foible, d'une petite complexion...haatannen il est delicat de foible".
- (c) The verb ",atsi8a,en", given by Potier (P369 #6) as meaning "etre puant, etre de mauvaise odeur, sentir mal", when taken in combination with ,aata gives us forms like "hoatatsi8a,en", meaning (P370) "il sent mauvais...homme ou a/nim/al. puant".

(3) The physical presence of the body:

- (a) The verb ",ar/ ,ara", given by Potier (P325) as meaning "q/uelque/. c/hose/ etre dedans...etre parmi...etre avec ...etre du nombre", when taken in combination with ,aata gives us forms like "te haatra", meaning "il n'est pas present, il n'est pas avec les autres."
- (b) The verb ",a,enre", given by Potier (P247 #94; as "a8enrents") as meaning "q/uelque/. c/hose/ manquer, etre omis, except, exempte et mis hors de nombre, hors de rang des autres, hors de compte", when taken in combination with ,aata gives us ",aata8enrente", meaning "q/uelque/ personne, n'etre point du nombre, n'etre point comprise, manquer".

(4) Making a verb relate to a living being:

- (a) The verb "atondi", given by Potier (P197) as meaning "paroitre a q/uelqu'un/.", when taken with ,aata gives us "atiatatondi", meaning "q/uelque/. person: ou autre chose vivante apparoitre a q/uelqu'un/."/
- (b) The verb "ontion", given by Potier as (P424 #56) meaning "abandonner, quitter, laisser, rejeter", when taken with ,aata gives us ",aatontion", meaning "quitter q/uelque/. person: ou q/uelque/ a/nim/al/...item mourir a8on, 8aatonti il est mort (il nous a quitte)."
- (c) The verb "ti-oret", given by Potier (P430 #67) as meaning "examiner, considerer", when taken with ,aata gives us "kastoret", meaning "examiner q/uelque/. c/hose/que ce puisse etre...examiner, considerer q/uellue/. person/ne/: ou q/uelque/ a/nim/al".

(5) Indication of 'total self' beyond just the physical body:

(a) The verb root + instrumental combination "arak8i", given by Potier (P326) as meaning "placer, mettre dedans, parmi, être parmi item ne se point soucier de q/uelqu'un/. ou de q/uelque/.c/hose/., n'en faire aucun cas", taken with aata gives us such forms as "onta, aatrak8i", meaning "donner part a q/uelqu'un/. dans ce que l'on fait, l'en faire participant", and "atiatrak8i", meaning "s'addonner a q/uelque/. c/hose/. (plutôt au mal qu'au bien p)... être addonner a q/uelque/.c/hose/...8kaot hotiatrak8i...il est addonné au mal".

(b) The verb "ichia, i", given by Potier (P394 #20) as meaning "achever de faire, finir, terminer, conclure, arreter", when taken with aata gives us "aatchia, i faire le corps, l'âme, et toute la substance de q/uelqu'un/."

(c) The verb "a8an", given by Potier (P317) as meaning "avoir q/uelque/. c/hose/ a soi", when taken with aata gives us "aata8an", meaning "avoir a soi/q/uelque/. person/ne/: ou pour une raison d'affinite d'alliance, de parents, ou par une raison de dependance et subjection, avoir du monde des gens a soi, avoir des sujets, des creatures".

(6) Character and emotions:

(a) The verb "andore", given by Potier (P295 #16) as meaning "faire vite, aller vite, être vite", when taken with aata gives us "aatan-dore", meaning "être diligent, prompt, a se mettre en action, au travail".

(b) The verb "angaron", given by Potier (Pj298-9 #27) as meaning, "être rude, âpre, dure au toucher...être rude, fâcheux, méchant, reveche...être remuant, frétilant, ne pouvoir se tenir dans une place, se fourrer, partout", when taken with aata gives us "aatarangaron", meaning "(être libertin ou une libertine p)...être une coureur, n'avoir point d'arrêt ...une coureuse, débâchée, prostituée."

(c) The verb root + instrumental combination "ontak8i", given by Potier as meaning (P419) "être de telle forme, sorte, façon, manière, figure...être de telle matière...être de telle qualité, condition...être pour tel cause, fin, raison ...donner telle forme a q/uelque/.c/hose/, la composer, la former de telle manière &, la faite par tel motif", when taken with aata gives us "aatonak8i", which can be used in phrases like "oki haatonak8i il a l'air, la figure, le naturel... de q/uelque/ personne extraordinaire/: d'un ange ou d'un démon". (oki = 'one who possesses spiritual power')

(d) The verb "8ten", given by Potier (P441 #82) as meaning "être de telle manière...sorte...façon...figure...genia...caractère...naturel humeur...être dans une telle disposition...état", when taken with aata gives us "aat8ten", meaning "être de telle forme soit seterieure soit interieure/...naturel...humeur".

(e) The verb root + causative-instrumental combination "ar8tensti", given by Potier (P262) as meaning "rendre doux, souple, flexible, maniable, adoucir", when taken with aata gives us "aatar8tensti", meaning "flatter q/uelqu'un/ l'amadoué...adoucir q/uelqu'un/. en colère, l'apaiser".

(f) The verb "ori", given by Potier (P432) as meaning "souvoir, agiter, remuer, troubler", when taken with aata (+ds*) gives us "aatoiannon", meaning "agacer q/uelqu'un/...lui donner occasion de se fâcher, l'algrir, lui causer le mouvement de colère".

(7) Use of aata to represent the embodiment of spiritual beings:

#7-cont'd.

(a)(P244): "è,aats, enha n'on,8ennonk8at d'onn'eoatonti de k8aeron, e ,ehen. notre ame deviendra pure et nette quand elle quitters notre corps."

This phrase can be analysed as follows:

e,aata,enha fu/fz-n/nr/vr/inc/pu*	it (the 'soul' realized as ,aata) will be cleansed
n'	article
on,8ennonk8at n-lp/nr/8s	our medicine (term used by the missionaries to signify the soul; see below)
d'	article,
onn'	when
eoatonti fu/fx-fz/nr/vr/di/pu	it (the 'soul' realized as ,aata) will abandon it (-aron-, the body)
de	article
k8aeron,e l2p-n/nr/e.l.ns	our bodies

'Our 'soul', realized as ,aata, will become cleansed, purified, when it leaves our body.'

(b) The verb "arahax8i", given by Potier (P335) as meanings: "tourner d'un cote sur l'autre, tourner sens dessus dessous, renverser", when taken with ,aata (+mv), gives us "atiatarehax8i", meaning "se. tourner d'un cote sur l'autre vg etant couche...item: culbuter, tomber en haut en bas, la tete la lere." In the following phrase we find this combination as it relates to -ndi,onr-, the intellect-soul: "otiatarahax8i a,endi,onra man esprit est renverse".

This phrase can be analysed as follows:

otiatarahax8i n-fz/mv/nr/vr/st	it (the intellect-soul realized as ,aata)
a,endi,onra n-l/nr/ns	my intellect soul (i.e.,my mind)

'My intellect-soul, realized as ,aata, is knocked over.'

(c) The verb root + causative combination ",ato,eti", given by Potier (P367) meaning "determiner q/uelque/.c/hose/, la specifier, designer, marquer en particulier..q/uelque/.c/hose/etre determines; specifiée, marque, designe pour q/uelque/. action, pour q/uelque/. travail", when taken with ,asta gives us ",aatato,eti", meaning "(une personne dans un etat de consistance, etre un vrai honnête homme p)..etre une personne choisie, elue, et predestinee, une person sainte".

This noun + verb combination was often used by the missionaries to represent Christian spiritual beings, usually occurring with forms of the verb "aki" - 'to possess spiritual power'. Potier, for example (P177#2) used the two together in the phrase: "haon,8asxaronnion hotiatato, eti hondaki, 8a 0iatennond desa hiakarātati din n'endi. nous appartenons en propres aux s/saint/s anges, celui qui to garde, et celui qui me garde sont tous 2 differens l'un de l'autre."

This phrase can be analysed as follows:

haon,8asx8aronnion mp-lp/vr/ds/st	we belong to them
hotiatato,eti n-mp/rr/vr/ca/st	they are special/holy , <u>asta</u>
hondaki n-mp/vr/st	they have spiritual power
8a	other
0iatennond du/md-n/mv/vr/asp	they are two different entities
d	article
esa	you
hiakarātati m-2/vr/st	he takes care of you
din	and
n'	article
endi	I

'We belong to hold ,asta possessing spiritual power; one takes care of you, and a different one takes care of me.'

In the writing of Potier and Richer, the phrase "hoki daat** hoatato,eti" (P392 #17, and P629 respectively) was used to refer to the Holy Ghost.

Footnotes

1- While it is conceivable that, in the belief system of any given people, the ego-souls can take on a configuration similar to that of the life-souls -with a 'general ego-soul' located throughout the body, and an emotive-soul and/or intellect-soul existing as (a) body-part(s) or (a) specific soul (s); it seems to be an unlikely situation. A more likely situation would be that the ego-souls exist in a bi-partite system of emotive and intellect-soul or a tripartite system with an added intermediary (also specific with respect to body-part and assumed function). As we will see below, the former was true of the Huron, the latter of the Mohawk and probably other Iroquois nations.

2- For example, in Barbeau's "Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives" (1960), one finds the following illustrations of Barbeau's use of aata:

173:40 "kwa? tatakih?	here her body was warm"
173:50 "tahaka? atayat'rawa?	his body (he) turned around (to look)"
181:39 "aaka? atara ^c kwi?	thine body the habit is (profession)"

3- In Huron, as in other Iroquoian languages, pronominal prefixes have two 'roles' to be filled: the 'agent'; and the 'patient'. The agent role is quite like that of 'subject', and the patient role like that of 'object', except that the patient can be a beneficiary (i.e., one who benefits either positively or negatively from the action of a verb or who possesses an object specified by a noun -taken in combination with a verb or by itself). There are three forms that pronominal prefixes can take, depending on whether or not the roles are filled by a semantic party (i.e., I, you, he, she...): subjective; objective, and relative. The subjective and objective pronominal forms occur when only one of the roles is filled by a semantic party, with the other role filled by a neuter or zero marker. The relative has both roles filled by semantic parties. In the case of subjective pronominal prefixes, only the agent role is filled by a semantic party. With objective pronominal prefixes it is the patient role which is so-filled.

Generally speaking, when an unincorporated noun (i.e., one that is not combined with a verb) takes subjective prefixes, then one can say that the semantic party is 'realized as' or 'exists as' that which is specified by the noun. When an unincorporated noun takes objective prefixes (but not just the n-fz form) then one can usually say that the semantic party possesses that which is specified by the noun.

The noun aata takes subjective prefixes* (as do a few other nouns relating to the 'body' such as the words for hand, arm, and nose; see P68). Of particular significance to this study is the fact that aata also follows the subjective/objective tendencies of the verbs with which it is combined. I believe that it does this in pursuing the signification of realization as opposed to possession while being incorporated.

*Such may not be the case for all Iroquoian languages, however. In Chaumonot's Onondage dictionary (originally circa 1655, 1970, p36) one finds that the noun cognate with sata is given with objective prefixes.

4- In the Huron language the noun root -eron- was realized in two forms: (a) as 'aeronta' when in combination with a verb; and (b) as 'aeron,3' (with the external locative noun suffix -e adding the meaning 'located at' to the noun root) when not in combination with a verb. The former can be found in combination with the verb "ar,ara", given by Potier (P327) as meaning "peindre, représenter, figurer, effigier...etre peint". The noun and verb together (with the dualic prefix) were given by Potier (P231) as "kaerontae", meaning "représenter la figure/. de quelque/, chose/. ou de quelque/, personne". The latter was given by Potier (P446) as meaning "corps-personne...substance...entité...pudenda utriusque sexus". Significantly, it was used by Brebeuf with respect to the distinction made between 'corporeal' ("Erroneehaan"; BRLT10:22) and 'spiritual' works of mercy.

Its purely physical nature was stressed in works written about other Iroquoian languages. Hewitt (1895, p115) stated that "oieron'ta?" (cognate with Huron 'aeronta') was the "general Iroquoian term for flesh". In his treatise on Mohawk, Abbe Jean Cuoq wrote (1966, p155) that: "OIERONTA...signifie seulement le corps humain, abstraction faite de l'ame." (also see p40 #7a).

General Life-Soul

A general life-soul is a spiritual entity, exclusively associated with a particular individual, which is believed to be the main source of his life force. It is said to sustain his life. The presence of a general life-soul is manifested in the basic observable functions of living -i.e., breathing, heartbeat, and motion- yet it does not reside exclusively in any one of them.

In my attempt to get a clear picture of the cognitive dialogue that took place between the missionaries and the Huron with respect to the general life-soul concept, I have found it useful to analyse the dynamics of that dialogue in terms of the following diagram. To avoid misunderstanding, the reader should think of this diagram as being a rudimentary abstraction, oversimplified to a degree, but reflecting fundamental differences in cultural emphasis.

Fig.4: The Conceptual World of the General Life-Soul

	<u>Missionary</u>	
<u>Physical</u>	X	<u>Spiritual</u>
	X	
food = life	X	life = soul (one aspect of the nature of the soul)
	X	
	X	
+	X	+

Huron

Physical = Spiritual

food = life = soul (a separate being)

/ X = classificatory dividing line; = + = statement of parallel i.e., similitude or metaphor/

Judging from this diagram, one might suspect that the missionary, when encountering the general life-soul of the Huron, would tend to:

(a) separate the spiritual aspects from the physical, reducing the tri-partite equality of food, life and soul to two equations con-

nected by a statement of parallel; and (b) change the Huron general life-soul from an independent soul concept to a specific aspect of the soul concept.

In the analysis that follows, beginning with a brief look at the general life-soul as it appeared in the native cultures of the French missionary and the Huron, I will endeavour to illustrate that such was the case.

In literary works and dictionaries of seventeenth century France, one finds that the concept of 'l'ame' was closely associated with the notion of life-force, with the manifestations of living. Analysing the French of that period, Jean Dubois, Rene Lagane, and Alain Lerond (in their "Dictionnaire de la langue française Classique", 1960, p23) wrote that, among other things, 'l'ame' meant "Principe de vie". Gaston Cayrou (in his "Le Française-Classique: Lexique de la langue du Dix-Septieme Siecle, 1948, p29) tells us that it: "...tient ces sens du latin anima, "souffle", d'ou "souffle vital", "principe vital", puis "etre vivant"."

To the missionary, this was considered to be just a single aspect of the character of one spiritual entity; for each individual was thought to have one soul, and one soul only. From Brebeuf's discussion of the soul concepts of the Huron in his 'Relation' of 1636 (JR10:141-3), it is clear that this notion was carried over into missionary perception of the spiritual world of the Indian. It is evident from the wording of his statements that Brebeuf felt that the Huron were giving different names to various features of a single entity, not that they were naming separate entities.

One of the names Brebeuf mentioned -"khiondhec8i"- was applied to the general life-soul of the Huron. Brebeuf presented it as the Huron appellation for the soul (JR10:141):

"In so far as it merely animates the body and gives it life, ...". The word can be translated as: 'we live by means of it; our life-sustainer, animating principle'.

Unfortunately, this is the only clear statement that I can find in the literature which directly tells us that 'khiondhec8i' (hereafter designated as 'onnhek8i', meaning: 'life-source, sustainer of life'), was a Huron soul concept. However, as we will see, a substantial amount of indirect evidence strongly suggests that onnhek8i was a general life-soul concept; a separate entity that was not merely an aspect of another spiritual being.

It is fairly commonplace in Iroquoian literature for someone to speak of there being two distinct kinds of souls in Iroquoian belief. Hewitt, for example, tells us that (1895, p108):

"According to the most common opinion among Iroquoian sages, man is endowed with one sensitive soul which is the animating principle of the body, and with one or more reasonable or intelligent souls or psychic entities,...

The Iroquois carefully discriminated between the soul which animates the body, and which after death, it is claimed, resides in the skeleton, and that which is regarded as the reasonable and intelligent soul. When there is in any individual a superfluity of souls, they are those only which are endowed with reason and intelligence for the sensitive or animating soul is never duplicated."

In his 'Relation' of 1653, the Jesuit Father Francesco Gioseppe Bressani, spoke of the Huron's belief that each individual had two souls. He wrote that (JR39:19):

"In a dream,...., when one thinks of some distant thing, they believe that the soul went forth from the body, in order to become present in the thing dreamed of, -not the perceptive /translated from the Italian "sensitius", which can mean body, but the rational one, which in its operation does not depend on the body."

Onnhek8i was the 'sensitive' soul which was not duplicated, and which always remained with the body; the soul which animated the body.

Food and Onnhek8i

Food and Onnhek8i - cont'd

In Chaumonot (Ch.I.225) and Potier (P415) onnhek8i was given with what appears to be reference not to a spiritual entity, but to food and drink; ⁴ what we (as the missionaries) might wish to call the 'physical' sources of life. For the Huron, however, explicit reference to the physical sources of life could contain implicit reference to the spiritual sources. The concept of onnhek8i touched the very essence of the aboriginal Huron's corn-growing agriculture; a form of enterprise in which the elements of the spiritual and physical worlds were but threads interwoven into a tightly meshed fabric of long-standing belief.

⁵ Corn was the staple of the Huron diet. In a very real way it was the main provider of life. Accordingly, a great deal of religious beliefs and rituals were centred around corn. It was the gift of the gods, ⁶ and the province of ioskeha, ⁷ the beneficent deity who made all things grow. A considerable amount of dialogue between humans and spirit beings was often required before one could be assured of a successful corn harvest. ⁸

More than that, in Iroquoian belief corn was conceptually embodied in the form of a spirit being. This was formally recognized at the turn of the nineteenth century, in the Gal'wio or 'Good Message' of the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake. ⁹ During the course of one of his visions, Handsome Lake was instructed that the spirits of corn, beans, and squash - three female figures who were considered to be related spiritually as the plants were physically (i.e. as they grew together) - should be addressed as 'the Sisters', or "tyshekh" (the Seneca cognate of the Huron word "tionnhek8i" or "khiondhec8i"), meaning: "We use it for

living", or "our sustenance" (Chafe, 1961c, pp189 and 29 respectively).

They assisted man in the successful production of their namesake crops.

Additionally, it was believed that (ibid, p8):

"Their /the 'Sisters' / function is to contribute to people's contentment and to strengthen people's breath, breath being thought of as a basic manifestation of life." 10

While the evidence relating specifically to the Huron does not definitely say whether corn (and her sister crops) could take on this sort of characterization, the fact that, in the traditions of the other Iroquoians (including the Cherokee) and most corn-growing peoples in the New World, corn was conceived of in terms of being a female spirit figure, leads one to believe that such was also the case in Huron belief.

This leaves us, however, with a spirit being which is not exclusively identified with an individual, a figure which, according to the definition given on page two (also p14 fn #4), is not a soul, but a spirit. How does this relate to the possession of a general life-soul?

To get an idea of what the relation might be, one must know something about the spiritual aspects of eating and other acts of corporal transferral (i.e., crude blood transfusion) in Huron belief. The Huron believed that by transferring parts of the body of an enemy or an animal into oneself, one might (in certain circumstances) obtain various attributes; primarily knowledge and courage. As we will see later, these two attributes were considered to be the domain of two body-soul concepts: -ndi,onr-, the intellect-soul; and eiachi-, the emotive-soul, respectively. Each of the attributes was an essence possessed by the appropriate soul concept. By eating a particular person or animal one might effect the transfer of spiritual essence from one of the souls of the victim to its counterpart in the reci-

piant. If, for example, one ate the heart (the seat or home of the emotive-soul) of a tortured prisoner who had proven himself to be brave, the courage of the prisoner was transferred from his heart to the heart of the one who had eaten him. (see p. 63 fn.#12)

I believe that such was also the case with onnhek8i. By eating corn, the provider of life, the essence 'life' (called "onnha" by the Huron)¹³ was transferred from the spiritual entity 'corn' to a similar spiritual being possessed by the one eating the corn.

The Use of Onnhek8i by the Missionaries

In the belief system of the missionaries, the concept of bread held a comparable position to that of the Iroquoian concept of corn. While the two concepts may appear to be similar, in terms of the analysis in this paper, they contrast significantly. The differences between the two underscored fundamental cognitive gaps in the communication between missionaries and the Huron.

Although Jesus could be considered to be embodied in bread during special sacred occasions, and despite the fact that it was written in the Bible that he was the 'bread of life', bread itself was not a spiritual entity. Its connection with the spiritual world was fundamentally periodic and metaphoric, not permanent and metonymic as was the case with the Iroquoian corn.

Onnhek8i was used by the missionaries to represent the concept 'bread', not only in its signification of 'physical sustenance', but in the traditional Christian metaphor of 'spiritual sustenance' as well. The notion that the two spheres of action were comparable but separate was clearly communicated. This can be seen in the following two examples.

The first example is taken from a Huron translation of Luke 4, line 4, recorded in the "Extraits de l'evangele". In this line, Jesus, who was fasting in the desert, responded to the Devil's suggestion that he turn stone into bread by saying that: "...It is written, That man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God." Here the physical entity 'bread' and God's words are set as parallels in two different worlds.

The Huron translation for this line was recorded by Potier (P468) as: "...:ahenhaon d'ies8s stan ondaie 0o ara te honnhék8i de, andatara n'on8e, daat achi es^connhék8i de di8 ha8enda...". It can be analysed as follows:

ahenhaon ao/m-n/vr/pu	he said
d'	article
ies8s	Jesus
stan	negative particle
ondaie	that
0o	that, there
ara	only
te honnhék8i ng/m-n/vr/ins/st	he does not live by means of it, it is not his life-sustainer
de	article
14 ,andatara fz-n/nr/ns	bread
n'	article
on83 fz-n/vr/asp	people
d'	article
aat	superlative
echi	superlative
es ^c onnhék8i	he also lives by means of it,

re/m-n/vr/ins/st	it too is his life-sustainer
de	article
di8	God (i.e., 'dieu')
ha8enda m-n/nr/ns	his word, voice

'Jesus said that man is not only sustained by bread, but also to a great extent by the word (s) or voice of God.'

What the writer was saying in effect was that man lives both through the physical food of bread and the spiritual food provided by the communications from God. As there was no suggestion that the bread possessed any spiritual quality, or that the communication was realized physically in the bread (or any other physical substance), one can readily say that the two spheres of life were kept separate in this translation. Onnhek8i formed the metaphor linking the two.

A more striking illustration of spiritual/physical separation can be found in Chaumonot's translation of the line from the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread". This request, which essentially involved asking for physical sustenance, is presented by Chaumonot in a way which suggests that the person involved is asking first for what he requires in the distinct sphere of spiritual life, and then, for what he requires physically.

The translation is as follows (Wilson, 1885, p101):

"Ta8annont asken exentate ondaie d'ora8enstak8i
mayest thou give from time to time that which is needful

n'on8ennonk8at ta8annont i8ondi d'ate8entate d'aionnhek8i
for our life give us also for the day that which makes
to live

It can be analysed as follows:

ta7, /8annont	give it to us
imp/fip-n/vr/imp	

asken	volitive particle
ex	this, here
entate fz-n/nr/vr/st	it is day, a day
ondaie	that
d'	article
oraßenstak8i n-fz/vr/c-i/ins/st	it puts something in a state of goodness (i.e., 'grace')
n'	article
on8/, /ennonk8at n-lp/nr/ns	our medicine (i.e., our 'soul'; see below)
ta/, /8annont	give it to us
10ondi	also
d'	article
ateßenta*te (*t=, tl/du/fz-n/nr/vr/st.	every day
d'	article
a/, /ionnhék8i flp-n/w/ins/st	we live by means of it, our sustenance

'Give us this day that which puts our 'soul' in a state of 'grace';
give us also our sustenance every day.' 15.

Of special interest is the way in which the missionaries used onnhék8i with respect to what they believed was the soul (represented by the noun root -(e)nnonk8-). Here we see in full play the two hypotheses presented on page 45:

- (1) the separation of the spiritual and physical aspects of onnhék8i with the reduction of the tripartite equality of food, life, and soul to two equations connected by statements of parallel; and
- (2) the change of onnhék8i from an independent soul concept to a specific aspect or aspect-name of the soul concept.

The first hypothesis is represented in some detail in the following quote taken from Potier (P602):

"taoten isen ichien ionnh8ten de skiatonnhatieren d'oki haronhia, eronnon?"

taoten	what is the nature of it?
isen	expletive (?)
ichien	expletive
ionnh8ten pa/fz-n/nr/vr/st	it is life of such a nature
de	article
skiatonnhatieren re/fzd-n/mv/nr/vr/st	they are two lives resembling one another
d'	article
(h)oki n-fz(m)/vr/st	(he) one who has spiritual power
haronhia, eronnon m-n/nr/e.l.ns/pop	he is a sky dweller

'What is the nature of the life (possessed by humans) that resembles that of a sky-dweller with spiritual power (in Christian terms: 'an angel')'

"ondaie ichien de on,8ennonk8at onnh8i."

ondaie	that
ichien	expletive
de	article
on,8ennonk8at n-lp/nr/ns	our medicine (i.e., our 'soul')
onnh8i fz-n/vr/ins/st	it lives by means of it, its life sustainer

'It (the life) is that of the life-sustainer of our soul'

"taoten ati n'ondaie d'onnh8i?"

taoten	what is the nature of it
ati	then

n'	article
ondale	that
d'	article
onnhek8i	its life-sustainer
'What, then, is the naute of its life-sustainer?'	
"stan, andiaha te, en ondale ondiaha8en n'on, 8ennonk8at d'ora8en, askannha k8erhe te 8a, endi, onrato, endi sen st' iotieren, aronhia, e te hienteri sen d'hotiennondi a8eti de sten otierannon, a8entenhaon hoatichia ch de son, 8atichia, /i, ..."	
stan	negative particle
, andiaha fz-n/nr/ns	it is food
te, en ng/fz-n/vr/st	it is not
ondale	that
ondiaha8en n-fz/nr/vr/st	its food
n'	article
on, 8ennonk8at	our medicine (i.e., our 'soul')
ora8en n-fz/vr/st	it is in a state of goodness ('grace')
askannha fz-n/vr/ha	it desires, wants something
i8erhe (pa)/z-n/vr/ha	it wishes
te	volitive particle or prefix; if only it were so
8a, endi, onrato, endi n-1/nr/vr/inc/st	I am sure of it
sen	volitive particle
st'	relative particle
iotieren. pa/n-fz/vr/st	it is done (in such a way)
, aronhia, e fa-n/nr/e.l.ns	in the sky (i.e., in heaven)

te	if only it were so
hienteri m-n/vr/st	he knew it, knew about it
sen	volitive particle
d'	article
hotelennondi n-m/mv/nr/vr/st	he makes things well, skillfully
a8eti fz-n/vr/ca/st	all
de	article
sten	different sorts of things
otierannon n-fz/mv/vr/di/st	many things are made
a8entenhaon n-fz/nr/vr/di/st	all during the day
hoatichfach n-m/nr/vr/ha	he makes 'bodies' (<u>aata</u>)
de	article
son, 8atichia/,/i m-lp/nr/vr/st	he made us (realized as <u>aata</u>)

'it is not food; the food of our soul when it is in a state of grace is that which it desires when it wishes: 'If only I were sure of the way things are done in heaven (i.e., so that I may emulate that way of living); if only he who makes we people all day long, knew about it (i.e., of my wish (?))'

"i8erhe n'on, 8ennonk8at, onne sen te a, i8e, i d'ha8endio, onne sen te hannonsti/, / x'ondaie ionnh8ten n'on, 8ennonk8at ionnhe."

i8erhe	it wishes
n'	article
on, 8ennonk8at	our medicine ('soul')
onne	demonstrative particle
sen	volitive particle
te	if only it were so
a, i8e, 8 fid-n/vr/st	he and I are/were together

d'	16	article
hã8endio		he has a great voice, his word is
m-n/nr/vr		great (i.e., he is master)
onne		demonstrative particle
sen		volitive particle
te		it only it were so
hannonhonsti.		he adopts/adopted me
m-l/vr/c-i/st		
x'		this
ondaie		that
ionnh8ten		it is life of such a nature
n'		article
on,8ennonk8at		our medicine ('soul')
ionnhe		it lives so
pa/fz-n/vr/ha		

'Our soul wishes: 'If only the master and I were together; if only he adopted me! This is the nature of the life that our soul lives.'

The change of onnehk8i from an aboriginally independent soul to a specific or aspect-name of the soul in missionary writing is more subtle than the separation into spiritual and physical aspects. For it seems at first glance in instances like the following that the Huron concept of general life-soul is what is being presented.

Richer, in trying to explain the Christian notion of the trinity, translated the latin phrase: "...-unica sunt quasi substantia, vna vivunt vita, unus sunt spiritus,..." (P629), with the Huron: "..., ondaie io^cti st'esaatat, de skat hennonhe^ck8i, shotindi, onrat i, en, ...". The latter phrase can be translated as follows:

ondaie	that
^c	
io ti	it is like this (i.e., a

pa/n-fz/vr/st	simili
st'	relative particle
es/ ^C /aatat re/m-n/nr/vr/asp	he is one <u>aata</u>
de	article
skat re/fz-n/vr/asp	it is one
hennonhe ^C k8i mp-n/vr/ins/st	they live by means of it, their life-sustainer
shotindi, onrat re/n-mp/ur/vr/asp	they have one intellect- soul, mind
i, en	it is

'It is as if they are one aata, have one life-sustainer and one intellect-soul.'

The true story, telling of onnhek8i's loss of independence is illustrated in examples like the following, where onnhek8i is but another name, an optional label, for the single soul of the Christians.

Richer used onnhek8i in this way in his discussion of the different kinds of lives that were lived by plants, animals, and "on,8e dind'a,oki" or "homines et spiritus" (i.e., people and those who have spiritual power). He translated the latin phrase (P630): "alia est anima que vivit arbor", as: "8a ichien ionnk8ach8ten d' onnhk8i ,aronta!" This phrase can be analysed as follows:

8a	different, other
ichien	expletive
ionnonk8ach8ten pa/n-fz/nr/vr/st	its medicine ('soul') is of such a nature
d'	article

onnhek8i	its life-sustainer
,aronta	a tree
fz-n/nr/ns	

'Different is the 'soul' that animates a tree.'

He continued his discussion by making reference to animals and people. In the reference to animals, onnhek8i was used by itself to signify: 'the soul in its animating function', but in the reference to people, the reader is given the options (signified by "/") of onnhek8i or -(e)nnonk8-.

In his statement concerning animals (P630), he translated the latin phrase "alia qua piscis" as "8a i0ondi d' onnhk8i ,aio".

This can be analysed as follows:

8a	different, other
i0ondi	also
d'	article
onnhek8i	its life-sustainer
,aio	an animal, animals
fz-n/nr(?)/ns(?)	

'Different also is the life-sustainer of an animal.'

In his statement regarding people, Richer translated the latin phrase (ibid) "alia qua vivunt /or "aliud vita proprium"/ homines et spiritus." as "8a i0ondi ennond d'a, onnhk8i n'on, 8e din d'a,cki / i0ondi onnonk8achennon." This can be analysed as follows:

8a	different
i0ondi	also
ennond	it is different
fz-n/vr/asp	
d'	article

a,onnhek8i

their life-sustainer

n!

article

on,8e

people

din

and

d!

article

a,oki

they have spiritual power

n-ind/vr/at

i@ondi

also

onnonk8a@hennon

someone's medicine ('soul')

n-fz/nr/vr/at

is different

!Different also is the medicine ('soul') or life-sustainer of people and those who have spiritual power.!

Footnotes

1-Cayrou, citing A. Furretiere's "Dictionnaire universel" of 1690, gives as one of the meanings of 'ame' (1948,p9):
 ""Se prend souvent pour la vie... Cette nouvelle me rend l'ame, pour dire: me redonne la vie."" To illustrate this, he quotes La Fontaine's "Fables" of 1688 (ibid):

""L'animal engourdi sent a peine le chaud
 Que l'ame lui revient aveque* la colere.""

He also gives 'animating principle' as a metaphorical extension of 'ame', citing Richelet's "Dictionnaire francais" of 1680 (1948,p30):
 ""Tout ce qui anime, tout ce qui fait agir...mouvoir quelque chose, La charite est l'ame des vertus"". As a literary example, he cites Pierre Corneille's "Pulcherie" (ibid):

""Ma passion pour vous, genereuse* et solide,
 A la vertue pour ame, et la raison pour guide.""

2-Hewitt gave this as (1902, p45): "kion^Che^Ckwi (whereby we live)". It is not known what source he drew upon to obtain this form. Using Potier's orthography, this, and the word given by Brebeuf, would appear as 'tionnhek8i'.

3-Apart from the Brebeuf reference, the only clear statement that I have found which directly links onnhek8i or related words with an Iroquoian soul concept occurs in Michelson's Mohawk dictionary (1973, pl15). He gives "atunhets" (derived from the Mohawk verb "-unhe-/-unh-", cognate with the Huron verb 'onnhe', meaning 'to live') as meaning "life, soul".

4-(Ch.I.225) "vivre...onnhe^Ck8i...voy. vie. vivres, vituailles; provisions de boucher,...".
 (P415) "onnhek8i...vivre de q/uelque/. chose ou comme forme ou comme matiere: aliment, boisson & q/u/i servent a la vie."

5-Conrad Heidenreich, in his detailed account of the subsistence economy of the Huron (1971, chap.VI, ppl58-218) estimated that 65% of the Huron diet was made up of corn (pl63), while other cultivated vegetables, such as beans and squash, made up another 15%.

6-The origin of corn or earth was generally ascribed to one of three sources in Iroquoian belief. Different versions of the creation myth tell us that: (a) corn came from the breasts of the mother of the twin deities after she was buried in the ground; (b) corn was created by the 'good' twin (Ioskeha by name in Huron myths); (c) corn was given to the mother of the twins by the supernatural figure 'Toad' (the 'grandmother' of the Huron).

Horatio Hale (1888, pl82), was told by informants among the Anderdon Wyandot that when the first woman on earth fell from the sky:

"...she was pregnant with twins. When these came forth the evinced opposite dispositions, the one good, the other evil. Even before they were born the same characters were manifested. They

struggled together, and their mother heard them disputing. The one declared his willingness to be born in the usual manner, while the other malignantly refused, and, breaking through his mother's side, killed her. She was buried, and from her body sprang the various vegetable productions which the new earth required to fit it for the habitation of man. From the head grew the pumpkin-vine; from her breasts the maize; from her limbs the bean and the other useful esculents."

In 1837, H.R. Schoolcraft was given a slightly different version by Oriwahento, an Anderdon Wyandot. According to Oriwahento (Barbeau, 1915b, p299):

"It is said that Evil killed his mother at his birth. He did not enter the world the right way, but burst from the womb. They took the body of the mother and laid it upon a scaffold. From the droppings of her decay, where they fell on the ground, sprang up corn, tobacco, and such other vegetable productions as the Indians have. Hence we call corn, our mother."

The Wyandot historian, W.E. Connelly, who collected material from informants, living in Kansas and Oklahoma during the course of the latter half of the 19th century, informs the reader that (ibid, p307):

"Tseh!-stah /the 'good' twin/ made the corn plant. It grew without cultivation, and a hundred ears were found upon a single stalk. Tah!-weh-skah!-reh /the 'bad' twin/ made it difficult to raise, and but a few ears were permitted to grow on one stalk."

In a text he recorded in May, 1912 at Wyandotte reserve in Oklahoma (told by Catherine Johnson, an informant who spoke Wyandot almost exclusively) Barbeau wrote that before the twins were born (ibid., p51):

"The Toad...gave to the woman /the mother of the twins/ grains of corn, beans, pumpkin seeds, and seeds of all the plants that are reaped."

7-Brebeuf, in his 'Relation' of 1636, wrote that (JR10:137):

"According to their /the Huron's/ story, it is Iouskeha who gives them the wheat /cor/ they eat, it is he who makes it grow and brings it to maturity. If they see their fields verdant in the Spring, if they reap good and abundant harvests, and if their Cabins are crammed with ears of corn, they owe it to Iouskeha. I do not know what God has in store for us this year, but to judge from the reports going round, we are threatened in earnest with a great scarcity. Iouskeha, it is reported, has been seen quite dejected, and thin as a skeleton, with a poor ear

of corn in his hand!"

8-This dialogue did not seem to include ioskeha (see Sagard, 1968, p172), but mainly such meteorological figures as the Thunderers, who controlled the rain (JR10:43-5, and 195-7), and the Sky (JR23: 55).

9-At a later date (1815), a few months before his death, Handsome Lake had a final vision in which the spirit representation of corn appeared to him (Wallace, 1969, p318):

"The day was bright when I went into the planted field and alone I wandered in the planted field and it was the time of the second hoeing. Suddenly a damsel appeared and threw her arms about my neck and as she clasped me she spoke saying, "When you leave this earth for the new world above, it is our wish to follow you." I looked for the damsel but saw only the long leaves of corn twining round my shoulders. And then I understood that it was the spirit of the corn who had spoken, the sustainer of life. So I replied, "O Spirit of the corn, follow not me but abide still upon the earth and be strong and be faithful to your purpose. Ever endure and do not fail the children of women. It is not time for you to follow for Gaiwio is only in its beginning."

10-This relationship between corn or food and breath, between the general life-soul and a specific manifestation of life (which say or may not have been considered to be a specific life-soul) existed also for the Huron. This is illustrated in their use of the noun + verb combination of "onricha" (P455) "haleine" and "a,aste" (P239) "etre dur, ferme, fort, roide, avoir de la resistance pour ne point ceder, plier, recevoir l'impression l'action des principes, des causes, des objets que agissent sur nous, pour ou contre nous." This combination, "onricha,aste", was recorded by Potier (ibid) as meaning:

"avoir l'haleine, la respiration forte et d'une longue duree... (Metap: etre patient a souffrir la faim sans s'abbatre haonrich^a,aste. il souffre aisement at long tems la faim."

11- See Frazer, 1959, pp484-6. The tendency in Huron belief to associate the origin of corn with a female figure lends support of this hypothesis (see fn#6).

12-Summarizing the information found in the Jesuit Relations, Elisabeth Tooker wrote that (1967, pp38-9):

"If.../a/ prisoner had been particularly brave before he died, the.../Huron/ would eat his heart, blood, and roasted flesh in order to be courageous also (JR:10:227 ; of. JR17:75). Sometimes a man made an incision in the upper part of his neck and let the blood of the tortured prisoner run into it: since the enemy's blood had mingled with his own, he would never be surprised by the enemy, no matter how secret the knowledge might be (JR10:227-229)."

13-This noun is perhaps most clearly depicted as a essence in the noun + verb combination "ti-onnonhanion8an" (du/fz-n/vr/rm/vr/ds/opl/st) meaning (P421) "faire souffrir q/quelqu'un/, le tourmenter (quasi dicas) retirer sa vie des diverses parties du corps ou elle etoit rependue".

14-This is the noun used in the word recorded by Sagard as "andataroni" (possibly 'andatarondi'; 'one makes bread'). He stated that it referred to (1865, p136): "pain et toute autre sorte de biscuit" (except that which was termed "Cofnkia" (ibid); possibly (P451) "onnonk8enta pain bouilli") or (op.cit.,p147): "fouasse, ou galette".

15-The reference to 'that which puts our soul in a state of grace' is not found in the two other Huron translations of the Lord's Prayer that I have seen. In the Ledesme text, the literal translation of 'our bread' is used (BRLT6:29; "nonendatara"). Potier recorded a version in which only 'daily sustenance' was expressed (P480).

16- John Steckley, "Brebeuf and the Early Christian Message" (1975, unpublished manuscript, pp316-8):

"When referring to Jesus in the Ledesme text, Brebeuf used the.. two related terms of "Onaou(a)(e)ndio"...as "nostre Seigneur" and "Aouandio"...as "le chef" and "le Seigneur"...The two terms are of some interest in the.. historical development of Huron cosmology.

Both words are constructed with a noun given by Potier (P452; a8enda) as meaning: "voix...ordre...commandement...langue... idiom...present...parole d'un discours." and the verb "io", given (P-96) as meaning: "etre beau...bon...grand." Potier (ibid) gives the...noun + verb /combination/ as meaning: "principle maitre". The two words,... can be translated as: 'our great voice or master' and '.../one who/ is a great voice or master' respectively.

It is my hypothesis that traditionally this noun + verb combination was primarily (if not exclusively) used with reference to political leaders, and became, through the influence of the missionaries' emphasis on Jesus and God as 'the master', a term which would be primarily associated with a 'high god' concept...

One cannot tell for certain whether a8endio had purely political connotations traditionally. Sagard's references to a8endio in the entries made in his "Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne", under the heading of "Maistre, estre le maistre", suggest that this may have been the case. /see end of this quote/

Brebeuf's use of a8endio points to his being, if not the original instigator of its 'spiritual' use by missionaries, at least a major early.../moving force in this direction/. In the Ledesme text, we see this not only in his...use of this noun + verb combination /by itself, but also with the causative-instrumental -st-/. This form was given by Potier (P396) as "a8endio8t", meaning: "commander... choisir q. pour maitre...le faire maitre." In the Ledesme text this was used in two instances with reference to God: once in the Lord's Prayer.../viz 'thy kingdom come'/, and again in Brebeuf's translation of the phrase: "le Seigneur Vniuersel de toutes choses".../page 4/.

In the writings of Chaumonot and Potier, the noun + verb combination a8endio (in the word ha8endio) became... /a commonly used term

of reference to God/. Although the intended reference was to the Christian god, the Huron began to use the term to refer to a composite god, one who was in some senses the traditional figure of the 'good twin', and in other senses the god of the missionaries. The extent to which the mixing took place can be seen in the fact that in the early twentieth century Marius Barbeau recorded a version of the Huron creation myth in which 'ha8endio' (as "hám, ndi ju'?: his-voice-is-big, i.e., the almighty voice;"; Barbeau, 1915b, p51) was the 'good twin', with a term used by Potier and Chaumonot with reference to the devil - 'ondachonronnon!' (as "dédé, cú, rúnq?: that-the-underground-is-a-dweller-of; i.e., the underground-dweller;"; (ibid)) as the 'bad twin'."

"Je suis le maistre du lac, il est a may.
Ni auhoindiou gontara. /endi e8endio ontara/...
N. Est le maistre de la riviere, du chemin.
N. Auhoindiou angyon. /N. (h)a8endio andi8 (?)/"

Involved with this problem is the question of whether or not the expression 'master of life', which appeared in the missionaries' invocation to God: "Di8 sa chie8endio st' a, ionnhe" - 'God, you who are master of our lives, our living' -, was a traditional one in the Huron language. Hultkrantz discussed this problem as it applied to the study of Indian peoples across North America. He wrote that (1953, pp414-5):

"/the title/...the Master of Life...has for the most part been given to the Creator of the Algonquin Indians (and...in the literature is most frequently found as the designation for the supreme god of the Lenape /Delaware/ Indians.../A/ suspicion presents itself. ...that...the designation 'Master of Life' is of Christian origin and has been adopted only secondarily by the natives themselves.

The actual truth of the matter would appear to be that the title in question has from time immemorial attached to the high divinities of a number of peoples, but that it has presumably been made by European travellers and other representatives of the Whites into a technical term for corresponding gods, in other tribes, independently of whether the figure behind the concept has been formed via Christian speculation or not. There is no lack of evidence that the title in some quarters is of primitive origin. Thus Brinton mentions that among the Indians of Michoacan the epithet of the chief goddess of their cult was, 'The Sustainer of Life'; the highest divinity of the Aztecs was Tonacatecutli, 'God of Our Life'; and in the Musko-gean tribes his name was 'The Master of Life.' The Northern Algonquin /i.e., Algonkian/ call their Supreme Being (Kitci Manitou) 'Master of Life', i.e., in their own words 'Thou who hast mastery over life.'"

While his evidence bears careful checking (i.e., 'Kitci Manitou' literally means 'great spirit', not: "'Thou who hast mastery over life'") the theory that the term might have been aboriginal to some Indian people and was applied by missionaries and other early travellers to the beliefs of peoples who had no such term is a plausible one.

The historical development of the 'Master of Life' concept is of importance to this study as it relates directly to onnhek8i, which also was a sustainer or 'master' of life. Further research along these lines is necessary before the nature of the history of onnhek8i can be precisely determined.

1
-(e)nnonk8-

As we have just seen, the missionaries used the noun root -(e)nnonk8- to represent what they felt was the soul concept of the Huron. I believe that in so doing, they had misunderstood its traditional meaning, and were acting to change this meaning by fitting -(e)nnonk8- into the mold of the Christian soul.

In the ethnographic and linguistic literature written about Iroquoian peoples other than the Huron, one finds that the cognate of the Huron noun root -(e)nnonk8- is always given as meaning 'medicine'.² This medicine is usually recorded as existing in plants or plant by-products that were considered to be medicinal.³ In Huron texts as well, one often encounters -(e)nnonk8- used with reference to some plant, herb or drug used to cure people.⁴

In his article "The Iroquoian Concept of the Soul" (1895b, p113), Hewitt claimed that the word "on-noⁿ-kwa?!-tera" ('onnonk8ach^ra' in Potier's orthography) meant 'medicine', and that it was historically derived from "on-noⁿ-kwa?t'" ('onnonk8at' in Potier's orthography), which according to him meant 'soul'. He was mistaken on several counts.

To begin with, as will be discussed below, it appears to be more likely that the meaning 'medicine' antedated that of 'soul'. Secondly, the only distinction that should be made between the two forms of the noun root -(e)nnonk8- is a grammatical one. The latter form ('onnonk8at' occurs only when the noun root is not incorporated into a verb, the former ('onnonk8ach^ra') occurs only when it is incorporated. In the Huron literature, each form was utilized to signify both 'soul' and 'medicine'.⁵

Hewitt based his notion of the "historical linguistic develop-

ment" of these noun forms upon the premise that the noun 'onnonk8at' was itself derived from a verb which (ibid): "...in archaic Huron and Onondage, /took the m-n form/ haqti-noⁿk, /meaning/ "he begs, craves it; supplicates for it,"...". He Hypothesized that the two noun forms were related to the verb in the following way (ibid):

"As a noun it signifies the thing that is the agent of the begging, craving, or desiring, as well as the object of the begging, craving, etc. The agent of craving was the soul, and the cause of the begging or craving was the thing desired; now, as the thing desired was sought only for the welfare and health of the body, for the curing of its ills, the soul from being regarded simply as the craver for things intended to cure finally came to be regarded as the curer as well... Thus, it is found that a verb denoting simply "To beg, crave, supplicate," has by a normal historical linguistic development come to mean first, the soul, and then, medicine or a curative agency, whether used from inherent virtues or from some occult power superinduced by the arts of sorcery."

There is absolutely no concrete evidence available to suggest that -(e)nnonk8- can be traced back to this verb (given by Potier as "andinnon" (P292), meaning: "desirer q/uelque/. c/hose/ passionnement, en avoir envie, la vouloir posseder...coiter."). Here, as elsewhere in the same article, Hewitt was relying on his fertile linguistic imagination to show relation between words which look alike and have a somewhat similar meaning. However, the andinnon desires, or ondinnonk as they were referred to in the Jesuit Relations, were the desires of a soul, and the fulfillment of these soul desires was one of the most popular methods of curing employed by the Huron. Thus Hewitt was at least partially correct in assuming that there was some kind of relation linking andinnon and (e)nnonk8-. Further, as we will soon see, it was the curative or medicinal function of the desires of the soul which made -(e)nnonk8- the soul.

The connection that the Huron made between the desires of the

soul and the health and well-being of the individual was perhaps best described by Bressani in his 'Relation' of 1653. While discussing the way in which the Huron conceptually dealt with the ideas of disease and curing, he mentioned that (JR39:17-9):

"...besides the free -or, at least voluntary- desires that we usually have, the Hurons thought that our souls had other desires, in a manner natural, and hidden, born in the depths of the soul, not in the way of conscious knowledge, but through a certain migration of the soul into the object proportioned to itself..

The Hurons, then, persuaded themselves that the soul revealed ... /its/ desires by means of dreams, which are its own voice; and, if these dreams (they said) are fulfilled, it remains content; otherwise, it is vexed, and not only no longer seeks good and happiness throughout the body, but, revolting against it, causes it various infirmities, and often death. In a dream, then, when one thinks of some distant thing, they believed that the soul went forth from the body, in order to become present in the thing dreamed of, -not the perceptive soul, which (they said) never abandoned the body, but the rational one, which in its operation does not depend on the body. For this reason they diligently observed dreams, in order to know the desires of the soul, and they might not irritate it; and they often obeyed it as the cost of blood, -causing their very limbs to be cut off, with extreme pain, if the dream so commanded."8

The rational soul whose desires were manifested in dreams and visions was termed oki ('one who possesses spiritual power'). The desires of the oki were usually revealed in one of three different ways: (1) As was described above, where a soul projects itself into some object, which then becomes the object that the individual must obtain in order to be cured (see next chapter for explanation). (2) By means of a curer or 'medicine-man', who could (by using his own souls: see next chapter) perceive the desires of someone else's oki. This particular situation was described by the Jesuit missionary Father Francois du Peron in a letter written in 1639 (JR15: 179):

"To cure a sick person, they /the Huron/ summon the sorcerer, who, without acquainting himself with the disease of the patient,

sings and shakes his tortoise shell; He gazes into the water and sometimes into the fire, to discover the nature of the disease. Having learned it, he says that the soul of the patient desires, for his recovery, to be given a present of such or such a thing,...and the whole village straightaway sets to work to carry out to the letter all the sorcerer may have ordered."

(3) By means of one's oki making a dream or vision appearance as some bird, animal, or 'non-animate' entity which would instruct the individual as to what objects or ceremonies were required in order to return him to good health.

With respect to the latter situation, Peron wrote that all the dances, feasts, and ceremonies of the Huron were taught to them by "Demons". These "Demons" would appear in dreams and visions (JR15:153-5):

"...now in the form of a raven, or some other bird, now in the form of a serpent,...or some other animal, which speaks to them and reveals the secret of their good fortune, either in the recovery of their health when they fall sick, or in the successful issue of their business. And this secret is called 'Ondinoc' that is to say, 'a desire inspired by the Demon'. And, in fact, if you ask, from him who desires in this manner, what is the cause of the desire, he makes no answer except, "ondays ihatonc ihatonc ok8 haendaerandic," "the thing under the form of which my familiar Demon appeared to me, gave me this advice."

The Huron phrase given in this quote is a key one. It can be analysed as follows:

ondays (i.e., 'ondäie')	that (is what)
ihatone pa/m-n/vr/ha	he says such a thing
(h)oki n-fz(m)/vr/st	one (he) who possesses spiritual power
haendaerandic m-l/vr/da/ha	he imitates me

'That is what my spiritual double says.'

In Brebeuf's 'Relation' of 1636 (JR10:141), one finds a similar phrase used in a discussion of the soul concepts of the Huron, with the word "onennonc8at" replacing "oki haendaerandic". The new phrase, "ondayee ihaton onennonc8at", was given as meaning: - "That

is what my heart says to me, that is what my appetite desires."⁹
 The statement that this was a frequently uttered expression was used to support his claim that "gonennonc8al" (i.e., 'onennonc8at') meant 'soul' (ibid): "...in so far as it bears affection to any object:...".

Just prior to that we were told that "Oki andaerandi" was the Huron term for 'soul': "...in so far as it is possessed of reason." Brebeuf translated this as meaning: "like a demon, counterfeiting a demon;". A more accurate translation would probably read something like 'the spiritual being who imitates, or who imitates me'.

What we appear to have here is an incomplete representation of oki as a Huron soul concept. In Huron belief oki assumed a free-soul role which combined features of an image-soul (in that it could at times resemble the individual who possessed it) and the power-soul (in that it had the power to cure its 'owner', or make him sick, depending on whether or not it received what it desired). Brebeuf here presented oki merely as a rational image-soul; "onennonc8at", or 'our medicine' received its power-soul features.

This marked the beginning of a new role for -(e)nnonk8-, at least in terms of the way it was interpreted and used by the missionaries. I believe that in traditional Huron usage "onennonc8at" (or 'on,8en-nonk8at!') was a metaphorical name for oki, referring to the fact that oki had curative powers, just like any medicinal plant. One sees in this the equation of spirit power and medicine that frequently occurs in the thought of many Indian peoples. This equation was accurately represented by Egerton R. Young in his "Stories from Indian Wigwams and Northern Campfires" (1893, pp221-8). He wrote that (ibid; pp221-2):

"The word "medicine" among the Indians means much more than is

generally understood by it. To them it has a much deeper meaning than mere healing remedies or curative practices. While there are those who had devoted all their time and were called conjurers, or medicine-men, yet every body was supposed to have his good or bad medicine. When specially fortunate in hunting or warfare or in more quiet duties of life he was said to be under the influence of "good medicine". When misfortune overtook him in any of his affairs his "Bad medicine" was said to be the cause. A man specially fortunate in war, and one who had escaped the bullets of his enemies, was under the influence of "good medicine.""

In Huron belief this kind of 'medicine' was an expression of oki power.

Encountering this sort of reference in phrases such as the one given above, Brebeuf may have simply deduced that it was the term for the soul. Of equal, and probably greater likelihood is the possibility that Brebeuf chose "onennonc8at" or -(e)nnonk8- as a preferable alternative to the logical chose of oki (or "oki haendaerandic"); turning a metaphorical reference into a euphemism.

A brief look at the history of missionary use of -(e)nnonk8- and of their expression of the concept 'soul' up until that time lends support to this theory. Prior to Brebeuf's 'Relation' of 1636, -(e)nnonk8- had been used exclusively by Sagard to refer to medicine. It had not been used by Sagard or Brebeuf in previous writings as representing 'soul' in those instances in which souls had been mentioned. Instead one finds the verb -skén-, meaning 'to be a ghost, or manifestation of the dead', used by both writers. As we will see later, in his early writings (i.e., the Ledesme text) Brebeuf extended the scope of reference of that verb beyond that of traditional custom. This 'over-use' of -skén- was matched by the 'under-use' of oki. As I will endeavour to point out in the chapter on -skén- this partly due to his ambivalent attitude towards the use of oki, to his desire to find a 'safe' term of

reference (i.e., one that, unlike oki, did not have too much to do with native expressions of spiritual power) for 'soul' and other Christian concepts. His apparent discovery that his use of -sken- was inaccurate seems to have coincided with the initiation of -(e)nnonk8-, a word somewhat 'safer' than the 'demonic' oki, as the basic term of reference for the soul.

Another possible reason, other than metaphor, why -(e)nnonk8- was encountered in phrases like "ondayee ihaton onennonc8at" might have been that reference was being made to a spiritual being which directed the oki as to what it should desire; a being which was the spiritual embodiment of medicine just as onnhek8i was the spiritual embodiment of corn, squash and beans.

Medicine (represented by the noun root -(e)nnonk8-) has often been recorded as one of the spirit forces in the Iroquoian pantheon; created by the 'good' twin to combat 'Disease', the creation of the 'bad' twin. Unfortunately, to the best of my knowledge, its relation to dreams and the soul has never been clearly established.

That the desires of the soul may have had their origin in a being beyond the personal oki was suggested by Hewitt (1895b, p110) in his statement that:

"Whence the soul had this power of knowing and learning what was necessary, and thus conducive, to the health and happiness of the body, no very self consistent explanation was attempted by the common people; but among the ancients and the sage shamans of the Iroquoian community it was a general opinion that these desires were incited or super-induced by Tha-roⁿ-hya-wa?[?]-koⁿ, the Sky-god and fast friend of man /i.e., the 'good' twin/, to add to the welfare and happiness of the human race."

According to Hewitt it was not "Tha-roⁿ-hya-wa?[?]-koⁿ" who communicated directly with the personal oki, but an intermediary, a "Dream-God" who passed on the 'good' twin's message (op.cit., p111):

"The god A-i'koⁿ? was the messenger of Tha-roⁿ-hya-waⁱ-koⁿ, and it is he who announces to the reasonable soul /i.e., the personal oki/ the commands of the master."

The Wyandot historian William E. Connelley, writing in the late nineteenth century, was of the opinion that the Wyandot, too, had a dream god who instructed the personal oki as to what their desires should be. He claimed that (1899, p118):

"Tah-rehⁱnyoh-trah?ⁱ-squah...was the Wyandot God of Dreams. The name signifies "The Revealer," or "He makes the Visions," or "He makes the Dream"...He was supposed to have something to do with the supernatural influences that acted upon this life, and he revealed the effects of these influences to the Wyandots in dreams. All visions and dreams came from him for he had control of the souls of the Wyandots while they slept, or were unconscious from injury or disease. The Hoo^o?ⁱakehⁱ /i.e., hoki; here meaning 'sorcerer'/ could detach his soul from his body, and send it to Tah-rehⁱnyon-trah?ⁱ-squah for information at any time, and during its absence the Hoo^o?ⁱ-kehⁱ was in a trance-like condition.

No god of the ancient Wyandots had more influence upon their lives and social institutions than Tah-rehⁱ-nyon-trah?ⁱ-squah." 12

Unfortunately, there seems to be a lack of evidence to corroborate these hypotheses, and to supply information that might link these 'dream gods' to a spirit known as 'Medicine' or to identify them as 'Medicine'.

Footnotes

1-The reason that the initial e- is put between brackets is that the noun root was changing from the relatively rare e- stem to the more common consonant stem conjugation. Forms appropriate to both conjugations were appearing at the same time. In Chaumonot's dictionary of 1690-2, for example, we find that the n-m pronominal prefix for consonant stem roots (ho-) was given as an alternative to the appropriate e- stem from (ha8e-; Ch.II.10). Evidence from Marius Barbeaus Wyandot texts (1960, p132)(see below) suggests that this process of change had not been completed by the early twentieth century. I thank Prof. Roy Wright for informing me of the existence of this process in other e- stem roots. The '8' signifies a 'w' after a consonant, a 'u' after a vowel.

2-(a) Mohawk: see Jameson, 1909, p161 (circa 1635); Bruyas 1970, pp37 (see "Atiesen"), 38 (see "Atonon"), 73 (see "Onnerenha"), 74 (see "Gannhon0on") and 81 (see "Onnon^ck8at") (circa 1675); Bohvilain and Francis, 1971, pp27 and 92; and Michelson, 1973, p82.

(b) Onondaga: Chaumonot, 1970, pp69 (see "Medecinne" and "Medecine") and 94 (see "Simples")(circa 1655); and Hewitt, 1928, p680.

(c) Seneca: Hewitt, 1896, p236; Preston and Voegelin, 1949, pp31, 33, and 39; Chafe, 1961c, pp162, 164, 168 and 248.

(d) Cavuga: Foster, 1973, pp60, 61, 301, 303, 305, 309, 313, 364, 399, and 400.

3- Chafe recorded the following as part of the Seneca Thanksgiving ritual speeches (1961c, p19):

"And now this is what the Creator did...He decided, "There will be plants growing on the earth...Indeed, all of them will have names, as many plants as will be growing on the earth...At a certain time they will emerge from the earth and mature of their own accord...They will be available in abundance as medicines to the people moving about on the earth." That is what he intended...And it is true; we have been using them up to the present time...the medicines which the Creator made...He decides that it would be thus; the people would be obtaining them from the earth, where the medicines would be distributed."

4- (a) Chaumonot: Ch.I.117, "Medecine. ,annonk8at. / Ennonk8at"; Ch.I.247, "Medecine...Ennonk8at. ext cp...Ennonk8acha. in cp... .ennonk8acha8asti, n'ond/aie/ te a,otiaton, ota^ck81. bonne medecine p/ou/r Medecine. Enr8ta a,annonk8a^cchonnia0a"; Ch.II.107, "s'ecra-sois la medecine avec la main. Ennonk8achandi8hek a8en a8aton."; Ch.II.216, "Medecine. Ennon^ck8at. ext c. in c. (Ennonk8acha...".

(b) Potier: P310, ",annonk8e...ennonk8at atatennonh8e0a medecine d'amour."; P307, ",annien...ennonk8at sennieha va cu8illir q/uelque/herbe ou racine medicinale"; P386, ",echia,i...onne ,ichiaxe d'ennonk8at je vais charcher une medecine"; P454, "ennonk8at s. ext...ennonk8acha in comp...medecine".

(c) Barbeau 1960, 132:36-7, "d8 n^c k8a? t...the...medecine".

'ext. c(om)(p)' and 'in. c(om)(p)' signify: 'not in composition with

a verb', and 'in composition with a verb', respectively.

5- See fn. #4; also Ch.II.10, "Mon ame...a,ennonk8at...Les ames sont vuides, sen. depouillees de leurs corps. a,onnonk8acha,on. honnennonk8acha,on."

6- See below with respect to -eiachi-.

7- This appeared as "ondinoc" in Peron's letter of 1639 (JR15:155), as "ondinonc" in the same letter (JR15:163) and in Lalemant's 'Relation' of 1639 (JR17:155, 163, 179, 191, 193 and 195) and as "ondinonk" in Bressani's 'Relation' of 1653 (JR39:19, 21 and 23). The word can be translated as: 'one wishes for or desires something greatly' (n-fz/vr/ha).

8- A similar situation was described with respect to the Iroquois with the notions of 'good' and 'evil' added (Parker, 1913, p61):

"The soul may pass from a living body and enter any object or go to any place to acquire wisdom and returning reveal it to the person in dreams or visions. Should a person refuse persistently to heed these warning visions the soul is liable to desert him, leaving the person simply a creature without power to resist or understand the influence of the various spirits good or bad. Thinking that by some oversight or evil doing that he may lose his soul the Indian often offers sacrifices to his evil spirit. This is to satisfy his evil spirit with other things than wrong doings and thereby not offend his good spirit."

9-(a) In this "Dictionnaire de la langue Huronne" under the heading "Guerir, medicamenter":

"De quel mal guerist cette gerbe, medecine, drogue?"

Totatetsense enonquate."

/taot atetsens ennonk8at - What does the medicine cure?/

"La medecine, cette herbe, ne guerist de rien, ne les guerira point.

Danstah teuhafetsense enonquate."

/stah te 8atetsens ennonk8at - That medicine does not cure./

(b) Under the heading "Songer":

"Il a songe qu'il falloit une medecine ou quelque drogue pour estre guery.

Athrasque, ou Aesthrasqua atetsen enonquate."

/ahatrask8a a8atetsent ennonk8at - He dreamt that this medicine would cure./

(b) Under the heading "Viande, mangeaille":

"Onguent, toutes chose medecinales.

Enonquate."

/ennonk8at - medicine/

10-The taking of drugs and the performance of other methods of during may then have been conceived of as being similar to the eating of corn or a brave person's heart. In such a conceptual framework, the spiritual essence, which would probably be thought of as being a 'Curative power', would flow like life or courage from an external spirit being to a soul.

11-Hewitt's translation of an Onondaga version of the creation myth included the following words spoken by the 'good' twin (1928, p549):

"Now, the, I will bestow that whereby you shall continue to live, You will be in the habit of calling that thing medicine. And the reason that I do so is that now, indeed, there will travel about here over the earth what is called Disease, malign by nature, and faceless. That, then, indeed, has the power to cause the days of some of you, human beings, to end for you; also, it will thus break off my handiwork. Now, he has completed that, my brother is the one who has caused it to be. So, then, that is the reason that I deliver at the side of your persons, Medicine, that it may in some small way prove to be a preventive; some, also, it shall cause again to go about in peace, that other days will still become theirs."

12-The name for this 'god' seems to be derived from two separate words. The first word, '-tah-reh'-nyoh-' (i.e., '-tarenio-') might be made up of the noun root -ren- signifying 'spiritual power' (see Appendix #E), and the verb root -io-, meaning 'to be great'. The second word, '-trah?'-squah-' (i.e., '-traskwa-') appears to be related to the verb 'atraskwa', meaning roughly 'to dream' (in the spiritual sense of having visions that augur for the future.). The combination of the two words possible results in a name which relates great spiritual power to having dreams or visions.

Although the meaning of this name seems to be in accord with Connelley's ideas concerning this 'god' figure, one has good reason to doubt whether such a being existed traditionally. Connelley often dealt more in speculation than in clear historical reasoning. The fact that this 'god' was not mentioned elsewhere in the Huron/Wyandot literature leads one to suspect that such is the case in this instance.

It is my belief that the word 'atraskwa' is composed of the middle voice (my) marker -at- added to the noun + verb combination of the noun given by Potier (P452) as "arach^a", meaning "songe", and the verb "a8an" (P315) meaning "prendre" (Which taken with the middle voice marker means (P319): "se retirer, s'enfuir (quasi dicas) se prendre soimeme"). The literal meaning of this combination would be something like: 'to withdraw into dream, to take oneself to the world of dreams'. In early texts this verb appears only in two forms: with or without the causative (ca) suffix -t-. In later (i.e., 20th century) texts, it also occurs in the relatively rare word construction of noun + verb + verb with the verb -io-. The resultant meaning is usually translated as 'good Luck'.

Examples are the following:

(a) Sagard's dictionary:

(under the heading "Pehser, Auoir dans la pensee")

"Ie pense que c'est cela que tu as songe, que tu auois songe. Naetchoirhe sachasqua, /ondaie ichierhe (?) satrask8an"/

(under the heading "Songer")

"I'ay songe.

ouatchasqua haquiey. /a8atrask8a -----(?)/

Tu a songe.

sachasque. /satrask8an/

Il a songe qu'il luy falloit une medecine ou quelque drogue pour estre guery.

Athrasqua, ou Aesthrasqua atetsan enonquate. /ahatrask8a or a8atrask8a (?) ennonk8at/.

Qu'as-tu songe, qu'auois-tu songe?

Toutautein satrasqua. /9o taoten satrask8an/"

(b) Chaumonot's dictionaries:

Ch.I.184 "Rever...Atrask8ati", Ch.I.196 "Songe...jay songe en toy. a, onatrask8a" (see Ch.II.347)

(c) Potier's dictionary:

P202 #38 "atrasx8ati...songer, rever...a, onatrasx8at. je t'ia8 songe, j'ai reve a toi", P386 "etsi...ondaie on, ionnhestihatie n'on, 8atrasx8ati nos songes nous prolongest la vie.", P420 "ont. .stan atrasx8ati te ,arihontak8ik e, enk d'ea, echiens0a, d'ia8a8a te sarih8iosti tu ne ferois point de festin pour tes songes si tu avois tant soit peu de foi."

(d) Barbeau's published works:

(i) ("The Giants and the Old Witch", 1960) "The young woman ...put her mother's (red) leggings into the water; and (just) as she reached (her own) home, her mother stepped into the water. The young woman then said, "I have dreamt that the lake is boiling." The lake boiled, and the old woman was burned to death in the boiling waters." (p9) "ayatra^askwa^{cti} I have dreamt" (p89:51; also see 205:4 & 38, 206:33, 207:111, and 1915b p71); ("The Steer and the Ill-treated Stepson") "...she declared that while asleep she had had a dream." (p35) "awatra^askwa^c she dreams" (212:36; also see 156:13).

(ii) ("The Old Bear and His Nephew", 1915b, p215) "The uki? /oki/ who sat at the tree-top and gave the young man the magical power 4 was Cyclone...4 "a hu' no' ct na' tra' ?askwi/ ju' ?'ndi: he (to) him-gave the luck-good, or the (dream?) good: /ahonnont n'atrask-88ondf -he gave him that which became a good dream or had (originally) come into being as a good dream/ the interpreters translated it into "good luck"...and "magic power". (also see 1915b, p107, 1960,, 119:62, 122:19 & 41, 123:44, 124:25, 125:45, 126:11, 150:6, 157:57, 158:6, 210:34, 229:2, 283:65, and 284:31)

Chapter 6

Ego-Souls

According to Hultkrantz, ego-souls represent man's "ego-consciousness", or, more specifically, that which an individual consciously feels and thinks. He described two polarized 'ideal types' of ego-souls which often exist concurrently in the belief system of a people: the emotive-soul and the intellect-soul. The former is primarily associated with a person's feelings and emotions; the latter, with his or her rationality and thought.¹

We have seen above that early observers recorded that there were two kinds of souls in Huron belief: a 'sensitive, animating' soul that was confined to the body; and a 'rational' soul which could leave the body at certain specific times. (see p. 69) As I see it, these were not single entities unto themselves, but were composite concepts made up of two or more linked elements or beings. The first-name soul was comprised of the emotive-soul, eiachia, or 'heart' (P454, and Ch. I, 37, "Coeur"), the general body-soul aata and the general life-soul onnhek8i; while the second was a combination of the intellect soul, andi onra, or 'mind', and the free-soul oki. While it is difficult to say with a great deal of certainty as to whether or not this linkage of a plurality of souls was ultimately the product of missionary misunderstanding, what can be said is that there was a 'merging' of the linked souls which would have proved to be somewhat baffling to the 'Western' or 'European' mind of the missionary.

One can get a fundamental understanding of the nature of this merging by first dividing the souls into function souls (all the souls except aata) and non-function-souls (aata), and then thinking of the function-souls in terms of the concepts of

'dominant' and 'subordinate'.² At any given time, only two of these four soul concepts are truly dominant, while the other two can be considered as being subordinate. At all times, there is one element of each 'linked soul' in a dominant position, and one that is subordinate.

When an individual is conscious, his 'ego-consciousness' is usually dominated by -ndi,onr- (the noun root of ,andi,onra), the intellect-soul. It is the 'rational soul' in charge. Oki, the free-soul, is somewhere in limbo. Likewise, the general life-soul is evident while eiachia, (the noun root of eiachia), the emotive-soul, is held in abeyance. During times of certain particularly strong emotions (to be described below), eiachi takes over the ego-consciousness, driving -ndi,onr- out of the body.³ During such times, the life-soul is operative but subordinate, its significance is secondary, considerations basic to maintaining life become relatively unimportant.⁴ Oki appears then; the only 'rational' being then evident.⁵

When the individual is unconscious, or in a state of altered perception (see below for a more definitive statement of conditions), oki is dominant, acting basically in the interest of the general life-soul (i.e., providing information concerning obtaining medicine or 'charms' for hunting). -Ndi,onr- then takes on the subservient or 'subordinate' role of the spiritual pilgrim, seeking information from oki, the master of spiritual knowledge and power. The emotive-soul is not then to be found.

It is my contention that the struggle between eiachi- and -ndi,onr- for a dominant position in, or control of the conscious

individual symbolized in the spiritual world the conflict of interests existing in Huron society between the forces and institutions of war and peace. Just as the Huron had different men appointed as chiefs of war and chiefs of peace (i.e., civil chiefs), and just as they distinguished between councils of war, and councils of peace, so, I believe, they had a soul of war and a soul of peace. Eiachi- was the former, and -ndi,onr- the latter.

The feelings primarily associated with eiachi- were bravery and anger. These were the two fundamental characteristics of a good warrior: that he be fearless in battle, unflinching when captured; and that he be ruthless in his anger for revenge (the main cause of war and raiding) in the practice of killing, capturing, and torturing members of enemy tribes. As has been mentioned above, the Huron often ate the hearts of prisoners who, during torture, were considered to have proven their bravery, in order that they might partake of the courage of their victims.

Ond8a,ete ('one who bears the 'mat' of war'; possible a name given for the cuirass or armour made of white rods plaited with cord), the being identified by the missionaries as the 'god of war' of the Huron, was probably related to eiachi- in some way. It was recorded as presenting itself to individuals in the form of anger personified; its face a mask of rage. It appeared just before or during a battle or raid, signalling to the one who saw it whether or not he would meet with victory or defeat. The word ond8a,ete was sometimes used to express the antithesis of -ndi,onr-. Sagard (1968, p49), for example, wrote that "Auoindaon", the great leader of the Bear tribe, had the title "garihoua andionkra" - 'an affair of the mind or intellect-soul' -, distinguishing him from "garihoua /on/douta-

gueta"¹⁵ - 'an affair of one who bears the mat of war' -, the title or term of reference for ordinary warriors. If this was intended to refer to how the bearer of the title was spiritually governed, then, taken with the preceding evidence, one might assume that ond8ta,ete could have been the name given to one manifestation of eiachi-; represented the personal oki in dialogue with an eiachi- dominated ego-consciousness; or was an oki who prompted the appearance of eiachi-.

-Ndi,onr- was usually associated with wisdom,¹⁷ the kind of 'good-hearted' nature that endured insult and injury,¹⁸ and the keeping of peace.¹⁹ These were the necessary attributes of the Huron statesman: both councils and chiefs of peace were referred to as being governed by -ndi,onr-. The Jesuit Father Francois Joseph le Mercier, in his 'Relation' of 1637 (JR13:59) gave "endionra ondaon" - 'the place of the intellect-soul' - as the name for the longhouse where the civil council met.²⁰ In Potier's dictionary (P420), one finds the following sentence:

"ennonchien ond8ta,ete esk8arihontak; ,andi,onra i9o-chien ta,8arihontak ne me faites pas chef de guerre, mais seulement chef de conseil."

This can be analysed as follows:

ennonchien	prohibitive
ond8ta,ete n-fz/nr/vr/pr	one who bears the 'mat' of war
esk8arihontak fu/2p-1/nr/vr/ins/pu	you will put me in charge of such matters
,andi,onra fz-n/nr/ns	intellect-soul
i9ochien	expletive
ta,8arihontak imp/rip-n/nr/vr/ins/imp	put me in charge of such matters

'Do not put me in charge of that which concerns one who bears the 'mat' of war (i.e., do not make me a war chief); put me in charge of that which concerns the intellect-soul (i.e., make me a civil or peace chief).'

While the roles that the ego-souls assumed during moments of consciousness -their definitional roles- are fairly straightforward, their precise function in the unconscious world is somewhat shrouded in mystery.

Although it is tempting to try to relate eiachi to the unconscious wishing born of dreams and visions, to say, like Brebeuf (JR10:141; see the preceding chapter), that such wished reflected the desires of the 'heart'; such is not the case. To succumb to such a temptation would involve the projection of certain affective connotations of 'heart', reflected in languages such as French and English, that did not belong in the traditional cognitive world of the Huron.

To their credit, the French missionaries seemed generally to have avoided the extension of their association of 'coeur' with the soul as the 'seat of affection, desire, love' to its counterpart in the language of the Huron, tending to employ ndi, onr- instead. Perhaps this was because the Huron would not readily accept such a turnabout in the connotations of 'heart'; with an organ or hate becoming an organ of love.

There were, however, a few notable exceptions. The most striking example of this that I have found occurs in the text entitled "Pour Le Dim:/anche/ d'apres L'ascension histoire de gentilhomme q/u/i visitant la terre sainte, meurt d'amour de dieu sur le mont des olives", written by Father Philippe Pierson sometime between 1667 and 1688. In his translation of the prayer said by this "gentilhomme" just

before his death, Pierson wrote (P544):

"sennhaha sken d'a,eiachia (honnonk8at ihent) onde aesaator-
enha de sonh8a aat esannonh8e essaichias ,aronhia,e ichitron;..."

This can be analysed as follows:

sennhaha	command it (i.e., order it to do something)
imp/2-fz/vr/da/imp	
sken	
sken	volitive particle
d'	article
a,eiachia	my heart
n-1/nr/ns	
honnonk8at	His medicine (i.e., his 'soul')
n-m/nr/ns	
ihent	he is speaking, talking about such a thing
pa/m-n/vr/asp	
onde	that
aesaatorenha	we (my heart and I) should find you
opt/fld-2/nr/vr/inc/pu	
de	article
sonh8a	you (and you alone)
n-2/nr/ns	
aat	superlative
esannonh8e	we love you
fid-2/vr/asp	
essaichias	we search for you
fid-2/ur/vr/ha	
,aronhia,e	in the sky (i.e., in heaven
fz-n/nr/e.l.ns	
ichitron	you live, abide in such a place
pa/2-n/vr/ha	

'Command my heart (he is speaking of his medicine or 'soul' /Pierson's note/), that we should find you, for we adore you and are searching for you in your home in the sky.'

This association of eiachi- with a thinking, feeling soul that can love, and can desire something, is continued in the rest of the text, as Pierson tells us what happened to the man who uttered the

prayer, and why is is significant (ibid):

"onde i9ochien a^cra ahak8endondej, chi 'ahenjej, ,aronhia,e ak8atiatak d'honnonk8ak ehen...
 ohendenn ichien n'hondatenro ,ehen: a9oteskenheaten; at'ahona^ck8a t'ahoata8enk, onnen hatetsens ahonaatichiaxa, ahenderhon t'ahaatoret t'ahoata8enk de xa hentars, onnen ontare d'hatetsens onn'a9oatoren ahona^ck8a, 9a8eichia,e ,ahiaton, i8atonk: ies8s sonh8a aa ,onnonh8e ,ahiaton i9ondi de seiachia,e taoten ati ,ahiatonk de seiachia,e? taot i8atonk de ,ahiaton? i8atonk: sonh8a ies8s aat ,onnonh8e 8a taoten ati i,ahiatoncha8en. Stan innonh8a te ,ahiatoncha8asti: onek inde te ora8an de satontandichen. aonh8a d'oki ,arih8trach de ,ahiaton seiachia,on d'anniaten ichitron; i8atonk: ,Rih8annonh8e anniaten i9ochien d8a, i8atonk: X'onde innonh8e de x'i,entron aonh8a onde innonh8e, de te haatate d'ies8s. chi hentron d'i8atonk d'hohiatoncha8an: a8e,atsi8a,en n'endi innonh8e: Hatisk8ahens hatironhia,eronnon ti ,ahiatonch8ten, ondechonronnon /o/nde atihiatonchannonh8e n'onde.

ora8an sen 8atontandichen, ahahirih8annonh8eha hatironhia,eronnon d'ora8an echiatondichen; he8endio hetsinnonh8eha de hesk8aatichiaj ies8s hetsinnonh8eha de hesk8annonhonsti & ihatonk di8: asendi,onrachiat a8eti asak8ichenniat hestonh8eha de di8: haonh8a ahiamnonh8eha aeseiachia8as9a, ahieiachiannonh8eha d'ha8endio.chi'esaatannonnen d'echiatonnhaten; haonh8a di8 te hieiachiak, te haatak sennonk8at ,aronhia,e ehestonh8eha i9ondi daat esendi,onrachat...Amen?

For the sake of brevity, I will here present a free translation of this text in toto, rather than a tedious literal phrase by phrase by analysis:

His wish was granted at the moment of his death. For at that time his soul (i.e., his -(e)nnonk8- or medicine) when straight to heaven...

His friends came and were surprised at what they saw had happened to him. They then went searching for a doctor (i.e., 'he who cures') hoping that he could discover what had happened to their friend now lying on the ground. The doctor came and cut him open, whereupon they saw written on his heart the words: 'Jesus, you alone I adore!' Something is written on your heart too. What is the nature of it? What does it say? It (may) say: 'Jesus, you alone I adore!' What other kind of writing can one have? You (may) desire (to have) writing which is not good. Sometimes the devil (i.e., an oki) alone knows what is in your heart. Such a heart sometimes says 'I love this', and, at other times 'It is this that I love'. Jesus is not present (in such a heart). He whose writing reads 'I love alcohol' is far from Jesus. The angels (i.e., those who live in the sky) hate such writing, while the demons (i.e., those who live in the ground) love it.

If only you desired to have (the writing) that the angels love it would be good in you desired that! Love the master who created you! Love Jesus who adopted you into his family! God tells you to love him, with all your thoughts, and all of your strength. He alone

loved you, (so) you should have a good heart. He would love (such a good heart) and (see to it that) you will be taken care of when your life ends. God alone will life up your heart, your 'soul' (i.e., your medicine), and carry it up into the sky. He will love you and you will love him with all of your thoughts. Amen!

It is clear that Pierson intended that the heart be taken as being a conceptual entity that could be synonymous with 'soul' and that, as such, it was something that could express love and desire. Such a heart was the antithesis of the 'war-soul' of the Huron.

Over two hundred years later, the Iroquoian ethnologist J.N.B. Hewitt made an equally erroneous projection of new meaning onto the term eiachi- (recorded as eri, eriasa?, or aweriasa?; Iroquoian cognates). He justified this with likely looking but spurious linguistic evidence. Following his lead, Hultkrantz, and doubtless other writers as well, mistakenly concluded that eiachi- was a heart-soul which had desires, which wished for things. A brief treatment of this mistaken assumption is necessary in order to set the record straight.

In his discussion of the Iroquoian concept of soul (1895, p112), Hewitt claimed that the term eiachi- (in the form of the cognates mentioned above) was:

"...evidently a derivative from the verb rari, "he intends, thinks, desires." So that it may be seen at once that the heart or soul /as represented by eiachi-/ was regarded as the agent or seat of desires or longing for something..."

He carried this misleading analysis even further by asserting that (ibid., p112-3):

"...the verb-stem -a8-ri, "to intend, think, desire, ...," became the basis of such terms as kvon-to'-ri and wa-kat-er-von'-ta-re', "I know, know it," and "I know it, am aware of it, have knowledge of it, am acquainted with it;" it would come to mean this only after it became the basis of a noun denoting "heart, soul," for these verb-stems signify literally, "my heart or soul is upon or present with it," hence "I know it;"

Although the verb in question ("eri" in Huron; see P382-5) does relate to the wishing of the soul, and may, as -er, be the

verb root from which the word "kyon-te'ri" ("aenteri" in Huron, see P225 and P364) is derived; it is not etymologically related to the noun eiachia.²⁶ The 'wishing-soul' was a being apart from the body, revealing itself in dreams and visions. Eiachi, the emotive-soul (of a living being; see below regarding its role after death), was bound to the body, and to the world of consciousness.

On the other hand, -ndi,onr-, the intellect-soul, was not restricted to the body of the individual. It was free to travel. A question arises, however, as to what it was the Huron believed was traveling: thought or mind-spirit; 'pensee' or 'esprit', essence or entity? When the Huron expressed the notion that one was thinking, consciously or unconsciously, of some object or event, they spoke in terms which implied that the thinker's 'mind' was somehow transported to or into it. This was usually expressed with the noun-verb combination "endi,onraen", meaning literally: 'one's mind puts itself, or one puts one's mind in such a place'; which was employed to communicate to the listener or listeners the idea that: 'one thinks of such a thing'.²⁷

When looking at this problem, one should keep in mind that the distinction between essence and entity was not as clear-cut in Huron cognition as it was and is in 'European' thought. Thus, if one had inquired of various different Huron of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries as to when it was that thought (the essence) traveled, and when the 'mind' (the entity), he would probably have received several answers, probably none of which would have proved satisfactory to the rigors of 'European' logic. There would have been no 'right answer' in those terms.

However, there were certain types of situations in which the Huron tended to believe that an entity, identifiable as -ndi,onr-

had separated itself from the body and was actually traveling. Such situations are roughly definable as being those times when it would appear to an observer that an individual was, for however long a span of time, unable to manifest the apparent functions of the intellect-soul with respect to his immediate, concrete, physical and social surroundings. Such a definition would encompass phenomena like dreams, fainting spells, periods of delirium, visions and deep thought. In other situations, the essence 'thought' would be said to relate to specific objects and events, while the entity 'mind' remained with the individual.

As a spiritual traveler -ndi, onr-, acting in the capacity of a 'part-time free-soul' (i.e., as a body-soul which in certain specific instances acts like a free-soul; see pp27-8) encountered oki, the 'full-time free-soul' (see p28).— It is difficult to arrive at a clear picture of what the relationship was that existed between those two beings when they came into contact in the unconscious world. At times it seems that -ndi, onr- and oki were just two names given to the same being in different circumstances. Certainly the facts that they both were described as being 'rational', and the oki appeared whenever -ndi, onr- abandoned its role as the soul which coninated the ego-consciousness of the individual, suggest that such was the case.

However, the two beings were quite different, and their relationship can be sketched out with a reasonable degree of accuracy.

-Ndi, onr- wandered about during dreams and visions, seeking signs or messages from an oki. While it was moving around, it did its searching through a similar sort of projection of its 'thought' essence as

occurred during times of consciousness. Sometimes it perceived objects which it somehow knew could bring a cure or 'good luck' to the momentarily abandoned individual. Such instances were described on page 69 (example #1), and were illustrated in the quote that preceded it. These were unspoken messages from the oki. In other instances (described on page 70, example #3, and illustrated in the quote which followed it) the oki gave explicit instructions to the -ndi,onr- as to what it was that was required for 'good luck' or a cure. During those times when a curer or 'medicine man' was involved, what probably occurred was that his -ndi,onr- (with the assistance of his oki) sought out signs from the patient's oki - (see page 70, example #2).

In their utilization of the noun root -ndi,onr-, the missionaries sometimes made reference to a part of their belief system which nearly paralleled the contact of the intellect-soul with the free-soul (i.e., the full-time free-soul) of the Huron. This was the interaction of the devil (or his henchmen, the demons) with the soul of an individual, in the process known as 'temptation' or subversion of the soul. In the course of describing such interaction, the missionaries spoke in terms of oki relating to -ndi,onr-. Two examples of this are the following:

(1) When -ndi,onr- was used with the verb root + causative combination recorded by Potier (P398) as "isati", meaning: "heurter/quelque/c/hose/, donner contre, la toucher, lui donner/quelque/. atteinte...etre enfonce, avoir des enfoncements, des coin enfonces", we get statements like (Ch.I. 207) "a,endi,onrisati, on,endi,onrisat oki. le demon m'a tente, a frappe mon esprit."

(2) When -ndi,onr- was used with the verb root + oppositive 1 (opl) +dative (da) combination given by Potier (P439) as "8ta8andi",

meaning: "abbatre q/uelque/, c/hosé/ a q/uelqu'" - un/., la lui arracher. ..la lui renverser de sa situation", we get statements like (P372): "oki tsandi, onr8ta8a onta te chiehieraj e, enk t'e e, enk chiehie^cra Le demon te renversera l'esprit si tu n'est sur tes gardes." and (P489): "oki n'ondechonronnon handi, onr8ta8an de j8das" - 'the devil corrupted or knocked down the intellect-soul of Judas'.

The contact of -ndi, onr- with the Christian spirit world was not confined just to the devil and the demons. For example, when -ndi, onr- was combined with the verb "ontrah8i" (meaning (P426) "mettre dedans"), the resulting literal meaning of 'to put inside one's mind or intellect-soul' was often used to express the idea that one was being 'inspired' by a 'good' Christian spirit figure such as Jesus or Mary.

For example:

(1) Ch.II.188:

"Jesus, inspire not ce q/ue/. seroit bon q/ue/. je fisse.
Jes8s, ta, endi, onrontrak asken d'aionnianni' s8a a, atier."

(2) JR41:166, 170-1:

"Ies8s hond8en te a o amra d'eesaet, onde sk8andi onran-
trah8i stan te sk8annonkona."

/Ies8s hond8en te a, o, amra d'eesas, ondaie sk8andi, onron-
trah8i stan te (,ae) sk8annonkon8a/

"La mère de Jesus qui regarde les pauvres, vous a pousse a
ne les pas mepriser"

"The mother of Jesus, in her regard for the poor, has prompted
you not to hold them in contempt."

/The mother of Jesus, looking at those who are poor, puts the
thought in our minds: 'you will not hold them in contempt/ (see
Appendix A)

It is important to recognize that the missionaries saw -ndi, onr- as something which could enter the spirit world. In their opinion it was a name for the soul, insofar as the soul interacted with spiritual beings and spiritual forces. Despite the fact that they were casting an unfavourable light on the spiritual contacts of -ndi, onr- with oki,

the missionaries did not deny that such contacts existed. They could not make such a denial categorically because they firmly believed that the soul of the individual could interact with spiritual beings, either good or bad. They were not 'demystifying' -ndi,onr-, rather, they were merely changing the meaning of the interpretations of spiritual contacts by changing the names of the characters with which -ndi,onr- interacted.

Footnotes

1- This does not preclude the possibility that in the belief system of a people one, or even three ego-souls may exist (see p42 fn#1). The latter possibility seems to have been the case with the Mohawk (and perhaps other Iroquois peoples as well). The third term was erienta. It appears to be related etymologically to eiachia ('erisa' in Mohawk), yet it covers a range which includes significations which in Huron belonged solely to -ndi,onr-. Along with the Mohawk cognate of -ndi,onr-, it seems to be one of the primary terms of reference for soul in the Mohawk language. This can be seen in the following quote from Lafitau (1974, originally 1724, p230):

"I am quite sure that an Iroquois and any other Indian would be quite embarrassed to specify the nature of his soul and to give a clear and precise definition of it. They give it spirituality, nevertheless, as much or more than we do. They do not satisfy themselves with regarding it as a substance capable of thought; but they identify it so much with thought that they have only the same terms to express both (concepts.)."

These terms, among the Iroquois, are Gannigonr-ha and Erienta. Although they are used indifferently for expressing the operations of the soul, the first relates properly rather to the operations of the mind and its understanding, and the second serves to express those of the heart and will. These terms occur often and it is not permitted to use them incorrectly."

The following are noun + verb combinations in which (in the 17th century at least) erienta was used in Mohawk where -ndi,onr- was used in Huron:

(a) (Bruyas, 1970 (orig. circa 1675), p112) "Erient8annen ...grand esprit"; (P254) ",andi,onr8annen...avoir un grand...esprit".

(b) (ibid) "Erientaksenon...etre fache"; (P210) ",andi,onrachⁱendi..se facher...".

(c) (ibid) "Aterientajenton...penser, examiner"; (P220) "endi,onraenton...penser, deliberer".

(d) (ibid) "Erientoriannon...aller divertir, distraire quelqu'un; (P432) ",andi,onrori se divertir, se distraire."

2- The notions of dominant and subordinate in this case pertain to manifest function. The aata had no manifest function, was neither dominant nor recessive; it simply existed. A function-soul is one seen as performing a specific function i.e., thinking.

3- This is perhaps most clearly pointed out in a comment written by the Jesuit Father Jean de Quens in his 'Relation' of 1656, concerning the Onondaga. In a statement that could have with equal accuracy been applied to the Huron, he commented that these people believed that (JR42: 51):

"...madness, anger, and all violent passions expel the rational soul from the body which, meanwhile, is animated only by the sensitive soul, which we have in common with animals."

4-This assumption is fundamentally based on my theory that eiachi- was the 'war soul'. During times when eiachi- was in a dominant position, thoughts of fighting and killing were paramount, and one's life was put in constant jeopardy.

5-It was often recorded that person who was enraged or angry was termed oki. Champlain, for example (C3:143), wrote that one who was "infuriated as if out of his mind and beside himself" was called "Oqui" (i.e., oki). Sagard gave "a raging devilish disposition" (S170) as one meaning for oki. Also see P167 #41 and Ch.I:82.

6-Tookey, 1967, pp42-3:

"The "old men" in a village decided all matters within the village and their advice was tantamount to an order (JR10:15)... Certain of these men were chiefs. These were of two types: those concerned with affairs of state, with the affairs of both Huron and foreigners, as, for example, feasts, dances, games, lacrosse matches, and funeral ceremonies, and those concerned with affairs of war (JR10: 229-231; 16: 229)."

7-Tookey, 1967, p43, fn#52: "In the 19th century, the Wyandot still were reported as having tribal and war councils (Powell 1881:61,68)."

8-Eiachi- was used in combination with verbs to indicate the following attributes:

- (a) Courage and cowardice:
 - (i) The noun eiachi- appears in the word "ateia^oa" (see below) given by Potier (P185 #41) as meaning: "etre brave, courageux a la guerre; avoir du coeur" (see also Ch.I.42 "Courage" and Ch.I.92 "Hardi")
 - (ii) It occurs in composition with the verb "a,ennian", presented by Potier (P245 #90) as meaning: "surpasser, surmonter, vaincre, avoir l'avantage en q/uelque/ c/hose/.", giving us "k8eiakennion" or "k8-ateiakennion", meaning (ibid): "disputer a qui aura le plus de courage, s'entre defier a qui aura le plus de coeur...vaincre q/uelqu'un/ en courage."
 - (iii) It occurs in composition with the verb given by Potier (P164 #17) as "akaen", meaning "etre lent", giving us "eiakaen", meaning: "etre lache, poltron, timide, sans coeur". (see also Ch.I.37 "Coeur", and Ch.I.106 "Lache").

- (b) Anger:
 - It occurs in composition with the verb root + inchoative (inc) combination "achendi", presented by Potier (P210) as meaning: "devenir mauvais, se gater, se corrompre, contracter q/uelque/ mauvais qualite, entre en q/uelque/ mauvais disposition", giving us "eiachiendi", meaning (ibid): "se facher, se mettre en colere" (see also Ch.I.37 "Colere", p73 "Fache" and p117 "Mechant")

Hewitt claimed that in this word, eiachi- occurred in combination with the verb root -(a)t- -'to be inside' (see P179-80, and P357, "at" and ",at" respectively). He stated that in the Iroquois word

"wak-er'-yat" it literally meant (1895, p113): "a heart is in me", meaning figuratively "I am brave, courageous". Such is not the case, the noun + verb combination would have been something like 'eia (chia) t', not 'eiat(h)a'.

Of curious note is the fact that in one form in which this combination occurred, it entered into the extremely rare noun + verb + verb combination: (P185): "k8-ateiaθa- ,ennion...disputer a qui aura le plus de courage, se donner le defi en matiere de bravour".

9-Wallace wrote (1969, p30) that traditionally the ideal Seneca man was: "a stern and ruthless warrior in avenging any injury done to those under his care." Further, one who was pursuing the career pattern of the war chief had to be a (ibid, p31): "stern and ruthless warrior (always fighting, at least according to the theory, to avenge the death or insult of a blood relative or publicly avowed friend)...". Such also could be said of his counterpart in Huron society.

10-See JR10:227, and JR17:74.

11-This word is made up of the noun recorded by Potier as (P450) "and8ta" or "ond8ta", given as meaning: "jonc...apakoi-natte" and "natte de guerre" respectively, and the verb presented by Potier as "a,e^{cte}", meaning (P259): "porter q/uelque/. c/hose/.". Taken together (as "ond8ta,ete") they were given by Potier as meaning (P251): "porter la natte d guerre (avec tous les manitous /i.e., oki spirits in their manifestations as 'charms'/ enveloppes dedans)".

12-The name that Sagard gave for this 'armour' was (S154) "Aqientor". This was in actual fact a word which described the one who was wearing the armour. It was constructed with the noun given by Potier as "aenta", meaning (P446) "baton-perche...pieu" and the word "ori", given as meaning (P431) "etre couvert de q/uelque/. c/hose/bonne ou mauvaise... couvrir q/uelque/ c/hose/ou q/uelque/ personne:". Taken together (with the middle voice marker), they are recorded as "atientori", meaning (ibid) "s'armer ou etre arme...quasi dicas se couvrir ou etre couvert de bois". As this word does not give a specific name to the apparel itself, it is conceivable that the name for the armour itself was "and8ta", while one wearing it could be termed either "ond8ta,ete" or "atientori".

13-In his 'Relation' of 1642, the Jesuit Father Hierosme Lallemant wrote that (JR23:153):

"Ondoutschte, whom they /the Rock tribe of the Huron/ recognize as the God of war, often appears to them, -but never without inspiring fright, for he is terrible. Sometimes he assumes the countenance of a man mad with rage; again, that of a woman whose features are only those of fury."

14-In his 'Relation' of 1636, Brebeuf wrote of a Huron god of war who appeared as a dwarf. He stated that (JR10:183):

"...he appears to many when they are on the point of going to war. He caresses some, and that is a sign, they say, that they will return victorious; others he strikes upon the forehead, and these can truly say that they will not go to war without losing their lives."

Writing in 1648, the Jesuit Father Paul Ragueneau stated that the Huron believed that ond8ta,ete ("ondoutaete") decided who would win a battle (JR33:225).

15-Of note here is that this particular phrase, unlike most of the entries in Sagard's dictionary, was written in a dialect different from that of the Bear tribe (the group which Sagard had lived with).^{*} The dialect occurring in this phrase could either be that of the Rock tribe -the group with whom trade relations had first been established-, or that of the Neutral, a people living near the Huron who spoke a similar language and who had been visited for a while by Le Caron, a probable contributor to Sagard's dictionary. If we accept the statement that ond8ta,ete was the god of war of the Rock tribe, then it is likely that this phrase was written in the Rock dialect.

^{*}This is indicated by the -gu- in the word "(on) doutagueta", and possibly by the -g- in the word "garihoua". (See Appendix B)

16-We find in some early statements in Huron and Iroquois manuscripts that oki (and its Iroquois counterparts) was related to fighting ability and war. For example, Potier wrote (Pl67 #41) that the phrase "saki e,enk" could be translated as "tu es un homme/ de coeur, un heros." In his early Mohawk dictionary Bruyas wrote (1970, orig. circa 1675, p36):

"Ackon, demon,...Il se dit aussi d'un homme hardy, &c ...Hondatkon /'hondaki 'in Huron/ nahontrio ganniegeromnon, Les Agniers sont des demons en guerre."

17-This is epitomized in the concept of "andi,onr8annen", (P254) "avoir un grand (un gros) esprit"; a noun + verb combination made up of -ndi,onr- and the verb given by Potier as "a,8annen", meaning (op.cit): "etre le plus grand en age, L'aine, le plus age, le plus vieus...etre deja grand; avoir de l'age...etre grand ou gros de corps, de stature, exemples of this combination are:

- (a) Brebeuf, comparing Jesus to God, said that the former was (BRLT5: 9-10): "chia tehindionrrouane", meaning "aussi sage" as the latter.
- (b) Ch.I.152 "Politique, Prudent, prevoyant. Hondi,onr8annen".
- (c) In "Jesus guerit un possede, aveugle, et Muet" (P485) we find Solomon described as being "daat hondi,onr8anne" (the who has a very great intellect-soul).
- (d) Barbeau (1960, pp91 and 9 respectively) gave the good sense (has) great" and "he/ was really a most clever and shrewd fellow" as translations for "huⁿdiyo·ruwa·n" (1960, 91:19).

18-This is epitomized in the combination of -ndi,onr- with the verb "a8asti" (which in composition means (P318 #92): "etre beau, bon"). This combination was used in phrases like the following:

(a) P86 "anniaten 6o i8entra a,endi,onra8asti, 8a de a,endi,onrachen, il y a de certains jours entré autre q/u/e/ je suis de bonne humeur, il en a d'autre q/u/e/ je suis de mauvaise humeur".

(b) P104 "handiagon ti hondi,onra8asti il est agreable pour sa belle humeur".

(c) P106 "okendiati te hondi,onra8astil a son skat te atieren, d'aiotéc-hentik chi'ahatriest: t8atonk ti hatriestaskon il a extremement l'esprit mal fait avant qu'on ait rien fait capable de le choquer. il se depite (boude) il est pas'croiable com/me/: il est facile a te choquer".

The last phrase is significant in that by showing what a 'good intellect-soul' is not ('te hondi,onra8asti' - 'his intellect-soul is not good') it points out the nature of what it should be, i.e., immune to insult; not easily offended. This follows the often repeated Iroquois maxim concerning the essential characteristics of a sachem or 'Pine Tree' (i.e., peace) chief, that he be a (Wallace, 1969, pp30-1):

"...patient and thoughtful man with a skin "seven thumbs thick" (to make him indifferent to spiteful gossip, barbed wit, and social pressures generally)..."

19-The association of peace-keeping with -ndi,onr- is perhaps best expressed in the noun + verb combination "andi,onhienx8i", meaning (P224): "appaier l'esprit de q/uelqu'un/., faire qu'il se calme, se pacifie", (Ch.I.29) "Calmer, tranquilizer", (Ch.I.52) "desarmer". The verb used here is "aenx8i", given by Potier (P22304 #41) as meaning:

"...faire un champ, travailler a le faire, a le preparer, a l'ensemencer...avoir un champ, l'avoir fait...in comp...etre uni aplani par dessus, etre egal comme un terre labouree a coutume de l'etre...hinc metaphoric signat, etre calme, sans mouvement, sans agitation dici solet de aquis agitates ventis conquepcunt /the quieting of water disturbed by wind/ de animo qd aliqui passione commotus ad rationis quietem revocatur /a Spirit (soul) disturbed by emotion returned to calm rationality/. se calmer, s'appaier, devenir calme, paisable...etre calm, appaise, L'agitation etre passe...appaier de q/uelque/., faire qu'il se calme, calmer, tranquilliser"

Its association with the peace or civil councils was expressed in Brebeuf's 'Relation' of 1636, in which he describes such a council as being (JR10:263): "a council even and easy, like the level and reaped fields."

The opposition of this 'peace-making' to the war-like tendencies of eiachi- is clearly pointed out in the following translation of Matthew, chapter 5, verse 9 - "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God." - recorded by Potier (P477) as: "aiontonnharen d'haa,ondi,onhienx8a de a,aeiachendi: 8ade di8 esa, oenas8a."

This can be analysed as follows:

aiontonnharen	they should rejoice
opt/ind-n/mv/vr/rm/vr/pu	

d'	article
haa, ondi, onhienx8a mp-ind/nr/vr/ha	they calm their minds, intellect-souls
de	article
a, 8eischendi n-ind/nr/vr/inc/st	they are angered (have bad/ corrupted hearts)
8ade	as, because.
di8	God (i.e., 'dieu!')
esa, onenas8a fu/m-ind/vr/ci/pu	he will adopt them as his children

'The ones who calm the intellect-souls of those who are angered (i.e., over some issue that could lead to vengeance war) should rejoice, for God will adopt them as his children.'

20-Also see Brebeuf (JR10:262) "endionraondaone".

In contrast with this, the name for the place where the 'war council' met, was called (JR31:59): "otinontsiskiaj ondaon", meaning roughly: 'the place of cut-off heads'. While this probably contained at least partial reference to the trophies of war that were found there, it may also signify the soul that should govern that council, as the soul of reason and rationality should govern matters of peace-oriented politics or affairs of state. For if the war council (or rather the members of the war council) was metaphorically 'without heads', it would be without intellect-souls (believed to be lodged within the head), and would thus be relying on emotive-souls or eiachi-. As that soul symbolized courage and vengeful anger, it would help generate the 'proper attitude' for preparing for war.

21-Jean Dubois, and Rene Lagane (1971, p26; with Alain Lerond, 1960, p23) gave as one 17th century meaning of "ame": "Coeur, siege des emotions, des sentiments:..."

22-For example:

(a) (P211 #14 "ach'atandeson") "a, ondi, onrach'atandesonk n'ondechonronnon a, on8e, i8erhe sierih8andera j Le demon va, de tout cote corrompant les coeurs des hom/mes/: dans la volonte de les faire pecher."

(b) (P212 #18 "achia, i") "onta, achia^{cti}...faire q/uelque/. action tout de bon, de tout son coeur, son esprit, sa volonte ...onta8-endi, onrachia^{cti}. epaiser son esprit, son coeur, sa volonte a faire q/uelque/. c/hose/, la faire de tout son coeur...*ek8a, endi, onrachia^{cti} a, echien-sennik d'a, rih8andera, i je suis fache de tout mon coeur d'avoir peche. ..asendi, onrachia^{ct} sachiens de sarih8andera, i, hais le peche de tout ton coeur"

(c) (Ch. II. 320) "repens toi de t/ou/s' ton coeur de ton peche asendi, onrachiat sasandi, onr8tak8a de sarih8/and/era, i"

(d) (P366 #100) "ato, en...sentir, s'appercevoir...connoitre ...son, sandi, onratoxa il connoit notre esprit, notre coeur.."

(e) (JR41:166, 170): "Ato en Ies8s hechiens skendiunra toxa stan onek to're homnrak" /,ato,en Ies8s hechiens skendi,onratoxa stan onek to,rihondiak/; "ouy, Mere de Iesus, tu vois mon coeur, & tu vois qu'il ne ment point quand il te dit,": /It is true, Mother of Iesus, you know my mind, (and You know) I do not speck falsely/.

23-Another exception occurs in the translation of Matthew 5, verses 8, -"Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." - recorded by Potier (P477) as: "aiontonharen d'a,a8eiachia8asti stenies@a te aori d'a,a8eiachiont,8ade ehonakense de di8". This can be analysed as follows:

aiontonharen opt/ind-n/mv/vr/nm/vr/pu d'	they should rejoice
d'	article
a,8eiachia8asti n-ind/nr/vr/st	they have good hearts
stenies@a	all kinds of things
te aori ng/n-fz/vr/st	it is not spoiled, covered with something bad
d'	article
a,a8eiachiont n-ind/nr/vr/ba	they have a heart
8ade	as, because
ehonakense fu/(mp)(fzp)-m/vr/pu	they will look at him
de	article
di8	God

'Those who have good, pure hearts should rejoice, for they will see God.'

24-Hultkrantz, op.cit. page 87.

25- Among other things, the verb "eri" was used to express the wish of an individual that something does or does not happen; i.e., (P382-3): "je desire qu'il ait pitie de nous...i,erhe/aha,itemr" /I wish (for it) that he would have pity on me./.

26-If the verb root was 'eri', then it might be conceivable by the verb from which a noun 'eiachia' may be derived. However, the verb root is -er-; the 'i' being the realization of the stative aspect (see Appendix D for terminology).

27-(P219 #37) "aen...mettre q/uelque/. c/hose/. en q/uelque/. endroit, en q/uelque/ lieu, l'y placer...endi,onraen...deliberer, penser

a q/uelque/.c/hose/, y mettre, appliquer son esprit."

28-One can see this expressed in the following ways:

(a) (P312 #72) "annonc...ontarhendi...entrer, se fourrer, s'insinuer dedans...onne tsisandi, onrontarhendi L'esprit t'est t'il revenu." /Behold, your mind has re-entered you/.

(b) (P191 #94) "ationditi...enlever q.c...enlever q. personne, q. animal et l'emmener secrettement..., andi, onrationditi...elever l'esprit de q/uelqu'un/; lui ravir l'esprit." (see P637 fn #14, and Ch.I.7)

29-This was often expressed with the noun + verb (P194 #6; "aton...se perdre") combination "andi, onraction", meaning (P195) "perdre l'esprit": i.e., (Ch.II.254): "il a perdu c/on/noissance, il e/st t/om/be." (see Barbeau, 1960, 158:33)

30-In the following example, Barbeau (1960, pp24 and 156) used the "andi, onraen" combination:

"Now again, at night, the boy had another dream in which all that had happened was revealed to him.* It became clear that (the snake) had grown up only because he had taken care of her, and he understood** how he had been deceived..."

*"ahu?diyora?taha?"

his mind was satisfied about
(understood) /156:15/"

**ahu?diyora?taha

he became aware of /156:26/"

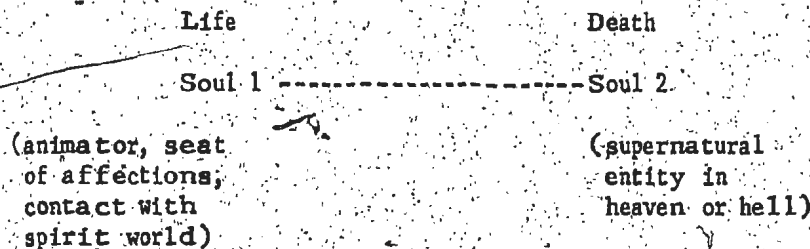
Chapter 7

The Souls of the Dead

As I mentioned earlier in my introduction (p2), the potential for conceptual conflict between the religious beliefs of 'European-Christian' and North American Indian societies (as they both existed at the time of early contact) can be found in the lack of clear parallels in the life-span of their soul concepts; in the presence of divergent ideas concerning the fate of the soul or souls with the death of the individual.

On the one hand, the European-Christian soul passed through two relatively distinct stages of 'life' and 'afterlife'. Except for a few biblical figures such as Jesus and Lazarus, the passage from one stage to another was considered to be irreversible. The soul began as the spiritual half of a spiritual/physical partnership of soul and body, and became, after death, the primary realization of the 'self'. For purposes of classification, one may represent the European-Christian soul as being a 'linear' concept, an entity whose existence in two worlds was connected logically by a straight line. This can be portrayed diagrammatically as follows:

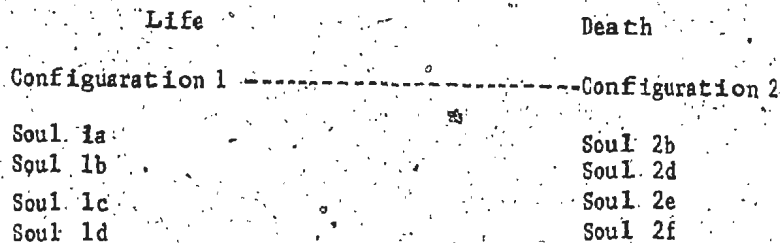
Fig. #5 The Life-Span of the European-Christian Soul



On the other hand, the life of some Indian souls could begin or end with death, and some, once the individual had died, could return to the world of the living in the form of another animate being (i.e.,

as a human, animal, plant, or any object considered to be 'animate'). The individual could move from one world to the next, as one configuration of a plurality of souls replaced by another. The character of a single soul might then be more appropriately classified as 'situational' rather than linear, with greater emphasis put upon reflecting or explaining a situation in life or death than on connecting the two worlds as they apply to each soul concept. This can be portrayed diagrammatically as follows:

Fig: #6 * The Life-Span of the Indian Souls



(where # = life or death; letter = situation or particular aspect of spiritual 'self').

The contrast of 'linear' versus 'situational' is, of course, an over-simplified one. As we will see shortly, the soul concepts of both sides can in some way reflect each of the two elements. It would be more correct to say that European-Christian and Indian souls reflected a compromise between 'linear' and 'situational' thought; the former tending more to the first kind of thinking, the latter to the second. The problem in inter-cultural communication lay in the differences in the relative degree to which each kind of thinking was evident in the conceptualization of souls.

In his discussion of the "life-cycle" of Indian souls, Hultkrantz described four conceptions or manifestations of "the deceased" (1953, p472). These were: (1) the "spirit in the realm of the dead"; (2) the "theriomorphic being" (i.e., a soul which takes the form of

of an animal);

(3) a being "reincarnated in a new individual"; and

(4) the "grave ghost" or "wandering spook-ghost".

In Huron belief, all four manifestations were associated with the concept represented by the verb root -sken-, meaning: 'to be a manifestation of a person who has died' (see P350 #54, "askend"). They can be grouped into three relatively distinct conceptual units: (1) the soul which travels to the land or 'village' of the dead (including numbers one and two in Hultkrantz's list); (2) the soul reincarnated in a new form (including numbers two and three in Hultkrantz's list); (3) souls in limbo (representing number four in Hultkrantz's list).

The first two conceptual units are best described in the following quote from Brebeuf's 'relation' of 1636 (JR.10:287):

"Returning from this feast /the feast of the dead/ with a Captain/Huron with a position of authority/ who is very intelligent and who will some day be very influential in the affairs of the Country, I asked him why they called the bones of the dead Atisken /derived from -sken-/. He gave me the best explanation he could, and I gathered from his conversation that many think we have two souls, both of them being divisible and material, and yet both reasonable; the one separates itself from the body at death, and yet remains in the Cemetery until the feast of the Dead, -after which it either changes into a Turtledove, or according to the most common belief, it goes away at once to the village of souls. The other is, as it were, bound to the body, and informs, so to speak, the corpse; it remains in the ditch of the dead after the feast, and never leaves it, unless some one bears it again as a child. He pointed out to me, as a proof of this metempsychosis, the perfect resemblance some have to persons deceased. A fine Philosophy, indeed. Such as it is, it shows why they call the bones of the dead, Atisken, 'the souls'."

The -sken- who traveled to the realm of the dead, embarked on a journey which took him westward into the sky. He took with him the soul or spiritual essence of the fine clothing, tools, and weapons

presented to him at the feast of the dead. He followed a wide path which was often associated with such natural phenomena as the milky way or a rainbow. Sagard tells us that the former was called "atiskēin(e) andahatey" (S172, and 1865, under the heading "Astres, Journees, este Hyuer.") - '(h)atiskan (h)ondāhate' - 'they are 'ghosts', their path' -, or "le chemin des ames". The proto-animal Deer, said by the Wyandot to have shown the other proto-animals the way into their new home in the sky by walking up the rainbow, was named "oskennonton" - 'one who goes to where many 'ghosts' are; one who dwells in the realm of the 'ghosts'!- (see P352 #60). On the road to the realm of the dead, the -skēn- passed the home of a spirit being named "oscotarach" (JR10:145; see P336 #17) - 'one who opens or pierces the head of somebody!-who drew the brains out of the heads of the -skēn-, and kept them there as the -skēn- proceeded onward. Also encountered along the way (on what seems to have been the earthbound part or version of the journey) was a prominent rock, named "ekarendinondi" (ibid; also see P397 #28; -'where a rock juts out, stands out!-) which was covered with the paint used on the faces of the dead; and a log bridge across a river. The bridge was guarded by a large dog who jumped at the traveling -skēn-, trying to make them fall into the river and drown (JR10:147).

Once the traveler had arrived at the realm or 'village' of the dead he lived in a manner similar to that in which he had lived before his death; hunting, fishing, and growing corn. Much of his time was spent dancing with or for the health of aata,entsik, the mother or grandmother of the twin gods, and the mistress of the realm of the dead.

Brebeuf's statement that some -skēn- became "turtle doves" (possibly passenger pigeons) probably indicates that it was believed that as

birds, or using birds as vehicles, these -sken- traveled to the realm of the dead. The latter point was suggested in Lewis Henry Morgan's statement concerning the Iroquois that (1901, p168):

"A beautiful custom prevailed in ancient times, of capturing a bird, and freeing it over the grave on the evening of the burial, to bear away the spirit to its heavenly rest."

A -sken- could be reincarnated in one of three essentially different ways: (1) it could be the -sken- of a baby (one who had died in its first or second month of life) who had been buried along some frequently-used path, had entered the womb of a woman walking along that path, and was 'born again' as the child of that woman (JR10:273); (2) it could be the -sken- of some person buried in the communal cemetery 'born again' in some child said to resemble that person (see quote above); and (3) it could be the -sken- of a recently deceased person (particularly of someone of great significance) which was formally transferred to someone then living who was considered to resemble him in qualities and general characteristics. This latter process of 'resuscitation' or 'resurrection' is described in the following two quotes (S209-10; and JR10:273, respectively):

"The Attiouindarons / the Neutral, a group closely related to the Huron/ enact Resurrections of the dead, chiefly of those who deserved well of their country by remarkable services, to the end that the memory of illustrious and valorous men may in some manner come to life again in the persons of others. So they call meetings with that object, and hold councils, at which they choose some one among them who possesses the same virtues and characteristics, if that is possible, as he whom they wish to resuscitate, or a least one whose manner of life is irreproachable among savages. When ready to proceed to the Resurrection, they all rise except the one to be resuscitated, on whom they bestow the name of the dead man, and all putting their heads far down pretend to lift him from the ground, meaning thereby that they draw out of the tomb that great man who was dead and restore him to life in the person of the other, who rises to his feet, and after great applause by the people receives the presents offered him by those taking part. They also congratulate him with several feasts and henceforth treat him as the dead man whom he represents."

"The Huron/...revive their names as often as they can. For this purpose they make presents to the Captains, to give to him who will be content to take the name of the deceased; and if he was held in consideration and esteem in the Country while alive, the one who resuscitates him, after a magnificent feast to the whole Country, that he makes himself known under this name, -makes a levy of the resolute young men and goes away on a war expedition, to perform some daring exploit that shall make it evident to the whole Country that he has inherited not only the name, but also the virtues and courage of the deceased."

There appear to have been two different groups of 'souls in limbo'. The first group consisted of those traveling -skén- who, either because they were too old or too young, were not able to make the long arduous journey to the realm of the dead. They dwelt in villages near those of the living, grew corn in abandoned fields, and sometimes they (i.e., the -skén- of children) were heard closing doors and chasing after birds (JR10:145). These souls were considered to be harmless.

Such was not usually the case with the other group of 'souls in limbo'; those who, through circumstances surrounding the nature of their death or burial, were considered to be unable to join the other dead and unable or too undesirable to join the living (i.e., through resuscitation). They were destined to live alone, or in villages of like-spirits. The -skén- of those who had died through violence, either of nature (i.e., by freezing or drowning) or of man (i.e., murder or suicide), were not buried (or reburied) in the communal grave during the feast of the dead (JR39:31). These -skén-, and the -skén- of those who had been improperly buried (through neglect or by accident) were feared by both the living and the dead (i.e., the -skén- dwelling in the realm of the dead).

How did these three different -skén- manifestations relate to the souls of the living? What were the connections (if any) linking

the souls of life with those of death? In the pages that follow, I will attempt to sketch out what these connections may have been.

There is a temptation to say that, as it could travel apart from the body, the 'soul in the realm of the dead' represented the 'rational' soul of -ndi,onr- or oki after death; and that the 'reincarnated soul' and the 'soul in limbo' represented the 'sensitive' and 'animating' souls linked together (or just the 'sensitive' soul).

The evidence tends to suggest that such was not the case. Following Brebeuf's statement that the two kinds of -sken- that he was describing in the quote given above (i.e., the 'soul in the realm of the dead' and the 'reincarnated soul') were both "reasonable", one finds that the 'rational' souls of -ndi,onr- and oki seem to have the most apparent link with all kinds of -sken-.

We have seen above that the -ndi,onr- or intellect-soul of a living person was believed to travel during dreams and visions to places far away from the unconscious body. These journeys could lead it to the realm of the dead (see below - the 'Orpheus' myth-). In this way it resembled the -sken- which separated itself from the bones of the dead and made its way to that same destination. The travels of the -ndi,onr- of the living and this -sken- differed, however, in two crucial respects: (1) the brains of the -sken- were taken out while the -ndi,onr- was left intact; and (2) the -sken-, once it was in the realm of the dead, did not return. When considered in the light of three basic premises, these differences point to what may have been the fate of the -ndi,onr- after death.

The premises are: (1) that the head or brains were considered to be the seat or dwelling place of the intellect-soul;

(2) that the intellect-soul was closely associated with 'memory'; and (3) that the Huron wanted to prevent the return of the -skn- (outside of resuscitation) to haunt the living.

In support of the first premise is: (a) the obvious 'demonstration effect' of the logical connection between a blow to the head and the loss of consciousness (i.e., the loss of -ndi,onr-); and (b) the cultural recognition of the relationship between an action performed on the head or brains and a reaction in the intellect-soul found in the dream-guessing feast known as 'onnonh8arofa(k)' -'one's head is agitated or moved violently' (see P432 #68). In this ceremony the agitation of the head (demonstrated by the participants, 'acting crazy') was related to their having significant dreams (i.e., their intellect-soul traveling).

Hultkrantz made a definite point of asserting that 'memory' was an integral part of the intellect-soul. As the repository of knowledge, -ndi,onr- was by definition the center for memory. This seems to have been expressed most clearly in the noun + verb + inchoative (inc) combination ",andi,onrhendi", signifying 'to forget', but meaning literally: 'one's intellect-soul falls' (P371).

Like many, if not most, Indian peoples, the Huron desired greatly that the 'ghosts' of the dead not return to haunt the living. Among other things, this was evident in the great care with which the bones of the dead were treated and the lavish gift-giving involved in the feast of the dead. Along with wanting to express their sense of loss over the death of a loved one, I feel that this was also intended to insure that the dead felt no slight or injury was committed

13
in burial which would warrant their haunting those responsible.

If one considers the differences between the living -ndi,onr- and the -sken- traveling to the realm of the dead in the light of these premises, one is led to the conclusions that the removal of the brains of the -sken- could have resulted in the loss of the -ndi,onr- and that this was considered as a loss in the -sken-'s capacity to remember certain things. With the loss of a -ndi,onr-, a -sken- would have lost the memory of how it traveled between the worlds of the living and the dead. Thus, it could not return to haunt the living.

Support for this hypothesis comes from the way that it helps to explain two features of Iroquoian belief.

The first is the treatment of enemies that had been killed. Whenever they could, Iroquoian peoples removed the heads of those they had killed in battle, and of those they had tortured, I believe that one reason for this behaviour (other than providing trophies or proof of daring exploits) was to reduce the possibility that the 'ghosts' or -sken- of these people would haunt them. For it was the -sken- of their victims that the Huron (as other Iroquoians) feared most (JR39:20). They would do almost anything to prevent these -sken- from returning. If the victims had no heads, and therefore no -ndi,onr- or memory, they would not know how to return to seek revenge.

15
My hypothesis also helps to explain one feature of the 'Orpheus myth' that seems to have been added by Iroquoians. In this myth (Huron version: JR10:149-53) a person travels to the realm of the dead in order to bring a loved one back to life by retrieving his or her soul. The traveler encounters a guardian of the dead who sets

down the conditions under which the loved one is to be brought back to life. Its soul is carried back in some small container. In Iroquoian versions of this myth, the traveler encounters 'oscotarach' (as the guardian of the dead), and receives from him the 'brains' of the loved one to carry in another vessel. This differs from most versions told by neighbouring Algonkian tribes, who tended to tell this story without this added feature. One good explanation for this difference comes from the fact that the Iroquoian tribes had an intellect-soul to remove and put back into the head of the returning 'ghost', while the Algonkians had not.

The role of oki in the world of the -sken- seems to have been basically a two-fold one. It could either be the 'good', helpful oki operating as someone's guardian, the free-soul as it has been described in the two preceding chapters; or it could be a 'bad', destructive oki, wreaking revenge on the living, a being which was not the soul of any one living person, but an independent agent whose 'home base' was the -sken- of someone wronged in death or burial. This distinction linking good and personal oki against bad and independent ones was not absolute. There were oki who were both independent and helpful, and there were personal oki (i.e., those of dangerous 'sorcerers!') who were anti-social and destructive (see below).

My point here is that, in terms of the -sken- depicted above as the 'reincarnated soul' and the 'grave ghost', there tended to be an association of good, personal oki with the former, and bad, independent oki with the latter.

In the discussion above concerning the 'reincarnated soul', we learned that a person who received the name of someone deceased (during the ceremony of resuscitation) also obtained a soul. In try-

ing to discover the nature of the relation of -sken- to the living souls, one must ask: (1) Which one of the souls of the living could this be?; and (2) How would this new soul fit into the configuration of souls of the living discussed above?

One may progress towards answering the first question by looking at the conditions the potential recipient must meet before he could receive the new soul. He must either have similar qualities to the deceased, or be considered "irreproachable". To my mind, this reflects a situation in which an individual is being judged worthy of receiving 'power'. The power involved was spiritual power. The qualities the individual had, and the ones he was to receive were both considered to be reflections of spiritual power. Like a potential recipient of political power, he was judged according to whether or not he had handled power in certain fields (i.e., possessed certain skills) and whether or not he was considered to be incorruptible by power.

In Huron thinkings, the concepts of personal qualities, spiritual power, and soul all met in the concept of oki. Anyone considered to be exceptional in any way was termed oki. It did not so much mean that the individual was an oki as it meant that he reflected in his actions the presence of a great deal of oki power and meant that his oki was very strong. For someone to receive oki power was not an unqualified good, for if someone received such power and misused it, he was considered to be very dangerous, and was feared. Thus, if one was to receive the powerful oki of a great man, precautions had to be taken to insure that such power would not be misused.

The situation would be different if the individual were to receive other 'living souls', for shouldn't an ignorant man receive

wisdom (i.e., a -ndi,onr-), a coward courage (i.e., an eiachi-), and a dying man a sustainer of life (i.e., an onnhek8i)?

Further evidence supporting the hypothesis that oki was the transferred soul can be obtained by considering the nature of the 'residence' of each soul. I believe that, for the Huron, every soul needed a residence. In the case of the body-souls, it was a particular part of the body, or the body as a whole. As the residence of these souls could not be duplicated in the physical world, it seems reasonable to assume that an individual could have but one of each kind of body-soul. Spiritual transfer from one being to another which involved body-souls, involved the passage between those beings of a physical substance: in the case of onnhek8i it was corn; eiachi-, the heart; and -ndi,onr-, the brains or the blood which flowed to the head. Such a transfer involved the transfer of a spiritual essence (i.e., life, courage, and memory or knowledge), not a spiritual entity.

The case was somewhat different when the free-soul oki was involved. It could switch residence quite easily as it was not (in life) tied to any particular physical substance. As such, the transfer of the spiritual entity from one being to another, and the possession of more than one such entity were both conceptually possible.

In order to answer the second question given above, one must, in turn, ask two other questions: (1) Could an oki be added if an individual already had one?; and (2) How did an individual receive his first (and only (?)) oki?

Hewitt, gathering his information from an unspecified source, suggested that an individual could possess many 'rational' souls (1895, p108):

"According to the most common opinion among Iroquoian sages, man is endowed with one sensitive soul which is the animating principle of the body, and with one or more reasonable or intelligent souls or psychic entities, some persons being reputed to have four or five of the latter class at one and the same period, while at other times the same persons may not have one of this class of souls.

...When there is in any individual a superfluity of souls, they are those only which are endowed with reason and intelligence, for the sensitive or animating soul is never duplicated."

Unfortunately, the lack of corroborating and elaborating evidence leaves this question still unanswered.

The evidence which would provide an answer to the second question is likewise insufficient. While the information available tells us that the Huron undertook vision quests in order to obtain oki or spiritual guardians, it does not definitively say what the ultimate source of the oki tended to be; whether it was originally an animal spirit, a clan totem, or the oki of someone who had lived before. My belief is that in a great many and possibly most cases, oki came from the last-named source; that the oki concept of the Huron was quite similar to the 'name-soul' concept of the Eskimo, as that concept is described in the following quote (Fredriksen, 1964, p51):

"When a person dies, his name soul splits into two parts, one of which remains in the realm of the dead while the other is transferred to another person, for example a newborn baby, a boy or girl at puberty, or a Shaman at his initiation or during illness."

For the Huron, a vision quest resulted in a new name for the successful participant. ²³ While this naming has not, to my knowledge, been specifically identified with resuscitation or some less elaborate ceremony for transferring the names of the dead to the living, it was said that most names were so transferred; that few names were lost. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the name received after a vision quest was usually just such a traditional name and that it was

formally presented at a resuscitation or like ceremony.

Thus, both names and oki's (i.e., ondaki, n-fzp/vr/st) would be received as the result of the vision quest and resuscitation. I suggest that the reason for this is that each name was associated with a specific oki, that (as was the case with the Eskimo name-soul) the names and ondaki of the ancestors were linked units, perpetuated through the joint processes of vision quest and resuscitation. During a successful vision quest the Huron individual would encounter an oki which had been the oki of someone else now no longer living. Resuscitation would formalize the connection between that individual and the oki by bestowing upon him what was believed to be the appropriate ancestral name. This, I think, would be the ideal, the pattern to which the majority would conform or attempt to conform.

Thus, in answer to the question of how did the resuscitated oki fit into the configuration of the souls of the living, I would say that it probably was the full-time free-soul of the living that was described in preceding chapters.

As we have seen above, the 'grave-ghost' or 'wandering-spook' tended to be a feared creature, a being which terrorized those who encountered it (but see fn#8). In Wyandot mythology one finds that the characterization of the improperly-buried -skén- as a grave-ghost was virtually identical to the figure of the independent, harmful oki. This is seen in the interchangeable roles of the improperly-buried -skén- in the story of the "Beaver Giving Powers" (Barbeau, 1915b, pp113-5) and the 'monster' in the "Monster Lizard and the Hunters" (ibid, pp142-6). It was explicitly stated in the story of "The Seers and the Man buried in the Woods" (ibid, pp152-3). In the story, a spectre haunting a hunting party is traced by a seer to a particular

spot. When the seer directs several men to dig by a particular tree, the diggers found (ibid, p153):

"...a dead man who had been buried years ago in a cavity under the tree. His body, still fresh as on the very day of the burial, was lying there with the face turned upwards. His tomahawk, hunting knife and gun were there beside him, and scalps were still hanging all around. The dead warrior was watching them, as they were digging around him, and although apparently without life and helpless, he kept rolling his eyes frightfully. Only the bravest among the men dared come near and carry his body out to the surface. They then burnt his remains, so that they might no longer cause harm to anybody. /When it was done/ the leading seer advised his companions to report the adventure to the head-chief of the village, who had authority to /dispose of such matters./. The chief, therefore, assembled the people together, spoke to them at length, and urged them no longer to bury their dead in the wilds when they were engaged in hunting /or war/ expeditions. Whoever happened to die when out hunting, in fact, had to be buried alone in the woods had become a /dangerous/ uki!" /additions by Barbeau/

This, as other kinds of -sken-, was not an oki itself, but a spiritual/physical entity which formed a base or 'residence' for an oki of someone who had died. ²⁴ Such a -sken residence was necessary for the oki to have continued contact with the world of the living. Without it, and without being reincarnated in a new, living individual, the oki of a dead person would be restricted to the world of the dead (not necessarily the 'realm' or 'village' of the dead in the sky to the west). One can see this in the practice of burning the bones of those thought to possess oki which were potentially dangerous. ²⁵ Such a 'bad' oki could not continue to plague the living if it had no -sken- Base from which to operate.

The hypothesis suggested here, that oki must be based in a -sken- (or a living person) before it can have contact with the world of the living, can be extended to include oki which were thought to exist in nature. The bones of important game animals were not thrown

to the dogs or put in a fire, but were treated with respect, often used as charms bringing 'luck' to the hunter (JR10:167; S186-7; C91-2). It was said that if one violated these taboos, one would never be able to successfully hunt that kind of animal again. For the other members of that species would hear of the disrespectful treatment of the bones and not let themselves be caught or killed.

In the logic of the oki/sken relationship described above, it would be stated that by treating the bones in a respectful way, by not destroying them, the -sken- base would remain intact and the animal oki would thus keep in contact with living people, aiding them in the hunting of other members of the species (perhaps operation as secondary spiritual guardians). If the contact was not so maintained, if the -sken- base was disrespectfully destroyed, the oki would seek revenge, contacting the oki of other animals (or the oki of a 'protective animal' in the realm of the dead) and telling them not to let themselves be killed.

The hypothesis could also extend to those elements in nature said to be the residences of powerful oki that must be appeased by gifts (particularly tobacco) and sacrifices. These residences included such features as rivers, dangerous rocks, and, most significantly, the sky (see JR10:159-63). Special burial ceremonies were performed for those who had died by freezing or drowning. They were performed to appease the oki-in-nature thought to be offended. The victims were buried in separate places, not in the communal cemetery. Their -sken- were said not to be in communication with other -sken-.

It is my belief that the oki of the elements in nature whose wrath was feared was really an abstractly unified representation of the many ondaki residing in the -sken- that dwelt there (as opposed to

the realm of the dead), the -sken- of those who had died there and were not buried in the communal cemetery (either deliberately -see above- or because their bones were lost there). The 'sky', the most abstract of all such oki, was probably a catchall place for locating conceptually the oki of those who had died by nature's hand by means not necessarily attributable to area (i.e., freezing), becoming also extended to include other deaths due to 'nature'. As at least one part of the sky was the 'proper' realm of the dead, it is not unlikely that the sky was a term which came to symbolize the concern of the ancestors for the proper treatment of the recently deceased, and which was the spiritual entity (the collective oki of the collective -sken-) who could, when offended, cause hardship and death by forces of nature, and when pleased, could bring about ideal conditions for the growing of corn and the raiding of an enemy.

Missionary Use of -Sken-

The missionaries, in their use and understanding of -sken-, moved from a stage of overextending its meaning so as to include virtually all the aspects of the European-Christian soul, to one of restricting its signification to that of a figure that seems to have been little more than a 'ghost'.

The first 'stage' of -sken- use and interpretation lasted up to about 1636. During this time, Brebeuf was expressing his own 'linear' and monistic soul beliefs in terms of -sken-, even using it to refer to the souls of the living. This was partially due to his ignorance of the complete meaning of -sken- at that time, and partially to his ambiguous feelings concerning the use of oki - a term with which one could touch the concept of God. but which was associated with Huron social and spiritual practices that were thought to be inspired by the

devil himself.

It seems that around the same time that he was learning about the 'true' nature of the meaning of -sken- (the second 'stage' use and interpretation), Brebeuf was also 'discovering' that -(e)nnonk8- was a soul concept. As we have seen, the latter term soon became the favoured term of reference for the soul concept.

At about the same time, the use of oki was beginning to become more neatly defined. As the Huron's exposure to Christian concepts was increased, and as the distinction between God and Devil, angel and demon, and heaven and hell began to influence Huron spiritual thought, the ambiguous attitude towards oki (or rather the use of oki in representing Christian spiritual figures) was lost. The firm establishment of this distinction and the concomitant compartmentalization of oki (i.e., into 'good' and 'bad' oki) was antithetical to the primary beliefs surrounding -sken-. In traditional Huron belief there was only one 'true' realm of the dead, and that was expressed in terms of -sken- (i.e., P352 "askennonton.../fz-n/vr (-sken-)/ds/mo/st/...etre au pais des ames, y demeurer."). The notion of separation of -sken-, while existing in Huron belief (see above), took a back seat to the notion of unity; to the idea that families and friends would be re-united after death. This was expressed as being the reason why most -sken- (i.e., bones) were buried or re-buried in one communal grave (Cl62, S213-4).

When the Huron were first preached to, a major obstacle to conversion was the thought that in embracing Christianity, one would not be with one's unbaptized, unconverted loved ones after death.

The cognitive battle waged between Christian division and Huron unity was fought long and hard, with many compromises along the way (for an

example of one line of logic used by the missionaries, see Appendix A: "Instructions d'un infidel moribond.") When and where the Christian notion began to become dominant, the concept of -sken- lost its place to -(e)nnonk8- and the neatly-divided oki in the representation of souls and other spirit beings. The concept of -sken- was rarely found in Potier's writings, ³⁰ and non-existent in the works of Barbeau. Even as an expression for 'bones', it seems to have lost its place to the non-spiritual concept "8nnea" (P450).

One can get a good idea of the nature of the changes that took place by looking at how, when using -sken-, Brebeuf presented certain significant Christian spiritual figures that I will be looking at are: (1) the Holy Ghost of the Trinity; (2) the saints; (3) the Guardian Angel; and (4) the souls of the living.

The phrase used in the Ledesme text to refer to the Holy Ghost was "dat aot Esken" (BRLT 2:20, 27; 3:37; 4:14, 36, 42; and 5:38-9. It can be analysed as follows:

d	article
(a)at	superlative
aot	'holy' (internal evidence; possibly a word unique to the Bear dialect, or 'a8t' - 'it stands above or beyond'-)
esken ind-n/vr/asp	one who is a manifestation of one who has died, a 'ghost'
'Someone's very 'holy' 'ghost'.'	

In his 'Relation' of 1636 (JR10:68), Brebeuf gave "Esken d'oatatoecti" as "Esprit Sainct". This can be analysed as follows:

esken	one who is a 'ghost'
d'	article
(h)jatatoecti	he (realized as <u>aata</u>) is

n-m/nr/vr/ca/st special, marked, 'holy'

'He is someone's special/holy 'ghost'.'

In later writings, one finds the Holy Ghost expressed as "hoki daat hoatato,eti" (i.e., P392 and P629; see p41 above). This can be analysed as follows:

hoki	he has spiritual power
n-m/vr/st	
daat	article + superlative
hoatato,eti	he (realized as <u>aata</u>) is special/holy

'He is a very special/holy one possessing spiritual power.'

In one instance, Brebeuf used his expression for Holy Ghost in a way that was similar to traditional usage of the -sken- concept. This occurred in the following Huron passage (BRLT3:37): "De hokiachi-ahichien stat ihongouas dat aot Esken"; a translation of the line from the Apostle's Creed: "Qui a este conceu du Saint Esprit." The former phrase can be analysed as follows:

de	article ('who')
hoki	he has spiritual power
(a)achiahichien	a Child was created
ao/fz-η/nr/vr/pu	
stat	'when' (internal evidence; possible a word unique to the Bear dialect)
ihongouas	he has blood in his body
pa/n-m/nr/vr/ha	(i.e., he is living)
dat	article + superlative
aot	'holy'
Esken	one who is a 'ghost'

'He was created as a child with spiritual power at a time when someone's very holy 'ghost' had blood in his veins.'

This appears to resemble the Huron notion of resuscitation, in which, as we have seen, a -sken- comes to life in another individual, is reincarnated in an oki transfer. As a reader of Sagard's works Brebeuf should have been familiar with this process.. Drawing an analogy between it and the conception of Jesus would have been an effective device for teaching the Huron about that difficult Christian concept.

In later writing, while some elements of Huron belief are retained, the expression of this particular notion becomes more like the Christian model, and -sken- is not used. One finds this in the following passage written by Potier (P392 #17): "Oo haon,e Oo aOentrontaha hoki daast (sic daat) hoatato,eti Marie ,ask8a,on aherhon aiontennontrak", a translation of: "dans ce moment le S/ain/t. esprit se trouva present dans le sein de Marie, voulant qu'il s'y concut un enfant." It can be analysed as follows:

Oo	there
haon,e	(with Oo) at that time
Oo	there
aOentrontaha	he became present in such a
ao/du/m-n/vr/inc/pu	place, he materialized there
hoki	he has spiritual power
daat	article + superlative
hoatato,eti	he (as <u>aata</u>) is special/holy
Marie	Mary
,ask8a,on	in her womb
fz/n/vr/i.l.ns	
aherhon	he wished
ap/m-n/vr/pu	
aiontennontrak	one should enter into something,
opt/ind-n/mv/vr/cl/pu	be conceived.

'At that moment, he who is a very special/holy One possessing spiritual power materialized in Mary's womb, wishing that someone would be conceived there.' 31

Brebeuf employed the word '(h)attisken' (BRLT6:42; 7:34, 40-1, 42, 45), sometimes modified by "aot" or "(h)attindeia" ('they are good') to refer to the saints. In later writing, the terms "hoiatat-o,etia" (see P177 #1) - 'they (masculine) are special/holy' - (or in the singular "hoiatat,eti"; see P402 #1) or "haronhia,eronnon" - 'he is a sky-dweller' - (see P331 #9).

When discussing the saints, Brebeuf talked about their 'relics'. The Catholic notion that (with respect to the saints at least) after death the self was separated into relics remaining on earth, and souls which went to heaven, bore some resemblance to the Huron notion that -sken- could remain with the bones and travel to the realm of the dead. The resemblance ended, however, when Brebeuf spoke of the relics as 'possessing' souls. In Huron belief -sken- could not be 'owned' by anyone, they were, like aata, a fundamental realization of the existence of the self. Grammatically this was reflected in the exclusive of subjective prefixes with the with the verb root -sken- (in the verb form 'asken'). Brebeuf, in being cognitively innovative by expressing possession of -sken-, was also being grammatically innovative by using objective prefixes with that verb. When he translated the notion that the relics: "doivent vu leur estre reunies a leurs ames glorieuses.", he wrote the phrase (BRLT7:39-41): "araehen etattirandsen ottindeiachaes Ottisken." This can be analyzed as follows:

ara	only (with 'ehen', 'the last time' i.e., at the end)
'ehen fz-n/vr/ha/ep	it used to be

etattirandeen they will join together
fu/cl/mp-n/dnr/vr/pu at that time

(h)ottindeiachaes their good things
n-mp/vr/nm/vr/asp

(h)ottisken their 'ghosts'
n-mp/vr/asp

'At the end they will join together with their 'ghosts','

A similar kind of innovation took place in Brebeuf's presentation of the Guardian Angel. Here too, Brebeuf differed from traditional Huron usage both cognitively and grammatically. He utilized -sken- with reference to a figure which ideally should have been expressed with oki (i.e., the verb 'aki'). In so doing, he (in two out of three cases) used pronominal prefixes which were either inappropriate or innovative. The inappropriate reference occurred when he attempted to translate the sentence: "Quand vous priez vostre Ange Gardien, quelle Oraison dites vous?" with (BRLT7:26-7): "Tout ichihoncoua st ichienditi de Chiesken?". This translation can be analysed as follows:

tout	interrogative
ichihoncoua pa/2-n/vr/ins/ha	your speech, prayer (that which you say)
st	relative particle
ichienditi pa/2-n/vr/st	you ask something of someone
de	article
chiesken 2-n/vr/asp	you are a 'ghost!'

'What is the prayer you use when you ask for something, you who are a 'ghost'?'.

Instead of saying that the Guardian Angel was -sken- (as was his intent), Brebeuf was favoring the 'Master' (the one asking the question) address his 'Disciple' as being -sken-.

In the innovative reference, Brebeuf had the 'Disciple' address his Guardian Angel as (BRL7:28), "Aot aesken de iskiacarratas" -
 32
 'my holy 'ghost' who takes care of us'. As was the case with the Holy Ghost, an objective pronominal prefix was used (i.e., "ae-", n-1).

In later writing we find that the concept of the Guardian Angel was expressed by means of "haronhia,eronnon" - 'he is a sky-dweller' - or oki (see P199 #1, P242 #8; and P177 #2: respectively): In a prayer recorded by Chaumonot (Ch.II.-248), we find that the Guardian Angel was addressed with the phrase: "Saki saatato,eti daat skaka^C ratatihatie". This can be analysed as follows:

saki	you who possess spiritual
n-2/vr/st	power
saatato,eti	you are special/holy
n-2/nr/vr/ca/st	
daat	article + superlative
skaka ^C ratatihatie	you go around taking care
2-1/vr/st/pgr/pr	of me

'You who are a special/holy one possessing spiritual power, and who are always going around taking care of me,...

In the expression of the 'angel' concept generally, we not only find haronhia,eronnon and oki used separately, but sometimes together as 'oki haronhia,eronnon' - 'he is a sky-dweller possessing spiritual
 33
 power'. This expression was to distinguish angels from demons (or the devil himself) referred to as 'oki onderhonronnon' - 'one with spirit-
 34
 ual power who dwells in the earth'. In missionary writing this distinction took the place of the Huron distinction between -yken- based oki which were 'good' and personal (i.e., the reincarnated soul) and those which were 'bad' and independent (i.e., the grave ghost). For the missionaries, both of these kinds of oki were considered to be 'bad' (i.e., demons) unless they could be seen as connected with God.

or heaven,

In his references to souls in the Ledesme text, Brebeuf seems to have been extending -sken- to include the souls of the living. The only clear statement of this extension occurs when he refers to the 'spiritual' acts of mercy as "Eskenehaan" (BRLT10:21-2, 24) - 'it is borne by one who is a ghost'. As we have already seen, this kind of reference later became what the missionaries felt was the appropriate area for -(e)nnonk8-.

1-Among the Eskimo, this idea was taken a step further in that death was considered to be one of several instances including the "embryo" stage, birth, puberty, menopause, illness, and the initiation of male shaman- in which the configuration of souls changed (Frederiksen, 1964, p54).

2-Each tribe or nation was said by the Huron to have its own 'village of the dead' (JR10:145).

3-For examples of #2 see JR13:153, and Barbeau, 1915b, pp90-5.

4-See Tooker, 1967, pp137-40, for an excellent description of the feast of the dead. Also see Cl61-3; S211-4; JR10:143, 169, 261, 275-303; JR39:31.

5-See Barbeau, 1915b, "I. The Origin of the World", pp42-4, "The Deer and the Rainbow", pp308-9.

6-One source tells us that they were unhappy in this life, that (JR10:147):

"...day and night they do nothing but groan and complain... They have Captains, who from time to time put an end to it and try to moderate their sighs and groans."

The cries of the souls of the dead (i.e., "hae, hae") were repeated by the participants in the feast of the dead (JR10: 287-91). It is questionable as to whether or not these cries were cries of sadness. Sagard (in his dictionary, under the heading of "Braire, crier") gave as the translation of "Les ames crient, se lamentent.", "Eskein teontontarita" (i.e., "esken te ontontari0a!"), meaning: 'the 'ghosts' make cries of joy, mockery, or sadness'. Other references in Sagard's dictionary seem to indicate that these may have been cries of joy, that the -sken- were happy (see fn#7).

7-In Sagard's dictionary (under the heading "Dancer") he wrote that: "Les Ames dancent, se resioyssent, avec Ataensigne /,aata,ntsik/". He translated it as: "ataensique ouadhauhandique atiskein." (i.e., ",aata,entisik (h)onandra8andik (h)atiken!", the 'ghosts' dance with ,aata,entisik!). Also see the 'Orpheus myth' JR10:149-153.

8-An exception to this general rule is found in Lewis Spence's "The Myths of the North American Indians", 1914. In what he terms the 'Iroquoian myths' of "The Friendly Skeleton", and "The Lost Sister" (pp242-6), a small boy, assisted by a 'skeleton' acting in the role of a guardian spirit, defeats a villain in return for tobacco and the resuscitation of the bones of many who have died. Also see Cyrus McMillan's "Glooskap's Country and other Indian Tales",

9-This was recorded in the literature as:
lonouoyroya
ononharois "turning the brain upside down"

S202
JR10:175, 183

9-cont'd.

ononhwaroia "turning round the head"
 onnonhouroia

JR23:53, 103
 JR30:101

10-This ceremony was described by Tooker (1967, pp110-1) as follows:

"In the evening, after someone had said that this ceremony should be given, a band of people went through the houses, upsetting everything... breaking, and turning topsy-turvy everything in the houses. They threw fire and burning brands about the streets, shouting, singing, and running through the streets and around the walls all night. The next day they returned, announcing in loud voices, "We have dreamed." Those in the house tried to guess what had been dreamed by offering what they thought the dream was... In each house and at each fire, they stopped for a short time and sang softly, "So-and-so gave me this, so-and-so gave me that"... Nothing was refused... If nothing was given to them, they went outside the door and got a stone which they put beside the man or woman who gave nothing, and then went away singing; this was a sign of insult, reproach, and ill-will... When they had been offered what they had dreamed, they thanked the giver..., uttered a cry as a sign of joy and ran out of the house, while those in the house struck their hands on the ground with their usual exclamations to congratulate him... Other presents, as some leather or an awl if the dream was a shoe, were given to them... The gift belonged to him... According to one account, they then went in a band to the woods and cast out... their madness. The sick man /the one for whom the ceremony was held/ then began to get better. Those who did not get what they dreamed thought they would soon die and some of the sick were carried from house to house hoping to get what they had dreamed and thus be cured... The festival usually lasted 3 days..., or 7 or 8 hours.

See *ibid* pp110-4; JR10:165-187; JR23:53; JR17:193-7; C165; S202-4.

11-Ch. II.361: "tomber de son Esp/rit/. ,andi, onrhendi... (endi t/om/b/e/r, ,andi, onrha esp/rit/.) ne t'oublie pas de ton peche, q/u'il ne t/om/be pas de ton Esp/rit. continue de t'en repentir. Ennonchien etsisandi, onrhenk de sarih8andera, i, sasatonnhontak8aska."

12-Driver (1969, p374), stating that this was a common attitude among Indian peoples, cited the following methods as being employed by these people to prevent the return of the dead:

"In areas where houses were small, temporary, or easily rebuilt, a person close to death might be allowed to die in his house. The house would then be abandoned, burned, or torn down and moved because of fear of the ghost of the deceased. In areas where houses were larger and more permanent... a dying person was sometimes removed from the house to a special hut in which to die. Another alternative, where fear of ghosts was prominent, was to exorcise the house after the death of an inmate to drive away the ghost. Still another practice was to remove the corpse through a specially made opening in the wall or roof, rather than through the door, so that the returning ghost would find the opening walled up and presumably would not know enough to use the door."

13-Such was the case with many similar burial ceremonies held by other Indian peoples i.e., the Iroquois 'ohgiwe' ceremony, see Wallace, 1967, p99; the Navaho burial ceremony, see Driver, 1969, p409; and the Washo burial ceremony, see Downs, 1966, "The Two Worlds of the Washo", p59.

14-Regarding those they had tortured see S162, JR15:187, and JR17:71.

15-Related to this was the Huron practice of scaring the 'ghosts' of tortured prisoners out of their (the Huron's) houses and villages after sunset (JR39:29). I feel that the reason that they did this at the particular time of the day was that, driven away in the dark, these ~~skan~~ would not know how to find their way back, and, as a consequence, could not wreak revenge on their torturers.

16-Orpheus was a figure in Greek mythology who, when his wife died, went to Hades to ask Pluto, the god of the underworld, if he could take her back to the land of the living. He was permitted to do so only under the condition that he would not look at her until they were outside Hades. Overcome by temptation, he looked at her and she disappeared.

Myths similar to this exist veruually all over the world. The version that I described in the text of this paper is a composite of various versions of the Orpheus myth that I have encountered in the literature of Indian peoples in Northeastern North America.

17-Hditkrantz (1953, pp215-6) claimed that, in addition to the Iroquoians, this part of the myth was shared by such Algonkian peoples as the Penobscot, Ojibwa, Menominee, Sauk, and Fox. He asserted that this feature probably diffused from people such as the Huron who had an intellect soul.

The Algonkian characterization of the 'head-piercer' (known as "Po'kitápawa", meaning "Knocks-a-hole-in-the-head" or "Brain-Taker" to the Sauk-Alanson Skinner, "Observations of the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians, 1970, p35) was significantly different. The act of taking the brains out was viewed negatively as something that the soul should avoid. For it an Algonkian soul had its brains removed it was:

"destroyed or lost forever" (op.cit., p36). In line with this characterization of the 'head-piercer' one finds that the traveler does not receive the 'brains' of his loved one in Algonkian versions of the Orpheus myth (i.e., see LeClercq, 1968, pp208-14).

18-This is the oki characterization that one finds in phrases with verbs meaning 'to kill' (Ch.I.197; Ch.II.348; P211; JR33:221), relating usually to poisoning (Ch.I.61, 152, 220; JR10:71), or to killing by casting spells using charms that 'penetrate' the victim.

Concerning the latter, Tooker wrote (1967, pp117-8):

"Sorcerers sometimes used as a charm the flesh of a kind of monstrous serpent (angont) who lived underground, in caves, under rocks, in the woods, or in the mountains, but generally in the lakes and rivers. In order to cast a spell, the sorcerer rubbed some object, as a blade of corn, tuft of hair, piece of leather or wood, or animal claw, with a piece of the serpent's flesh. This cause the object to

penetrate into a man's entrails and his bones, inducing illness unless removed (JR33:217)."

The word "angont" or "onniot", given in the Jesuit Relations ("angont", JR33:217; "Onniot", JR33:213) as meaning roughly: 'a snake from whose flesh a 'killing' charm is made', appeared in Wyandot myths with the following characterization (Barbeau, 1915b, 106 fn #2):

"A hu'noct is a well-known hunter's charm said to consist of a minute deer, about an inch and a half long, and absolutely like a real live deer. It is believed that it could be found only in the throat of an old buck, the leader of a deer herd. The hunter who, having killed such a buck, could find a hu'noct kept it carefully in his possession and expected always to be lucky in the hunt hereafter."

The Huron word in both cases appears to me to be derived from the verb "andionk", given by Potier (P293) as meaning:

"...etre habile, adroit a quoi que ce soit, avoir une vertu particuliere pour q/uelque/. effet, etre efficace: etre bon chasseur, pecheur...avoir de la vertu de la puissance sur q/uelque/. c/hose/."

19-Occasionally, however, 'bad' oki would return to the living in a new human form. This was stated by an acknowledged sorcerer in the story of his birth (JR13:105-7):

"I am a spirit, I formerly lived under the ground in the house of spirits, when the fancy seized me to become a man; and this is how it happened. Having heard one day, from this subterranean abode, the voices and cries of some children who were guarding the crops and chasing the animals and birds away, I resolved to go out. I was no sooner upon the earth than I encountered a woman. I craftily entered her womb and there assumed a little body. I had with me a she-spirit, who did the same thing. As soon as we were about the size of an ear of corn, this woman wished to be delivered of her fruit, knowing that she had not conceived by human means and fearing that this ocki /oki/ might bring her misfortune. So she found means of hastening her time. Now it seems to me that in the meantime, being ashamed to see myself followed by a girl and fearing that she might afterward be taken for my wife, I beat her so hard that I left her for dead; in fact, she came dead into the world. This woman, being delivered, took us both, wrapped us in a beaver skin, carried us into the woods, placed us in the hollow of a tree, and abandoned us. We remained there until, when a man passed by, I began to weep and cry out, that he might hear me. He did, indeed, perceive me and he carried the news to the village. My mother came, took me again, bore me to her house and brought me up."

20-JR10:49: (Also see S170, JR5:257, and JR8:109-11)

"...these Peoples admire and esteem highly those persons who have anything that elevates them above the crowd. Such people they call oki, the same name as they give to demons,..."

Among other meanings for the verb "aki" (from which the word oki is derived) Potier presented it as signifying (Pl67 #41):

"...avoir un pouvoir au dessus de toute la nature corporelle. avoir quelque/. bonne ou menvaise qualite, talent, pouvoir, merite extraordinaire, avoir de biens du corps, de l'esprit, de la fortune au dessus des autres. .hoki, ahen *c'etoit un hom/me/ d'un rare merite."

21-This concern that newly acquired power be used only for good (i.e., for hunting) and not against people (i.e., through the use of sorcery), was expressed in the Wyandot myths with respect to charms obtained from the ashes of burnt 'monsters' (see Barbeau, 1915b, pp138, 141, 148).

22-Tooker, 1967, p39;

"Sometimes a man made an incision in the upper part of his neck and let the blood of the tortured prisoner run into it: since the noney's blood had mingled with his own, he would never be surprised by the enemy, no matter how secret that knowledge might be (JR10: 227-9)."

23-See Barbeau, 1915b, p135, fn#1.

24-Connelley expressed this relationship in terms of oki animating the bones of the improperly-buried dead. These oki were what he called the "hoo'-strah-doo'h" or "Stone Giants" (termed "Strcⁿdu!" by Barbeau). They had originally posed a major threat to the Wyandot, but their power had been reduced so that they no longer attacked the Wyandot openly (Barbeau, 1915b, p315).

"...they lived in solitary places, and attacked hunters and travelers that slept at night in the woods. A favorite strategem of theirs was to enter the dead body of some Wyandot that had died, in a solitary hut, alone. When his friends discovered him, or a belated traveler stopped at the hut, and slept, the Stone Giants animated the corpses, which stealthily slew and devoured the unfortunate sleepers."

25-Barbeau, 1915b, p151, fn #3:

"In the old time...the witches and wizards were usually burnt, because they were considered harmful and dangerous to the people."

26-Here the situation is different from that with humans in that a destroyed -sken- base leads to revenge rather than preventing it. The difference is due to the existence of a kind of 'collective soul or oki' for each animal species. The residence or base for this oki could not be destroyed as long as there were members of that species left alive. The bones of the successfully-hunted animal formed an active link between the hunters and the collective oki, 'speaking' on the hunters' behalf (i.e., saying that the species was being treated with proper respect). It was not unlike the concept of the Catholic saint interceding with a sometimes-wrathful

God on mankind's behalf.

27-In discussing the fact that the Huron reacted to some French mechanical devices (i.e., clocks) by calling those who made them ondaki (possibly 'hondaki'; n-fzp(mp)/vr/st; derived from aki) Brebeuf stated that (JR8:109-11):

"...we make profitable use of this word when we talk to them: "Now, my brothers, you have seen that and admired it, and you are right, when you see something extraordinary, in saying ondaki, to declare that those who make so many marvels must be Demons. And what is there so wonderful as the beauty of the Sky and the Sun? What is there so wonderful as to see every year the trees almost dead during the Winter, all bare and disfigured, resume without fail, every Spring, a new life and a new dress? The corn that you plant rots, and from its decay spring up such beautiful stalks and better ears. And yet you do not say 'He who made so many beauties, and who every year displays before our eyes so many marvels, must be some beneficent oki and some supereminant intelligence."

28-JR13:151-3:

"She /a sick Huron woman/...attached no importance to baptism, and gave the Father the usual answer of the Savages, -that she did not wish to leave her relatives, and that after death she had resolved to go and find them in whatever part of the world they might be. The Father having represented to her that those who died without baptism went to hell, she replied that she did not mind going to hell and being burned there forever."

29-For example (JR8:147):

"Another good old man, having fallen sick, did not wish to hear of going to Heaven, saying he desired to go where his ancestors were. Some days afterwards, he came to me and told me a pleasant story: "Rejoice," he said, "for I have returned from the country of souls, and I have found none there any longer; they have all gone to Heaven.""

30-P233 #60; P317 (see "a8ati"); and P333 #10 ("arandi").

31-This kind of wishing was more than just wishful thinking, for when a powerful oki like this 'wished' for something, it was believed that such would come to be. The wished of an oki appeared in significant dreams and visions (see above).

32-The use of the 2-1d (you - we 2) form, rather than the more appropriate 2-1 (you - me) form may be due to:

- (a) Brebeuf's not knowing the 2-1 form; or
- (b) the possibility that what was the 2-1d form (also 2d-1(d)) in other dialects, was the 2-1 form in the Bear dialect.

33-JR41:166 and 174; ChI.13; and Rene Latourelle, "Etudes sur les écrits de Saint Jean de Brebeuf", p241 (viz the 'Huron Carol' written by Brebeuf).

34-Ch.I.9, 13, 50, 54, 190; Ch.II.43, 49, 127, 156, 307, 323, 365;
and P365 and P352.

Summary and Conclusions

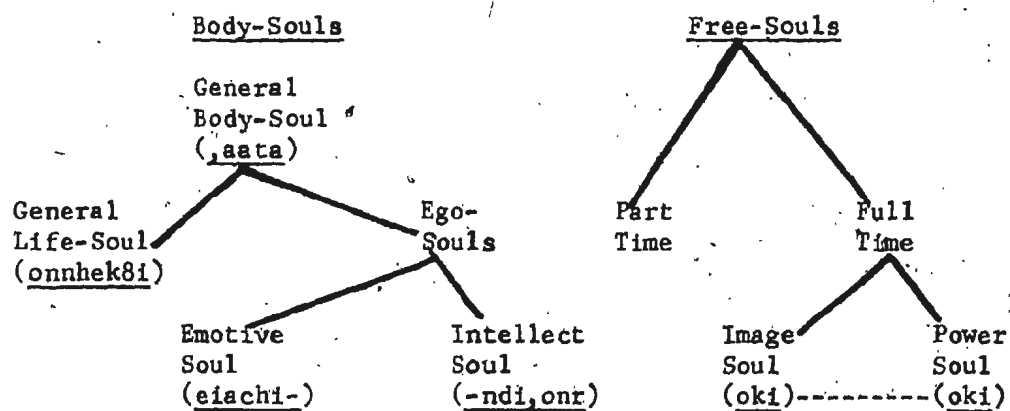
At the beginning of this paper (ppl and 2), I set down three goals of analysis. They were:

- (1)-to understand the area of cognition which, for a particular Indian group (the Huron), pertained directly to the soul concept, and to see how it was conceptualized by the missionaries;
- (2)-to perceive how the missionaries expressed the soul concept in the context of the language and belief system of that Indian group;
- (3)-to perceive how the belief system of that group was influenced by the missionaries' presentation of the soul concept and related ideas.

In my attempt to achieve the kind of understanding necessary to attain the first goal, I analysed the soul concepts of the Huron using a revised model of Hultkrantz's system of soul classification.

The results can be illustrated diagrammatically as follows:

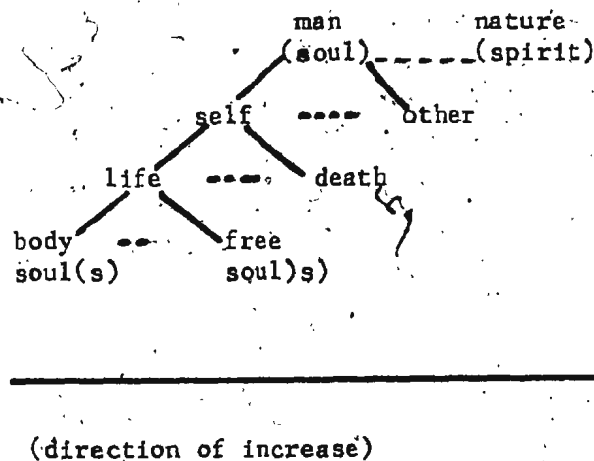
Figure #7: The Soul Concepts of the Huron in Life



freed to enter the realm of the dead; and (c) the grave-ghost had its -sken- base burned if its oki had potentially dangerous memories (i.e., if it remembered past injustices regarding its manner of death or burial), so that the oki was unable to reach the world of the living. The ideal or model set for souls in the afterlife was to have the oki reincarnated in the world of the living, and the -sken- safely far away in the realm of the dead.

Generally speaking, one can say that the perpetual duality in the soul beliefs of the Huron was primarily expressed in terms of dialogues between two points on a scale of correspondingly increasing cognitive distances separating the two and power. The positions on this scale can be illustrated diagrammatically in the following way:

Figure #9: Cognitive Distance and Power Scale



At just about every point in time, at least one dialogue exists between beings situated in two different positions on this scale.

Fundamental life experiences can be 'defined' in terms of these dialogues (i.e., having visions is a -ndi,onr- (body-soul) - oki (free-soul) dialogue; performing a burial ceremony is a ,aata (life) -

3

oki (death) dialogue; torturing is an eiachi- ('self' as torturer or victum) - eiachi- ('other' as torturer or victum) dialogue; and eating is an onnhek8i (soul) - onnhek8i (spirit) dialogue).

The results of my pursuit of the second goal of analysis can be illustrated diagrammatically as follows:

Figure #10: Missionary Interpretation of Huron Soul and Related Concepts.

<u>Life</u>	<u>Afterlife</u>		<u>Spirits</u>	
Body	<u>The Soul</u>	Ghost	<u>The Soul</u>	<u>oki</u>
<u>,aata</u>	<u>-(3)nnonk8-*</u>	<u>-sken-</u>	<u>-(e)nnonk8-*</u>	Good* Bad
Parts	Aspects		Aspects	<u>oki+</u> <u>oki(-)</u>
<u>eiachi-</u> <u>-ndi,onr-</u>	<u>eiachi-</u> <u>-ndi,onr-</u> <u>onnhek8i</u>		<u>eiachi-</u> <u>-ndi,onr-</u> <u>onnhek8i</u>	

Physical
Sustenance

onnhek8i

- * = earlier referred to as -sken-
- + = ,aronhia,eronnon, or ,aata,eti added to oki
- = ondechonronnon added to oki (with brackets indicating that such an addition is optional)

Most of the effects of missionary expression of Huron soul concepts has been discussed above: (a) ,aata was reduced to a non-spiritual representation of the body; (b) -sken- became merely the name for a peripheral spiritual being, the ghost; (c) the ego-souls, -ndi,onr- and eiachi-, were reduced to metaphorical expressions for certain aspects of the soul's character; and (d) onnhek8i became primarily a term of reference for physical entities (i.e., food and drink), with only metaphorical extension into the spiritual world.

The fate of oki has yet to be described. As we have seen, oki was the embodiment of Huron spiritual power. It was immortal, the ongoing expression of the Huron's impact upon the universe, the measure of their effectiveness in hunting, fighting and agriculture. It was the symbol of the Huron's power as a people, the spiritual heritage of their ancestors. No matter whether it was helpful or harmful, it was still power that the Huron could touch, power they could sometimes influence.

The missionaries tried to change that, through direct opposition, and through classification. They defined as good and helpful those oki which were of their culture and over which they had some measure of control (i.e., the saints and angels). They defined as bad and harmful not only those oki which had traditionally been feared (i.e., of oki of anti-social sorcerers), but also included in that category all the native oki that they felt they could neither trust nor exercise control over. These oki were associated with the devil and his henchmen the demons.

This treatment was not unique to oki, but was shared by similar concepts across the New World; including its Iroquois cognate otkon and its Algonkian counterpart 'manitou'. It fared somewhat better than the former and slightly worse than the latter. Otkon became identified almost exclusively with destructive witchcraft, and was strongly condemned and fought by the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake. Manitou seems not to have been so negatively characterized, for, as 'kitchi manitou' (i.e., 'the great spirit') it was often identified with the Christian God and/or and Indian counterpart.

Oki, although it was somewhat tainted as a devil or demon concept often connected with witchcraft, and despite the fact that it was not

identified with the Christian God, still retained, among the last fluent speakers of Wyandot, an element of positive (i.e., 'good') expression.

The flame of Huron spirituality could not go out while the name oki still flickered in the dying embers of the Huron language.

Footnotes

1-The terms image-soul and power-soul are here used not to represent separate beings, but points on the power/cognitive distance scale illustrated in figure #9. The image-soul represents oki as a relatively weak free-soul, closely resembling its 'owner', and the power-soul represents an oki which is so powerful and so cognitively separate from its 'owner' that it is almost a spirit. The former would probably be the oki of an unexceptional individual, the latter, the oki of a great warrior, hunter or sorcerer.

2-The duality of manifest function discussed on pages 80-2 can be subsumed under this definition of duality, as the two dominant souls tend to be engaged in a dialogue (i.e., during normal consciousness there is a 'dialogue' between onnhek8i (body-soul) and ndi,onr- (as a free-soul); during moments of anger or courage there is a 'dialogue' between eiachi- (body-soul) and oki (possibly ond8ta,ete; free-soul or spirit)). The one exception to this occurs during times when the individual is unconscious, when the dominant soul oki is engaged in a 'dialogue' with the recessive ndi,onr- (which is representing the interests -i.e., health and successful hunting- of the then dominant onnhek8i).

A soul or spiritual 'dialogue' can be loosely defined as an interaction between two spirit beings in which the being which is most powerful and most cognitively distant from the 'self', supplies information and/or power to a less powerful, less 'distant' spirit being in exchange for some commodity peculiar to that second being (i.e., reverence, life-force, courage).

3-One may say that the burial ceremony is a dialogue between the living and the dead, in which in exchange for proper respect and reverence the living (here represented by aata, an expression for the 'life' in the body; see pp32, 34 and 38-9) are freed from the haunting presence of vengeful oki and are thereby given the chance to resuscitate 'friendly' oki.

4-This was well described for the Spanish missionary/Indian situation in Gustave Correa's article "El Espiritu del Mal en Guatemala", in Harrison and Wauchope, 1960, pp37-103 (English summary, pp41-5). He wrote the (p41):

"Incapable of comprehending that they were faced with different cultures, the Spaniards identified the gods of the aboriginal religions with the devil of their own religion. This identification satisfactorily spanned, at least on the part of the conquering peoples, the immense spiritual distance that separated the two cultures. Aboriginal gods equal the Christian devil: this was the theme that dominated the work of evangelization in the New World."

A case in point is the concept of nagual, a spirit being similar to oki. Traditionally this concept had two aspects (p42):

"One was the idea of individual totem, represented by an animal that was /one's/...inseparable lifelong companion. It was in a way the creation of a counterpart of the person since the destiny of one

was intimately linked to the destiny of the other. An injury or death in the animal would cause illness or death in the person who was his nagual. The other concept linked to the term 'nagual' was the transformation of a man into an animal...The two concepts became confused in Guatemala and the term came to signify either of the two. With the process of catechization, however, the word 'nagual' became a part of the Catholic terminology designating the devil in some dialects...and coming to signify an evil witch who is in intimate relation with the spirit of evil in general and with the devil in particular."

5-In Micmac, both 'Kitchi Manitou' and 'Manitou' appear to have been names used to refer to the devil (see Ruth and Wilson Wallis, "The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada", page 209, and Silas T. Rand, "Dictionary of the language of the Micmac Indians", 1888, page 81). For the characterization of Manitou as the devil in a Huron story see Barbeau, 1915b, "Legende du Grand Serpent", pp349-54; and "The Great Serpent and Wolverine", pp354-6.

6-For example, see Barbeau, 1915b, "The Woman with Twins and the Wizard", pp150-1.

Appendix A: Translations of Huron Texts

Contained within this appendix are several translations which served as important material for this paper. For brevity's sake, word analysis will be solely semantic, not morphological. Orthography used in word analysis will be that which was in general use in the 17th and 18th century dictionaries of Chaumonot and Potier (with concessions made to dialect differences). Brackets -()- will be used where additions or changes made are questionable; oblique lines -/ /- where there is no such uncertainty.

(1) A Prayer recorded by Brebeuf in his 'Relation' of 1636 (JRI0:68-73)

"Io Sakhrihote de Sondechichiaí, dinde esa d'Oistan ichiatsi, dinde de hoen ichiatsi, dinde de Esken d'oatatoecti ichiatsi;..."

"Sus escoutez vous que avez fait la terre & vous qui Pere vous-appelez & vous son Fils qui vous appelez & vous Esprit Saint qui vous appelez"

"Come listen you who have made the earth, and you who Father call yourself and you his son who call yourself and you Spirit Holy who call yourself"

io	come on!
sakhrihote	be attentive, listen!
de	article
sondechichiaí	you made the earth
dinde	and
isa	you
d'	article
/h/oistan	he is his father
ichiatsi	you are called such
dinde	and
de	article
hoen(a)	he and him are parent and child
ichiatsi	you are called such
dinde	and
de	article
esken	one who is a 'ghost'

d' article
 (h)oa^totoe^cti one (he) is special/holy
 ichiatsi you are called such

'Come listen you who made the earth, you who are called his father,
 you who are called his son, and you who are called a 'ghost'!

"To sakhrihote, onekinde oeron d'ic8akerha,..."

"sus escoutez, car ce n'est pas chose de peu d'importance que nous
 faisons"

"Come listen for it is not a thing of small importance that we do!"

to come on!
 sakhrihote he attentive, listen!
 onek inde as
 (te), oe/n/ron it is (not) something of little
 consequence

d' article
 ik8ak(i)erha we do such a thing

'Come listen, as it is of (no) small consequence what we do!'

1 "atⁱsacagnren cha ondikhuc8ate Atichiaha, onne atisataban a8eti;..."

"regardez ces assemblez enfans, desiz ce sont tes creatures
 tous;..."

"look upon these assembled children, already these are thy creatures,
 all;..."

g
 atisakannren* look at it!
 cha that
 ondikiok8ate they are assembled in a group
 atichiaha they are children
 onne behold
 at(e)(e)sataban each one is one of your people
 a8eti all

'Look at this assembly of children, each one of them is one of your
 people.'

*I do not know why the initial 'a' appears in this word.
 Superscript letters indicate dialect (i.e., Wyandot) variations.

"aerhon onatindec8aæsti."
 "parce que on les a baptisez."
 "because that they have been baptized."

ae/n/rhon because
 onatindek8aesti they have baptized them

'...because someone has baptized them.'

"Caati onne 8ato esataanc8as echa a8eti, a8eti esatonkhiens,"
 "Mais voicy que vne autrefois nous te les presentons eux
 tous, nous te les abandonnons tous,..."
 "But lo! again we to thee present them all, all we give them
 up to thee,..."

(xa) cislocative particle
 (ati) then, therefore
 onne behold
 8a other
 0o (with '8a') again
 /e/es/a/ata/e/nx8as we will present something living
 to you
 echa that
 a8eti all
 a8eti all
 /e/es/a/atonkiens we will leave something living
 with you

'Behold, again we will present them all to you, we will leave them
 all with you.'

"ondayee echa echa 8anderhay cha 8endikhuc8ate otindekhien,..."
 "c'est ce que pensent ce que voila assemblees femmes..."
 "this is what these think these assembled women..."

ondae that
 echa that
 8anderh/e/ they think
 cha that
 8/o/ndi/kio/k8ate they are assembled in a group

otindekien women

'This is what the women assembled here think.'

"Senderhay a8andio a8aton e8a tichiaha."
"elles pensent maitre qu'il soit de tous les enfans."
"they think master that he is of all the children."

Senderh/e/ they think
(h)a8/e/ndio (he) one is master
a8aton one has become
(e8a) (all; a word unique to the Bear dialect (?))
atichiaha children

'They think that (he) has become the master of all the children'.

"io ichien nonh8a etsaon hatsacaratai, atsatanonstat."
"sus donc maintenant prenez courage gardez les, defendez les."
"Come, then now take courage keep them defend them."

io come on!
ichien expletive
nonh8a now
etsaon take heart, have courage!
atsakarata/t/ take care of them!
ats(i)atan/n/onstat defend them!

'Come, take heart; take care of and defend them'.

"Enonche 8ationonh8ake, enonche 8atirih8anderake, aonh8entsammenhan;."
"Qu'ils ne deuiennent point malades, qu'ils ne pechent jamais"
"That they may not become sick that they may sin never"

en/n/onch/ien/ prohibitive
/e/8atinnonh8a/x/e they are going to get sick
en/n/onch/ien/ prohibitive
/e/8atirih8andera/x/e they are going to sin
aonh8ents/e/nenna/o/n forever

'Do not ever let them get sick or commit sin.!!'

"sere8a e8a d'otechienti, din de ongnratarrie etsesonachien, erre8a itondi din de onrendich esonachien, serre8a itondi; din de 8skenraeta esonachien, serre8a itondi;..."

"destournez tout ce qui est mal; que si la contagion nous attaque derechef destourne-la aussi que si la famine nous attaque, destourne-la aussi; que si la guerre nous assault, destourne la auss;..."

"turn away all that which is evil; and if the plague attack us again turn away that also and, if femine attack us, turn away that also; and if war assail us turn away that also;..."

sere8a	turn it away, stop it!
(e8a)	(all)
d'	article
otechienti	that which causes 'evil' (i.e., that causes bad things to happen)
din	and
de	article
g onnratarrie	a contagious malady
ets/i/sonachien	he will kill us again
sere8a	turn it away, stop it!
i/0/ondi	also
din	and
de	article
onrendich	famine
esonachien	he will kill us
sere8a	turn it away, stop it!
i/0/ondi	also
din	and
de	article
8skenraeta(c)	a bearer of war, a warrior
esonachien	he will kill us
sere8a	turn it away, stop it!
i/0/ondi	also

'Turn away that which brings about harmful results: (for example), if contagion starts to kill us again, turn it away; if famine starts to kill us, turn it away, and if war starts to kill us, turn it away also.'

"din de oki esoniatoata ondayee d'okiasti. chia d'aononc8aiaessa d'oki asaoio, serre8a itondi."

"que si le demon nous prouoque c'est a dire le mauvais demon. & les meschans qui par poison font mourir, destourne les aussi."

"and if the demon provoké us that is the bad demon and the wicked ones who through poison cause death, turn them away also."

din	and
de	article
oki	one having spiritual power
esoniatoata	he will offend, molest us
ondayee	that is
d'	article
okiasti	(one having spiritual power to effect some end)
chia	and
d'	article
aon/n/onk8aesa	they are sorcerers
d'	article
oki	one having spiritual power
asaoio	he has killed somebody
serre8a	turn it away, stop it!
i/0/ondi	also

'(Further), if the one who has spiritual power (that is the one having spiritual power to effect some end) molests us, and if the sorcerers who use spiritual power to kill someone (bother us), turn them away also!'

"oc8etac8i serre8a e8e d'otechienti."

"Finalement destourne tout ce qui est de mauuais."

"Finally, turn away all that which is evil."

ok8etac8i finally

serre8a turn it away, stop it!

e8(a) all
 d' article
 otechienti that which causes bad things to
 happen

'Finally, turn away all that which causes bad things to happen!'

"Jesus onandaerari Dieu hoen, ondayee achiehetsaron de hiaistan."

"Jesus nostre Seigneur de Dieu Fils, c'est ce a quoy tu exhorteras ton Pere."

"Jesus our Lord of God the Son, for this thou wilt exhort thy Father."

Iesus	Jesus
onandaera/t/i	our leader, one after whom we pattern ourselves
Dieu	God
hoen(a)	he to him is father to child
ondaie	that
achiehetsaron	you would exhort someone
de	article
hiaistan	he is father to you

'Jesus, our leader, son of God, for this you should exhort your fathers.'

"oneke tehianonstas."

"car il ne te refuse point."

"for he does not refuse thee anything."

onek (ind)e	as
tehian/n/onstas	he does not refuse you

'...for he does not refuse you.'

"chia desa Marie Iesus onde de chikhoncan ondayee itondi chihon."

"Et vous aussi Marie de Jesus la Mere qui estes Vierge, cela aussi dis."

"And you also Mary, of Jesus the Mother who are Vergin that also say."

chia	at the same time
desa	you

Marie	Mary
Iesus	Jesus
/h/ond8e/n/	she is mother to him
de	article
chikhonk8an	(?)
ondaie	that
i8ondi	also
chihon	(you say) (say it); possibly imperative form of this verb unique to the Bear dialect or mistake)

'And you, Mary, mother of Jesus, ..., (you say it) also!'

"to haya8an."

"Ainsi soit-il."

"So be it."

/θ/o

that way

a/i/a8/e/n/k/

it should be

'That is the way it should be.'

(11) A Prayer recorded by Father Hierosme Lalemant in his 'Relation' of 1641 (JR21:250-65)

"Sa chie8endio Di8 onne ichien onetere 8toekti ichien nonh8a onenterre:..."

"Seigneur Dieu en fin donc ie te connois: a la bonne heure maintenant ie te cognois;..."

"Lord God at last, then I know thee, happily now I know thee"

sa

you

chie8endio

you are master

Di8

God (i.e., dieu)

onne

behold

ichien

expletive

one/n/ter/i/

I know (i.e., am familiar with) you

8toe^cti

it is fortunate, an act of providence

ichien expletive
nonh8a now
onenter/i/ I know you

'You who are master, God, behold I know you; fortunately, providentially, now I know you.'

"Isa/ichien sateienondi de ka ondechén, din de ka aronhiaie: isa sk8aatichiaé dajon8e a8aatsi."

"c'est toy qui as fait cette terre que voila, & ce Ciel que voila: tu nous as fait nous autres qui somme appelés hommes."

"It is thou who hast made this earth that we behold, and this Heaven that we behold: thou has made us who call ourselves men."

isa you
ichien expletive
sateienondi you skillfully made something
de article
/x/a this one, the one here
aronhia/t/e the sky is situated in such a place
isa you
sk8aatichia/i/ you made we people (i.e., we living entities)
d article
a/i/on8e we are people (i.e., humans)
a8aatsi we are called, named

'You who skillfully made this earth and this sky, you who created us, we who are called people or human beings....'

"To ichien lotti ononh8a ichien a8a8endio de la a8ahonichien din de anonchia a8anonchichien; to ati hiotti de sa chie8endio de sk8aatichiaí."

Tout ainsi comme nous autres sommes maîtres du canot que nous auons fait canot & de la cabane que nous avons fait cabane; de mesme tu es maistre toy qui nous as crée."

"Just as we ourselves are masters of the canoe, which we have made a canoe, and of the cabin which we have made a cabin; so also thou are master thou who has created us."

/0/o that

ichien	expletive
ioti	it is like
onionh8a	we (alone)
ichien	expletive
a8a8endio	we are masters
de	article
ia	a canoe
aa8ahonichien	we made a canoe
din	and
de	article
an/n/onchia	a longhouse
aa8an/n/onchichien	we made a longhouse
/θ/o	that
ati	then, therefore
ioti	it is like
de	article
sa	you
chie8endio	you are master
de	article
sk8aatichiai	you made us

'You who made us being our master is like our being masters of the canoes we have made and of the longhouses we have made.'

"Oehron itochien nendi da8a8endio de stan iesta nonaen; ionda8ak ato a8a8endio de ia aa8ahonichien. din de anonchia aa8anonchichien, ionda8ak ato a8a8endio 8en."

"C'est peu toutesfois que nous sommes maistres de tout ce que nous auons; peu de temps seulement nous sommes les maistres du canot que nous auons fait canot & de la cabane que nous auons fait cabane peu de temps seulement en sommes nous les maistres."

"It is for a short time/however, that we are masters of all that we have; a short time only are we masters of the canoe which we have made a canoe and of the cabin which we have made a cabin a short time only are we masters. thereof."

oe/nC/ron

it is a trifling matter

i/θ/ochien	expletive
n	article
endi	we
d	article
a8a8endio	we are masters
de	article
sɛ̃/e/n iesta	all kinds of things
n	article
onaen	we possess something
ionda8aka	it is for a short time
/θ/o	that
à8a8endio	we are masters
de	article
ia	a canoe
aa8ahonichien	we made a canoe
din	and
de	article
an/n/onchia	a longhouse
aa8an/n/onchichien	we made a longhouse
ionda8aka	it is for a short time
/θ/o	that
a8a8endio	we are masters
ien	it is such

'It is a trifling matter that we are masters of all that we possess, as it is for a short time that we are masters of the canoes and of the houses that we have made; it is for a short time that we are masters.'

"Ten de sa sondechaon ichien chie8andio a8aton de aion8e a8aatsi:"

"Quant à toy pour tousiours tu seras le maistre de nous qui appelles hommes:"

"As for thee forever shalt thou be master of us who are called men:"

tan	as for (Bear dialect (?))
de	article
sa	you
aondech (enh)aon or aondech (ah)aon	forever (Bear dialect form (?))
ichien	expletive
chießendio	you are master
aßaton	it has become such
de	article
aionße	we are people (human beings)
aßaatsi	we are called, named

'As for you, you have become master forever of we who are called human beings.'

"din d'asson aondhai, aioehron ati chießendio?"

"& pendant que l'on est encore en vie, pourroit on douter que tu n'en sois le maistre!"

"and while we are still in life, can we doubt that thou art the master of it?"

din	and
d'	article
asson	still
aondh/e/	one lives, is living
aioe/n ^c /ron	would it be a bad thing? (rhetorical question with implied negative response)
ati	then, therefore
chießendio	you are master

'And would it be a bad thing that you are master while one is still living?'

"to haonoe aat'anderakti chießendio de aßenhei!"

"& pour lors principalement tu es le maistre quand nous venons à mourir."

"And, then, especially thou art master when we come to die"

/θ/o

there, that

haone	(with ʔò!) then, at that moment
aat	superlative
andera/ ^c /ti	greatly
chieëndio	you are master
de	article
aa8enhei	we die, have died

'You are principally master at the time when we die.'

"Sonh8a aat akhiaondi chieëndio aat; stan d8a tsatan ta testi."

"Toi seul tout a fait tu es maistre parfaitement; il n'y en a pas aucun autre avec toi."

"Thou alone entirely art master completely no other is there beside thee"

sonh8a	you (alone)
aat	superlative
akhiaondi	perfectly, completely
chieëndio	you are master
aat	superlative
stan	negative particle
d	article
8a8	other, others
tsat/e/n	someone
ta testi	you are not two together

'You are completely alone as master; no one shares the position with you.'

"Isa ichien aat aiesatandihi; isa ichien aat aiesannonh8eha"

"Tu es principalement celui que nous devrions craindre tu es principalement celui que nous devrions aimer;..."

"Thou are principally he-whom we ought to fear thou art principally he whom we ought to love."

isa	you
ichien	expletive
a at	superlative

aiesatandihi	we should (continue to) fear you
isa	you
ichien	expletive
aat	superlative
aiesannonh8eha	we should love you

'You we should greatly fear; you we should greatly love.'

"daak attoain aa atan d'8a non8e, din d'8a d'ondaki, atan ichien deka te hattinda8r enon8e dind'ondake:..."

"tres véritablement quant aux autres qui sont hommes & aux autres qui sont demons, ny les vns ny les autres ne sont point puissans ny les hommes ny les demons:..."

"Most truly as for others who are men and for others who are demons, neither these nor those are powerful, neither men nor demons:..."

daak	article + superlative
ato/e/n	it is true
aa	superlative
aten	as for
d'	article
8a	others
n'	article
on8e	people, human beings
din	and
d'8a	article + others
d'	article
ondaki	they have spiritual power
stan	negative particle
ichien	expletive
de	article
/x/a	cislocative particle
te hatinda8r	they are not powerful

a/n/non8e they are human beings
 din and
 d' article
 ondaki they have spiritual power

'It ws quite true that those who are human beings and those who have spiritual power are not powerful.'

"stan ichien te hattinda8r ondaki, e8a ichien te onkinnonh8e."
 "non non ils ne sont puissans les demons, de plus aussi ils ne nous ayment pas."
 "no no, they are not powerful these demons; moreover they do not love us."

stan negative particle
 ichien expletive
 te hatinda8r they are not powerful
 ondaki they have spiritual power
 e8a also
 ichien expletive
 te on/x/innonh8e they do not love us

'Those who have spiritual power are not (really) powerful, moreover, they do not love us.'

"ondaie ati nonh8a anderakti atones d'iseri ahaianteha."
 "Cest pourquoy maintenant d'une facon particuliere ie rends graces de ce que tu as voulu qu'il me cognoisse."
 "For this, now in a special manner I render thanks, thou hast permitted me to know thee."

ondaie that
 ati then, therefore
 n article
 onh8a now
 andera/^c/ti greatly
 atones I express thanks
 d' article
 iseri you wished that it be so

ghaienteha

I should acquire knowledge of him*

'That is why I now give special thanks that you wished that I should become acquainted with you (and your wishes).'

"Daa' anderakti sk8anno8e:..."

"Extremement tu nous ayme:..."

"To the utmost dost thou love us:..."

d	article
aat	superlative
andera / ^c /ti	greatly
sk8anno/nh/8e	you love us

'You love us to great excess!'

"onne chien non8a onataank8as de kiikhon:..."

"en fin maintenant ie me consacre a toy moy que voicy:..."

"at last now I consecrate myself to thee, myself whom thou beholdest"

onne	behold
/i/chien	expletive
n	article
on/h/8a	now
onata/e/n/x/8as	I offer myself to you (i.e., to make your 'mood' as smooth and even as a field prepared for planting)
de	article
/x/	dislocation particle
ii/tr/on	I am located in such a place

'Behold, I who am located here am offering myself to you.'

*In verbs expressing the nature of the wish or thought of the verb 'eri', the 1st and 2nd person is replaced by the 3rd person (m or fz depending on the sex of the person being referred to) in most cases. This seems to be the case here, with the masculine Jesus being referred to by the masculine pronominal prefix. I believe that this may be a grammatical reflection of the cognitive separation between an individual's 'wishing soul' (i.e., the soul which instigates his dream and vision 'wishes'; oki) and his or her conscious self.

"onne ichie nonh8a on8endiosti daak chie8endio de k'likhon sendio-

nran itoch de k'iikhon:..."

"en fin maintenant ie te fais mon maistre tu es principalement le maistre de moi que voicy ordonne seulement de moy que voicy:..."

"at last now I take thee for my master; thou entirely the master of him who is before thee Direct, thou alone, me whom thou beholdest."

onne	behold
ichie/n/	expletive
n	article
onh8a	now
on8endiosi	I choose you for my master
d	article
aak	superlative
chie8endio	you are master
de	article
/x/	cislocative particle
ii/tr/on	I am located in such a place
sendionra/e/n	think, apply your wisdom
i/0/och/ien/	expletive
de	article
/x/	cislocative
ii/tr/on	I am located in such a place

'Behold, I now choose you for my master. You are the principal master of I who am located here. Use your wisdom with respect to I who am located here.'

"niane to de eatonnhontaiona, eerhon itochien ehedionraan itochien daak a8endio de k'iikhon."

"H'importe que ie souffre ie penseray seulement, il y aduiera seulement le maistre absolu de moy que voicy."

"It does not matter what I suffer; I shall think only "he will order for me alone he, the absolute master of myself now before thee."

niane	(?)
/0/o	that, there
de	article

eatonhontalona	I will suffer (i.e., the life in my body will be withdrawn from many places)
eerhon	I will think
i/0/ochien	expletive
ehe/n/dionra/e/n	he will think, apply his mind
i/0/ochien	expletive
d	article
aak	superlative
(h)a8endio	(he) is master
de	article
/s/	cislocative particle
ii/tr/on	I am located in such a place

'(It is not important) that I will suffer. I will think that the great master will use his judgement regarding I who am located here.'

"Isa ichien a8eti sk8aata8an d'a8ah8atsia:..."

"Toi tu nous as tous pour creatures en notre famille:..."

"Thou thyself thou holdest us all as thy creatures in our family"

isa	you
ichien	expletive
a8eti	all
sk8aata8an	you have us within your sphere of influence
d'	article
a8ah8atsia	our family

'You, you have all of us in our family within your sphere of influence.'

"a8anchkran ichien de te ikhontak, chia stan onata8an d' a8ah8atsia, eerhon itochie, tehsagnra ichien daak sonata8an aa:..."

"encore bien que ie n'y fusses present, & quelque accident nous arriuasst en nostre famille ie penseray seulement celui la void qui principalement nous a pour creatures"

"even although I should not be present there, and some accident should happen to us in our family I shall think simply"

"He sees it who above all holds us as his creatures."

a8anchkran	if perhaps
ichien	expletive
de	article
te i/tr/ontak	I was not present in some place
chia...oné/a/ta8/e/n/k/	at the same time that something happened to us
(stan	(misplaced negative, should be before 'te i/tr/ontak')
d'	article
a8ah8atsia	our family
eerhon	I will think
i/0/ochie/n/	expletive
g tehaannra	he is watching over it
ichien	expletive
d	article
aak	superlative
sonaata8an	he has us in his sphere of influence
aa	superlative

'If, perhaps, I was not present when something happened to our family, I will think that he who definitely has us in his sphere of influence is watching.'

"tan nendi, stan ichien ea teen, de te ikhontak, oont ichien aia8onheonnen, de te ikhontak."

"mais pour moy ie ne suis rien du tout, quant bien i'y eusses este nonobstant nous fussions morts quand bien i'y eusses este."

"As for me, I am nothing at all; if indeed I had been there, nevertheless we might have died, even had I been there."

tan	as for
n	article
endi	me
stan	negative particle

ichien.	expletive
/i/a	I am of such stature
teen	it is not so
de	article
te	if
i/tr/ontak	I had been located in such a place
oont	(with 'ichien') it is of little importance
ichien	expletive
aiaßenheonnen	we would have died
de	article
te	if
i/tr/ontak	I had been located in such a place

'As for me, I am not of such stature; it would have been of little import if I had been present, as we (i.e., our family) would have died even if I had been present.'

"Onne ichien anderakti atones aa! onne ichien onenterē staat isendionr8ten aa:...."

"Voilà donc que grandement ie remerciel voila que ie te cognois pour ce qui regarde tes desseins:...."

"Behold, then, how greatly I thank thee! Behold, how I discern thee in what concerns thy plans."

onne	behold
ichien	expletive
andera/ ^c /ti	greatly
atones	I express thanks
aa	superlative
onne	behold
ichien	expletive
onenter/i/	I know you
st	relative particle

aat superlative
 isendionr8ten your mind, plans, intentions
 aa superlative
 "Behold, I express great thanks! Behold, I know your mind (i.e., your wishes)!"

"te8astato aendionraenton d'a8ah8asia, t'ea8ank: eerhon itochien, ehendionran de Di8 sonnanh8e:..."
 "ie ne veux pas songer si en nostre famille il arriuera quelque chose ie penseray seulement, il y aduisera Dieu qui nous aime:..."
 "I will not think "What if in our family something should happen?" I shall think only "He will attend to it God who loves us:"

te8as/6/a (with '8o') prohibitive particle
 /6/o that, there
 aendionraenton I should think
 d' article
 a8ah8a/t/sia our family
 t' if
 ea8/a/nk it will happen
 eerhon I will think
 i/6/ochien (expletive
 ehendionra/e/n he will reflect on it
 de article
 Di8 God (i.e., Dieu)
 son/a/n/no/nh8e he loves us

'I should not think "What if something happens to our family"; I will think that God who loves us will reflect on it.'

"din d'eerhon ahatiessaha to d'atti8atsia: eerhon itochien kond'ihon-dionr8ten de Diou sonnannoh8e:..."

"soit qu'il ait qu'ils deuiennent pauvres en leur famille: ie penseray seulement voila le dessein de Dieu qui nous aime"

"If he intend that they shall become poor in their family, I shall think merely "Behold the purpose of God who loves us!"

din and

d'	if
eherhon	he will wish it to be so
ahatiessaha	they would become poor (i.e., our family; see footnote on p159)
/θ/o	that, there
d'	article
/h/ati8atsia	their family (i.e., our family)
eerhon	I will think
i/θ/ochien	expletive
/x/	cislocative particle
ond'	that
ihondionr8ten	his mind, wishes, intentions
de	article
Diou	God (i.e., Dieu)
sonannonh8e	he loves us

'And if he wishes that our family should become poor, I will think;
"It is the will of God who loves us."'

"din d'eherhon ahoki8anehasen; eerhon itochien stan ne iherhé de Diou:..."

"soit qu'il ait dessein que celui la soit riche: ie penseray seulement ie ne scay ce que pretend de Dieu:..."

"Or, if he intend that it shall be rich, I shall think only "I do not know what God means."

din	and
d'	if
eherhon	he wishes that it be so
ahoki8an/da/ha	he should become rich
sen8	volitive particle
eerhon	I will think
i/θ/ochien	expletive
stan	negative particle

/t/e iherhe	he does not wish it
de	article
Diou	God

'And if he (i.e., possibly some spirit being claiming to be God) wishes to become rich, I will think that it is not God who wishes it.'

"anderakti eatandihi, eateiensta itochien t'iondhai:"
 "i'en seray d'autant plus en crainte, & prendray garde a la vacon que ie vis:..."
 "Much more would I fear this and would be careful how I lived."

andera/c/ti	greatly
eatandihi	I will (continue to) fear it
eateiensta	I will take care (act accordingly)
i/θ/ochien	expletive
t'	relative particle
^t ionnh/e/	I live

'I will greatly fear it (i.e., possibly the wish to become rich as it is a wish inspired by a spirit being other than God) and take care in how I live.'

"akiessen itochien d'aorrihouanderasko daokisanne: aerrhon te8ahente: onne ichien oki hi8ei"

"il est bien aise que les riches soient pecheurs: parce que sans qu'on s'en appercoive: voila aussi tost le diable qui les accompagne."
 "It is very easy for the rich to be sinners: because without their being aware of it: behold at one the devil who accompanies them"

akiesen	it is possible, easy
i/θ/ochien	expletive
d'	article
aokisanne/n/	they are rich
ae/n/rhon	because
te8ahente	it is not evident, visible
onne	behold
ichien	expletive

oki	one having spiritual power (i.e., the 'devil')
hi8ei	they two (md) are in each other's company, are together

'It is easy for one who is rich to be a sinner, as it is not evident that the devil accompanies him.'

"Olonék atochien attinaendae non8e d8a ondaie d'ondakiouane:
 "Hélas! c'est en vain que font les glorieux quelques hommes qui sont riches..."
 "Alas! it is in vain that play the braggart some men who are rich..."

o	exclamatory particle
onek	(with 'i8ochien') in vain
/i8/ochien	expletive
atin/n/aendae	they brag
n	article
on8e	human beings
d	article
8a	others
ondaie	that
d'	article
ondaki8an/n/e/n/	they are rich (have great spiritual power)

'Alas, they brag in vain; those people who are rich!'

"o ichien te onatateh8ichegnonch de ondaki8at din d'eessas."
 "non asseurement nous ne nous entresurpassons pas soit riches soit pauvres"
 "surely we do not excel one another whether rich or poor!"

o	exclamatory particle
ichien	expletive
te onatateh8ichen ⁸ /ni/onch	we do not surpass each other
de	article
ondaki8a(nnen)	they are rich

din and
 d' article
 eesas they are poor

'Certainly we do not surpass each other, whether rich or poor!'

"Chia te sk8annonh8e ichien d'a8kaota din d'aoki8ane"

"Tu nous ayme egalement & les pauvres & les riches"

"Equally thou lovest us both the poor and the rich"

chia te sk8annonh8e you love us equally

d' article

a8kaota they are/poor

din and

d' article

aoki8an/n/e/n/ they are rich

'You love us equally; those who are poor and those who are rich.'

"O outoekti onne onentere ti sendionr8ten de Ikouannonhoue de Di8"

"O que c'est donc a la bonne heure qu'en fin ie te cognois en tes desseins toy qui nous aime Dieu"

"Ah! happily at last I see thee in thy designs thyself who lovest us, O God;..."

o exclamatory particle

8toe/c/ti fortunately, providentially

onne behold

onentere/i/ I know thee

ti relative particle

sendionr8ten your mind, wishes, intentions

de article

/s/k8annonh8e you love us

de article

Di8 God (i.e., Dieu)

'How fortunate I am to know your wishes; God, you who love us!'

"anderakti atones, anderakti ichien onatonchfens ek'iikhon"

"d'autant plus ie remercie d'autant plus ie m'abandonne a toy moy que voice"

"especially do I thank thee especially do I resign myself to thee I who am before thee"

andera/ ^c /ti	greatly
atones	I express thanks
andera/ ^c /ti	greatly
onaton(k)iens	I abandon myself to you
ek'	cislocative particle
ii/tr/on	I am located in such a place

'I express sincere thanks and abandon myself to you completely, I who am here.'

"onne ichien nonh8a aakhiatehou enstan iesta a8andoronkoua d'asson a'iond'hay onne, ichien teskandoron, sonh8a to hara sendionran de k'iikhon daat chieouendio aa."

"me voila maintenant que ie secoue de moy tout ce que nous estimons pendant que nous viuons en fin doncce ie n'en fais plus d'estat toy seul vniquement dispose de moy que voicy qui en es le maistre."

"Behold me now as I cast from me all things that we value while we live at last now I no longer care for them thou alone and solely do thou dispose of me who am in thy presence thou who art my master."

onne	behold
ichien	expletive
n	article
onh8a	now
aaxiateh8(aj)	I cast them from me
enstan ies/0/a	all kinds of things
a8andoronk8a	we value it
d'	article
ason	still
ion/n/h/e	we are living
onne	behold
ichien	expletive
teskandoron	it is no longer valued

sonh8a	you (alone)
/θ/o	that, there
(h)ara	only
sendionra/e/n	apply your mind, judgement
de	article
/x/	cislocative particle
ii/tr/on	I am located in such a place
d	article
aat	superlative
chie8endio	you are master
aa	superlative

'Behold as I cast away from me all things that we value while we are alive. They are no longer valued; just you alone (are valued). Use your judgement, great master, regarding I who am located here.'

"Aioutektik ichien de te serinen on8e ichien aionton, oont ichien aiontones ae8ane ichien aiotenhnrak8at dek ondechen iaen de sta iesta sk8aentandi:..."

"C'est este beaucoup seulement que te eusses voulu que les hommes soient; nonobstant on deuroit t'en remercier il y auroit encore beaucoup dont on iouyroit sur la terre de toutes les choses que tu nous as laissees:..."

"This alone would have been much that thou shouldst will that men should exist; never the less we ought to thank thee that there is still much that we can enjoy upon the earth among all the things which thou hast given us:..."

a18t/o/e ^c /tik	it would have been providential
ichien	expletive
de	article
te	if
seri/n/nen	you had wished it
on83	people, human beings
ichien	expletive
aionton	they should come into being
oont	(with 'ichien') nevertheless

ichien	expletive
aiontones	one should express thanks
a8an/n/e/n/ (?)	it is great
ichien	expletive
aiot/o/nnh/a/rak8at	one should rejoice or be delighted for some reason
d	article
e/x/!	dislocative particle
ondechen	the earth/country lies in such a place
iaen	there is something put in such a place
de	article
sta/n/ ies/0/a	all kinds of things
sk8aentandi	you offered or gave us

'It (alone) would have been providential if you had (merely) wished that people should come into being, but one should express thanks as one has good reason to rejoice here on earth in the many things you have given us.'

"onek ichien kodaie anderakti sk8atharatadi; iseri, arondiaie ichien ahendeta de hendihei to ati de aondechahaon ichien de to gondhei."
 "mais de plus en cela grandement tu nous as obligé, que tu as voulu qu'ils aillent au ciel quand ils mourront là ou a jamais ils vivront."
 "but moreover in this especially hast thou laid us under obligation; that thou hast willed that they should go to heaven when they die there where forever they shall live."

onek	moreover (?)
ichien	expletive
/x/	dislocative particle
ondaie	that
andera/ ^c /ti	greatly
sk8a0arata/n/di	you have favoured us with god's deeds
d'	article
iseri	you have wished it.

aronhia(t)e	in the sky (the sky is situated in such a place)
ichien	expletive
ahendeta	they should go to such a place
de	article
/e/hendihei	they will die
/θ/o	that, there
ati	then, therefore
de	article
aondechahaon (see pl55)	forever
ichien	expletive
de	article
/θ/o	there
aondhei	they should live

!(Moreover) you have greatly favoured us by wishing that they (people) should go to the sky when they die and that they should live there forever.'

"Te8astato, hoh8a aatoretta staat iokirren de aronhiaie"

"Je ne veux pas maintenant examiner ce que c'est véritablement du Paradis"

"I do not intend now to inquire what really is Paradise"

te8as/θ/a	prohibitive
/θ/o	that, there
n	article
o/n/h8a	now
(at)a(ie)atore/θ/a	I should examine it (i.e., for faults)
st	relative particle
aat	superlative
iokiren	it is right, correct
de	article

aronhiaë

in the sky

'I should not now examine it, as things are quite right in heaven.'

"anaendaëk itochien de erhai, t'aiatoreta; onek inde ea te"
 "ie presumerois par trop de moy si ie pensois que ie recherche ce que c'en est; aussi bien ie ne suis rien"
 "I would presume too much if I thought that I could search out what it is; moreover, I am nothing"

/a/ann/aendaëk I would be overestimating my ability

i/ö/ochien expletive

de article

/i/erh/e/ I think

(a)taï(e)atoreta I should examine it

onek (with 'inde') because

inde

(i8)a or ea I am of such stature

te/en/ it is not so

'I would have overestimated my ability if I thought that I should examine it, as I am not of such stature.'

"ondaie ichien ai8toektik de erri8atere ti chie8end8ten."
 "cela seul me deuroit suffire de ce que ie scay ce que c'est de tes commandemens"

"This alone ought to suffice me that I know what thy commandments are."

ondaie that

ichien expletive

ai8toe/c/tik it would be providential

de article

eri/h/8ateri I know about; am familiar with such a matter

ti relative particle

chie8end8ten your words

'It (alone) is providential that I am familiar with your words.'

"Onne ichien nonh8a rih8iosta daak attoain aa:..."
 "En fin voila maintenant ie croy & tout de bon:..."
 "At last, then now I believe and wholly in earnest:..."

onne

behold

"ondaie is en to, disen stan te8anonstatindihai de aronh8aie:
 onek inde stan iesta te satandoronk8andik"

"cela me suffit que tu ayés dit ie ne vous refuseray rien
 dans le ciel parce que quoy que ce soit ne t'est difficile"
 "it is enough for me that thou hast said "Nothing will I refuse
 you in heaven; because whatever it be it is not difficult for
 thee;..."

ondaie

that

isen

you said

/6/o

that

d

article

isen

you said

stan

negative particle

te8/o/n/n/onstatindihai

I will refuse you nothing (i.e.,
I will not refuse you)

de

article

aronh8aie

in the sky

onek

(with 'inde') because

inde

st/e/n ies/6/a

all kinds of things

te sat/e/ndoronk8andi

it is not difficult for you

"You said that: "I will refuse you nothing in heaven"; as nothing
 is difficult for you."

"e8a ichien sk8anno8e."

"de plus tu nous aime."

"moreover thou lovest us."

e8a

in addition

ichien

expletive

sk8anno/nh/8e

you love us

!In addition, you love us!

LEAF 168 OMITTED IN PAGE NUMBERING.

"Kondaie neakhrendaentak8a ti chie8end8ten"
 "Voila le sujet de mon esperance ta parole"
 "This is the cause of my hope even thy word"

/x/	cislocative particle
ondaie	that
ne	article
akhrendaentak8a	it is the subject or cause of my prayer
ti	relative particle
chie8end8ten	your words

'Your words are the subject of my prayer.'

"Ou ichien teskandoron attoain a8atonnhontaiona asson aiondhai:..."
 "N'est il pas donc vray, que nous devons plus faire de difficulte de souffrir pendant nostre vie:..."
 "Is it not, then, true that we might have more hardships to suffer during our lives:..."

8	exclamatory particle
ichien	expletive
teskandoron	it is no longer difficult
ato/e/n	it, is, true
/a/a8atonnhontaiona	we might suffer
ason	still
aionnh/e/	we are living

'Truly, the fact that we might suffer while we are living is no longer difficult to endure.'

"Kondaie echa as8ank; e8ane es8atengnrak8at earohaie e8a ichien tetsaonnonste d'aiondhai d'aotetsirati."
 "voila ce qui en arriuera: d'autant plus nous en tirerons de profit dans le ciel; outre que on est moins tenant de sa vie quand on est dans affliction."
 "This would happen so much more profit would we gain thereby in heaven; and besides, on clings less to life when one is in affliction."

/x/	cislocative particle
ondaie	that

echa	that
a/i/a8/e/nk	it would happen
(a)8an/n/e/n/	it is great
ea8at/o/nn/ha/rak8at	it will be a cause for our rejoicing
(e)	(?)
aro/n/h/ia/e	in the sky
e8a	also
ichien	expletive
tetsaonnonste	one will no longer cling tenaciously to something
d'	article
aoñ ^t /n/h/e/	one is sick, miserable

'This is what should happen: there will be great cause for our rejoicing in the sky and one will no longer cling tenaciously to life when one is sick.'

"Ou! ichien teskandoron de enheon, onek atochien ti a8atandik de enheon t'asson adiodhai:..."

"Ah! veritablement ce n'est plus vne chose a craindre que

la mort, c'est pour neant que nous craignons si fort de mourir pendant que nous viuons:..."

"Ah! truly it is no longer a thing to be feared death; it is for naught that we fear so greatly to die while we are living"

8	exclamatory particle
ichien	expletive
teskandoron	it is (or will be) no longer difficult (i.e., to endure)
de	article
enheon	to die
onak	(with 'i/θ/ochien') in vain
/iθ/ochien	expletive
ti	relative particle
a8atandik	we fear it
de	article
enheon	to die
t'	relative particle
ason	still
d	article
aio/nn/h/e/	we are living

'Ah!, it will no longer be a difficult thing to die; it is in vain that we fear to die while we are living.'

"o ichie te onediont: to haonoe ichie aronhiae haient d'onna aihel, to haonoe aat aionk8asta de arohiae."

"véritablement nous n'auons point d'esprit en mesme temps qu'au ciel on va lors que l'on meurt en mesme temps precisement on est heureux au ciel!"

"truly we have no mind for at the moment that to heaven one goes when one dies at the moment precisely one is happy in heaven"

o	exclamatory particle
ichien	expletive
te one/n/diont	we have no mind, no sense
/θ/θ	that, there

haone	(with '0o') at that moment
ichie/n/	expletive
aronhiaē	in the sky
aient.	one should go to such a place
d'	article
onna	when
aihei	one dies
/0/o	that, there
haone	(with '0o') at that moment
aat	superlative
aionk8as/0/a	one should be happy
de	article
arp/n/hiae	in the sky

'Alas, we have no sense, for at the moment of death, when one goes to heaven, one should be very happy there.'

"To itochien iotti d'aononches, d'asson aiondhai: te hotonhont-aionach ichien d'ononches:..."

"Nous sommes semblables a ceux qui vont en traite pendant que nous vivons: il souffrent continuellement ceux qui vont en traite:..."

"We are like those who go to trade while we are living they suffer continually those who go to trade."

/0/o	that, there
i/0/ochien	expletive
iotti	it is like such a thing
d'	article
ao/n/nonches	they go to trade
d'	article
ason	still
aion/n/h/e/	we are living
te ho/n/ton/n/hontaionach	they suffer (i.e., have their life withdrawn from many places)

"de mesme en deuroit it arriuer lors que l'on est sur le point de mourir; on deuroit penser seulement tout maintenant ie seray au bout de mes peines"

"Thus ought it to be when one is at the point of death; one ought to think only, "Now I shall be at the end of my trials"

/θ/o	that, there
ati	then, therefore
aiaθ/e/nk	it should happen
d	article
on/ne/	behold, when
ontaiheonche	one is at the point of dying
aiaenrhon	one should think
i/θ/ochien	expletive
on/h/8a	now
toat	(?)
eendionhia(i)	(I will desire to stop doing something)
d'	article
atonnhontaionach	I am suffering

"It should happen that when one is at the point of dying, one should think: "Now I will be at the end of my suffering."

"Kondate nendi mi8aendionr8ten de chie8endio Di8:..."

"Voila mon sentiment Seigneur Dieu"

"These are my thoughts Lord God"

/x/	conjunctive particle
ondaie	that
n	article
endi	I
8aendionr8ten	my mind, thoughts
de	article
chie8endio	you are master
Di8	God (i.e., Dieu)

'These are my thoughts, God, you who are master.'

"onne ichien teskatadik enheo eatones ichien de k'itheonche"
 "en fin donc ie ne crains plus la mort ie me rejouiray quand ie
 seray sur la point de mourir"
 "at last now I no longer fear death. I shall rejoice when I am
 at the point of death"

onne	behold
ichien	expletive
teskata/n/dik	I no longer fear it
enheon	to die
eatones	I will express satisfaction
ichien	expletive
de	article
/x/	dislocative particle
itheonche	I am at the point of death

'Behold, I no longer fear death; I will express satisfaction when I am at the point of death.'

"Te8astato eatonhontaiona e8aendionrachenk de eathel de kennohok,
 eerhon itochien, hendionran de Di8, e8erhon ichien aionrask8a
 aronhiaie ichien haient."

"Je ne veux pas m'affliger m'attristant pour la mort de quelqu'un
 de mes proches, ie penseray seulement, il en dispose Dieu, il
 aura dessein qu'ils partent, qu'en Paradis ils aillent"

"I will not mourn and be sad at the death of any of my relatives;
 I will consider only "It is ordered by God; he intends that they
 should depart, that to Paradise they may go."

te8asta,	prohibitive
/0/o	that, there
eaton/n/hontaiona	I will suffer
e8aendionrachenk	I will be sad (have a 'bad', afflicted intellect-soul)
de	article
ea/i/hei	they will die
/x/enno/n/ho/n/k	I am related to them

'I will not suffer or be sad when my relatives die.'

eerhon	I will think
i/θ/ochien	expletive
hendionra/e/n	he thought about it, applied his mind
de	article
D18	God
eherhon	he will wish it
ichien	expletive
aionrask8a	they should depart
aronhiaε	in the sky
ichien	expletive
aient	they would go to such a place

'I will think that God thought about it and wished that they should depart and go to the sky.'

"endi-de eerhon ichien anderakti saonnonh8e de ha8eri ahonrask8a anderacti ahonk8asta."

"& pour moy ie penseray seulement grandement il les aime puis qu'il a voulu qu'ils partent, & que parfaitement ils soient heureux."

"And for myself I shall think only "How greatly he loves them since he has willed that they should depart, and that perfectly they should be happy!"

endi	I
de	article
eerhon	I will think
ichien	expletive
andera /c/ t1	greatly
saonnonh8e	he loves them
de	article
ha8eri	he wished it
ahonrask8a	they should depart
anderacti	greatly

ahonk8asta

they should be happy

As for me, I will think that he loves them greatly, for he wished that they should depart (to a place where) they should be very happy.

Text 1 (the 'long text') written on Isle d'Orleans by Chaumonot, printed in Le Mercier's 'Relation' of 1654 (JR41:166-171, and 173)

"A8ataken te etsinnonron k8annionk ato en a8at"

"Mes Freres nous vous honorons sans seintise."

"My Brothers: We extend to you our sincere respect."

a/,/8ataken

we are brothers (i.e., my brothers)

te etsinnonronk8annionk

we greet you with great respect

/,/ato/,/en

it is true

(a8at) or

(it is made with such a degree of quality, of such worth (?))

(a/k/8a/0/a/)

(we make it of such worth (?))

'My brothers, we truly greet you with great respect.'

"Ennhiek 8rochen ata atia8 endeontera a8enhon aia8achienda en Marie Ies8s hond8en"

"Ce n'est que depuis un an, que nostre esprit s'est ouvert & que nous auons pris les pensees d'honorer Marie, la mere de Ies8s."

"Only a year ago our hearts were opened, and we adopted the plan of honoring Mary the mother of Jesus."

√, a/,/ennhiek

summer dragged something, was dragged, led

8rochen

a sled, its sled

a/r/a

only

atia/,/8end/i,/ontera

we opened our minds

a/,/8enh(a)on

we said

aia/,/8achiendaen

we should honour her

Marie

Mary

Ies8s

Jesus

hond8en

she is mother to him

'(One) (summer has dragged its sled) only since we opened our minds and said: "we should honour Mary, the mother of Jesus.'

"rohaone staa8aroni a8enhaon ondecha8eti ondikiok8e chiach otio8ato gti dia enk aondoura on"

"Ce fut lorsqu'on nous dit; qu'il y a voit en tous les lieux du monde, des assemblees qui se formoient pour luy dire dans le fond

fond de l'ame,..."

"We were then told that there were in all parts of the world societies formed to say to her out of the depth of the soul:..."

/θ/o	that, there
haon/,/e	(with 'θo') at that moment
st'	relative particle
st'	
aa/,/θaronj	we heard it
a/,/enhaon	it was said
ondechaθeti	all the world
ondikiokθichiach	they make groups
oθiokθato/,/eti (ndi)	it (became) a special, 'holy' group
a/,/enk	it should/would be
a/,/ondi/,/o/n/ra/,/on	in their minds, intellect-souls

'At that moment we heard it said that all over the world they make groups which should be special, 'holy' in their minds.'

"Ato en Iesθs hechiens Skendionra toxa stan onek te rehonrak θario ierhe a echiendaen;..."

"Ouy, Mere de Jesus, tu vois mon coeur, & tu vois qu'il ne ment point quand il te dit, Marie ie te veux honorer!"

"Yes, Mother of Jesus, thou seest my heart, and thou seest that it does not speak falsely when it says to thee Mary I wish to honor thee."

/,/ato/,/en	it is true
Iesθs	Jesus
hechiens	you are parent to him
skendi/,/nratoxa	You know my mind
stan	negative particle
onek	solely
te/,/r/i/hon/di/ak	I do not speak without reason, for amusement
θari/e/	Mary
i/,/erhe	I wish

a/,/echiendaen I would honour her

"It is true, mother of Jesus, you know my mind, and you know that I do not speak solely for amusement (when I say): "I wish to honour Mary.""

"onxiatendotondi a a8en k8ario hatindore daathatori h8annene (isa restir) daak onachiendaenk te andak8ateri"

"On nous dit qu'a Paris, ou vous estes honorez des hommes, il y a honorer la Vierge."

"We are old that in Paris, where you are honoured by the people, it is a pleasure to see you, for you count it your sole honor to honor the Virgin."

onxiatendotondi	they told us
a/,/a8enk8ario	they have fine clothes, robes
hatindore	they are quick, prompt, diligent
daat	article + superlative
hat/i/rih8anneh/a/	they are men of great authority
daa/t/	article + superlative
/,/onachiendaenk	they honour her
te /,/andak8ateri	she has not known fornication

"Those who have fine or great robes (i.e., priests) told us that men of great authority are quick to honour her very much, (are diligent in honouring her) the virgin."

"isa echien sk8ahentonendi echien eetsi ennonteen"

"Vous nous avez devance, & nous voulons vous suivre."

"You have gone before us, and we wish to follow you."

isa	you
/i/chien	expletive
sk8ahenton	you went first
endi	we
ichien	expletive
eetsiennont/r/en	we will follow you

"You went first and we will follow you."

"Ies8s hond8en te a o annra d'eesaet, onde sk8andi onrantrah8i stan te sk8annonkonga"

"La mere de Jesus que regarde les pauvres, vous a pousse a ne-les pas mepriser."
 "The mother of Jesus, in her regard for the poor, has prompted you not to hold them in contempt."

ies8s	Jesus
hond8en	she is mother to him
te a /, /o /, /anra	she looks at them
d'	article
eesa(s) (?)	they are poor
onde	that
sk8andi /, /onr /o /ntrah8i	she put it into your minds
stan	negative particle
te sk8annonkon /o /a	you are not scornful

'The mother of Jesus looks at the poor (in such a way) that she puts the notion in your minds that you not be scornful.'

"0ora onne io ennhæe ontaskouent enrihatie ate o, ennhæe stan iesta esx8annontenk"

"Depuis plusieurs annees vous nous avez enuoye de riches presens."
 "Several years ago, you sent us some rich presents."

0ora	several
onne	demonstrative particle
/o /o	there, that
/, a, /ennha /, /e	such a number of summers
ontask8ent enrihatie	when you went about having pity on us
a te /, a, /ennha /, /e	each, every summer
stan iesta	all kinds of things
isx8annontenk	you give to us

'Every summer for several summers now, you, having pity on us, have given us all kinds of things.'

"Onde ati on8atres ti on8ahachen ion8en ion8en stan in a iaxinnont de 8arie aeodta8en, ..."

"Nous nous sommes assemblez, & nous avons dit, qu'enuoyérons nous a ces grands seruiteurs de la Vierge?"

"We met together and said, what shall we send to those noble servants of the Virgin?"

onde	that
ati	then, therefore
on/,/8atre/n/s	we have feasts, meetings
ti	relative particle
on/,/8ahachen	we hold, held a council meeting
ion/,/8en	we said
st/e/n i (as6a)	all kinds of things
aiaxinnont	we should give to them
de	article
8arie	Mary
(eata8an)	they are her people

'On account of that we have held meetings at which we declare that we should give all kinds of things to the people of Mary.

"chia a8enhaon stante hotie8as, isondaki8annen, nien askonannoh8e IES8S hond8en"

"Nous suons dit ils n'ont en rien besoin de nous, car ils sont riches, mais ils aiment la mere de Jesus,"

"They need nothing from us," said we, "for they are rich, but they love the mother of Jesus; . . ."

chia a/a/8enhaon	at the same time we said
stan8	negative particle
te hotie/h/8as	they do not need anything
i/h/ondaki8annen	they are rich (have great spiritual power)
nien	(but) (??) (??)
aa/t/	superlative
h/onsnnonh8e	they love her
Ies8s	Jesus
hond8en	she is his mother

'At the same time we said: "they need nothing as they are rich, but

they, love the mother of Jesus very much".

"alaxicharon 6o onnonk8arota onde hasten."

"enuoyons leur vn collier de nostre Porcelens,..."

"so let us send them a collar of our Porcelain"

"ahiatonk8i doki Aronhia, eronnonte onnonronk8anionti 8ario"

"ou est escrit le salut qu'vn Ange du Ciel apporta a la Vierge"

"whereon is written the greeting that an Angel from Heaven brought to the Virgin."

/,ahiatonk8i	it serves as something for writing, marking
d	article
oki	one having spiritual power
/,aronhia/,eronnon	one who dwells in the sky
te onnonronk8an/n/ionti	one greeted someone wti great respect with such a thing
8ari/e/	Mary

'It serves as a medium on which is written the greeting of high respect given by an 'angel' (sky-dweller) to Marie.'

"6o 6o ionnonk8arotahe daeoharonniate ti arensae non8arenso trah8i trudi stontasatation."

"Nous auos dit autant de chapelet, en l'espace de deux lunes, qu'il y a de grains dans le collier, vn grain de porcel/en/e noir en vant deux de blanche."

"We have recited as many rosaries, in the space of two months, as there are beads in the collar - one bead of black porcelain being worth two of white."

6o	that, there
6o	that, there
ionnonk8arota/,e*	there is such a number of porcelain beads
d	article
a/,8ac/haronniati	we made a string of wampum out of such a thing (i.e., out of such a number of porcelain beads)
ti	relative particle (ie., 'as)

*I do not know for certain whether the noun -nnonk8arot- referred

specifically just to porcelain beads, or whether it could also be used to refer to beads made out of other materials such as shells or red slate, or to the glass beads introduced by Europeans.

/, /arensa/, /e

there is such a number of strings of wampum

n

article

on/, /8arensotrah8i

we recite a string (go from one end to another)

t/en/di

two

st

relative particle

onta/, /aataon

the moon (a aata) went through its course

'There are the same amount of beads in the string of wampum as the number of strings of wampum (i.e., rosaries) that we have recited in two months.'

"Tsieharaenx8as asken 8arie stihon xondeesachien daentak8a de 8en dar ersiaskannhadesa a8erhe8usen te a8achiendaenk ti onachien-daonk:..."

"Presentez-luy ce collier, dites luy que nous la voulons honorer. Nous voudrions bien l'honorer autant que vous:..."

"Present this collar to her and tell her that we wish to honor her. We would like to honor her as highly as you do..."

tsi/c/haraenx8as

present this string of wampum to her (as a gesture to smooth or calm her 'spirit')

asken

vollitive particle

8arie

Mary

stihon

say to her

x

cislocative particle

oone

that

esachiendaentak8a

they honour you (your name) with such a thing

de

article

8enda/t/

Wyandot (Huron)

e/t/8iaskannha

we desire of you

desa	article + you
a/,/8erhe	we wish
0/o/	that, there
sen	volitive particle
a/,/8achiendaenk	we honour her
ti	relative particle
/,/onachiendaenk	they honour her

'Give this string of wampum to Mary! Say to her: "the Huron wish to honour you with this". We wish to honour her as (highly) as they (i.e., Frenchmen) do.'

"seri te on8andiont8rie"

"mais nous n'auons pas tant d'espris que vous pour seruir Dieu."

"but we have not so much understanding as you have for serving God."

/o/eri	alasi
te on/,/8andiont	we have no mind, no sense

'Alas, we have no sense.'

"/-8rie/ aion8a hetsaronhons d'IES8S hena ason8andiendienrontraak dia8achiendaen."

"Si la mere de Jesus demand a son fils, qu'il nous donne vrayement l'esprit qu'il faut pour l'honorer; c'est alors que nous l'honorons dauatage."

"If the mother of Jesus asks her son to give us, in truth, the understanding that we need to honour her; then we shall honor her more;..."

8/a/rie	Mary
aion/,/8ahetsaronhons	she should intercede for us
d'	article
Ies8a	Jesus
h(8a)ena	she is parent to him
ason/,/8andi/,/onrontrak	he should inspire us (put something inside our minds)
d/e/	article
/a/1a/,/8achiendaen	we should honour her

'Mary should intercede for us with Jesus, so that he would put the notion in our minds that we should honour her.'

isa de ersonesk8en, 6o loti nonionh8a onionesk8andik onne sk8ah-
8ichenion ti sk8achiendoek."

"Vous en serez bien aise en la mesme facon que nous sommes bien aises, que vous l'honoriez mieux que nous."

"...and, as we rejoice that you honor her better than we, so you too will rejoice."

isa	you
de	article
e/t/son(8)esk8en	it will please you.
6o	that, there
loti	it is like
n	article
onionh8a	we (alone)
onionesk8andik	it makes us happy, we are pleased
onne	demonstrative particle
sk8ah8ichen/n/ion	you surpass us
ti	relative particle
sk8achiend/a/e/n/k	you honour her

'You will be pleased with this as we are pleased that you surpass us in honouring her.'

"On8e d'hoenx8i haonesk8andik onne a8eti honoetarisene hondi, on-
rachen d'ason te iatend8esohiedochs."

"Un labourer est content, quand il voit tous les epys de son champ bien meurs. Cela l'atriste, s'il en voit quelquesvns qui ne soient pas meurs quand il faut les cueillir."

"A husbandman is gratified when he sees all the ears of his corn-
field well ripened; but he is troubled if he sees some that are not ripe when harvest-time comes."

on8e	a human being
d'	article
hoenx8i	he has a (cultivated) field
haonesk8andik	he is content, pleased
onne	demonstrative particle

a8eti	all
hondoiarisen/ni/	his corn is ripe
hondi/,/onrachen/s/	he is troubled, angered
d'	article
ason	still
te /,/iatend8/t/sonie	they are two mixed kinds of care of corn (i.e., some ripe, some, not ripe)
ocha	corn not yet ripe

"One who has a cultivated field is content when all his corn is ripe,
and is troubled when the ears are not all ripe."

"isa de skachiendaenk 8arie daak arbera 8o ioti te sk8aannia da at
ond8tsa8astis ondorari de, aronhia e8arah8aten,..."

"Vous autres, qui honorez la Vierge de tout votre coeur, elle
vous regarde comme des epys de son champ meurs pour le ciel."

"You, who honor the Virgin with all your heart, are regarded by
her as ears of her field which are ripe for heaven."

isa	you
de	article
sk/8/achiendaenk	you honour her
8arie	Mary
daa/t/	article + superlative
/,/a/t/o/,/en	it is true
aa	superlative
8o	that, there
ioti	it is like
ce sk8a/,a/n/r/a	she looks at you, regards you
daat	article + superlative
ond8tsa8astis	a good ear of corn
ondo/i/ari	the corn is ripe
de	article

/, /aronhia/, /e in the sky

e8ateh8aten it will be kept, put in reserve

'You who truly honour Mary are looked upon by her as good ears of ripe corn that will be kept in heaven.'

"endi te on8andiont 8o ioti on8a, ,annra doeha, onde ichiensennik."

"Nous autres qui n'avons pas encore d'esprit, & qui ne faisons que commencer a servir la Vierge, elle nous regarde comme les espys qui ne sont pas encore meurs. Cela l'attriste."

"We, who have not yet sense, and are only beginning to serve the Virgin, are regarded by her as ears not yet ripe, and that grieves her."

endi we

te on/, /8andiont we have no mind, no sense

8o that, there

ioti it is like

te on/, /8a/, /annra she looks at us, regards us

d article

o/c/ha corn not yet ripe

onde that

/o/chiensennik she hates it, it troubles her

'We who have no sense are looked upon by her as corn not yet ripe, and that troubles her.'

"Te ato en te sk8annonh8s 8arie hersihetsaron d'IES8S a han doier- isern era8eti de 8arie penx8i aionesk8en."

"Puisque vous l'aimez, demandez a Iesus que tout le champ de la Vierge soit meur comme il faut, pour le ciel, afin qu'elle soit contente."

"Since you love her, ask of Jesus that all the field may be ripe, as it should be, for heaven, in order that who may be pleased."

te if

/, /ato/, /en it is true

te if

sk8annonh8/e/ you love her

8arie Mary

oenx8i she has a (cultivated) field
 aioqesk8en it would please her

'If it is true that you love Mary, encourage Jesus to ripen the corn
 in all of Mary's field for that would please her.'

"Ta8atrendaenhas de sk8arenserrak 8arie orensa 8en eetsiatrendaen-
 daenhas den8anensotrak endi."

"Priez pour nous quand vous direz vos chapelets, nous prierons
 pour vous, disans les nostres."

"Pray for us, when you say your rosary, and we will pray for you
 when we say ours."

ta/,8atrendaenhas pray for us
 de article
 sk8arensotrak you recite your string of wampum
 8arie Mary
 orensa8en her string of wampum
 eetsiatrendaenhas we will pray for you
 d' article
 /o/n/,8arensotrak we recite our string of wampum
 endi we

'Pray for us when you recite your string of wampum (the string of
 Mary) and we will pray for you when we say ours.'

"k8ataxen onne i, en, a, enrhon on8a enasei onne d'IES8S hond8an
 8o ioti de tsonh8a sk8aenasti."

"Nous sommes freres, puisque la mere de Jesus est nostre mere,
 aussi bien que la vostre."

"We are brothers since the mother of Jesus is our mother as well
 as yours."

k8ataxen we are brothers
 onne demonstrative particle
 i/,/en it is such
 (aenrhon) (because; Bear dialect) (?)
 on/,8aenas/t/i she adopted us, took us in her
 family
 onne demonstrative particle

d'	article
Ies8s	Jesus
hond8en	she is his mother
0o	that, there
loti	it is like
de	article
tsonh8a	you (alone)
sk8aenasti'	you adopted us, took us in your family

'We are brothers, for as the mother of Jesus took us into her family it is like you took us into your family.'

"On 8annonh8e, din nendi a8annonh8e."

"Elle nous aime, & nous voulons aimer."

"She loves us, and we wish to love her."

on/,/8annonh8e	she loves us
----------------	--------------

din	and
-----	-----

n	article
---	---------

endi	we
------	----

a/,/8annonh8e	we love her
---------------	-------------

'She loves us and we love her.'

"Onne 0o 1, arih8etsi de Hechon sa8archotrah8indi iost8en, sehiaton, 8ade arati i8ochuen a8aihen8i te a8an non dateri ahiaton."

"Voilà ce que nous avons prie Echon de vous écrire, pour nous, car nous scauons parler; mais nous ne scauons pas écrire."

'This is what we asked Echon to write to you for us: for we can speak but we cannot write.'

onne	demonstrative particle
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0o	that, there
----	-------------

i/,/arih8etsi	the matter is of such a length
---------------	--------------------------------

de	article
----	---------

he(n)ch(r)on	Chaumonot's Huron name
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sa/,/8arih8otrah8indi	We recited this message to him from one end to another
-----------------------	--

io	came on
s(k)en (?)	vocative particle (?)
sehlaton	write!
8ade	as, because
a/t/ati	to speak
i6och/i/en	expletive
a/,/8aien/h/8i	we have the ability to do something
te a/,/8amondateri	we do not know about marks (i.e., writing)
/,/ahiaton	to write

"That is the message that we gave to Chaumonot: saying: "write, as while we have the ability to speak, we do not know how to write".

"A8ataxën te etsinnonronk 8annionek atoen a8a Chiaxa Cachonk 8arie harih8a sennik Louis A8arat8 annen Chao8e s'ondeaskon."
 "Mes Frères... Jacques Oachonk... ce sont les deux Assistans Louys Taieron Joseph Sondouskon Vous honorent & vous saluent sans seintise!"

a/,/8ataxën	we are brothers, my brothers
te etsinnonronk8annion/c/k	we greet you with great respect
/a/ato/,/en	it is true
aa(t)	(superlative)
Chiaxa	Jacques
Oachonk	(?)
8arie	Mary
harih8asennik	he takes the matter for her, on her behalf
Louys	Louis
(h)a8arat8annen	he does good things of great magnitude (of quality or number)
Vhaosë	Joseph
S ^c ond8skon	(?)

(iv) Text 2 (the 'short text') written on Isle d'Orleans by
 (S) Chaumonot, printed in Le Mercier's 'Relation' of 1654
 (JR41:172, 174-5)

"Tsendaon de Aronhiaé esenda erati onnonhiasx8i chesannontenk a
 atatoeti de 8endat"

"Receues ó Dame du Ciel, ce present que vous offre l'elite de vos
 Seruiteurs Hurons."

"Receive O Lady of Heaven, this present, offered to you by the
 chosen ones of your Huron servants"

tsendaon take this in your hands

de article

/,/aronhia/,/e in the sky

esenda/,/erati they have you for leader, one after
 whom they may pattern themselves

onnonhiasx8i it is a small (i.e., too small)
 present

esannontenk they give it to you

a/,o/atato/,/eti they are special, 'chosen', holy

de article

8endat Wyandot (Huron)

'Take this, mistress of the sky, it is but a small taken gift
 given to you by the special, 'chosen' Huron.'

"acharo nonde de charo eti"

"C'est vn Collier plein de mystere"

"It is a Collar full of hidden meaning."

/,/acharo it is a string of wampum

n article

onde that

de article

/,/a/char/at/o/,/eti it is a special, 'holy' string
 of wampum

'It is a string of wampum that is of special significance.'

"onnonk8arota da at on8enses on8acharonniati"

"Il est composé de nos plus fines Perles."

"It is composed of our finest Pearls."

onnonk8arota porcelain
 daat article + superlative
 on/,/8enses we prize it, it is prized
 by us
 on/,/8acharonniati we made the string of wampum
 out of such a substance

"We made the string of wampum out of the highly prized porcelain beads."

"Aronhia, eronnon a8enda on8'ahiaxonk8i onde te sannonronk8annionti de k, Gabriel,..."

"Il est anime, & enrichy de la Voix, & du Salut que l'Ange Gabriel vous a fait autresfois"

"It is inspired and enriched by the Utterance and the Greeting given you of old by the Angel Gabriel"

/,/aronhia/,/aronnon a sky-dweller
 /,/a8enda a word, voice
 on/,/8ahia/t/onk8i it serves as an instrument of
 writing
 onde that
 te sannonronk8annionti one greeted you with great res-
 pect with something
 d' article
 /e/k/i/ one having spiritual power
 Gabriel Gabriel

"It serves as an instrument whereby we can communicate the respectful greeting given you by the spirit Gabriel."

"eonk8a andronnon8acharonniati aonh8a, andoron doki a8endaon8ahiatonk8i 8arie re stak8aterison esk8ensken desacheta) enx8inkik"

"Nous n'auons rien de plus precieux en nos mains, ny rien de plus saint dans nostre coeur pour vous estre presente,..."

"We have nothing more precious in our hands, and nothing hlier in our hearts for presenting to you,..."

/a/on/h/8a it (alone)
 /,/and/o/ron it is precious
 (n) (article)

on/,/8acharonniati	we made the string of wampum out of such a substance
a'onh8a	it (alone)
/,/andoron	it is precious
d'	article
ok'i	one having spiritual power
/,/a8enda	a word, voice
on/,/8ahiatonk8i	it serves us as an instrument of writing
te stak8ateri	you have not known fornication
/e/sonesk8en	it will make you happy, you will be pleased
sken	volitive particle
d	article
esach/ar/aenx8indik	we present the string of wampum to you

'It (alone) is made of something precious (enough); it alone serves as the means of communicating the the word of the spirit. You who are a virgin; (we hope) you will be pleased when we present this string of wampum to you.'

"ondeskin ata8aatarirontak aronhia8 de a8enhe"

"& pour obtenir le Ciel par vostre moien"

"...for gaining us the kingdom of Heaven"

onde	that
(sken)	volitive particle
ata/,/8aata/t/ironta/s/	bring us (to such a place)
/,/aronhia/,/e	in the sky
de	article
/e/a8enhe/j/	we will die
'Bring us to heaven when we die!'	

(v) A Huron Translation of the Lord's Prayer (attributed to Chaumonot, circa 1673, in Wilson, 1885, p101)

"Sk8a isten de,aronhia,e hetsitron
Our father in the heaven thou art sitting or abiding."

sk8aisten (you are) our father
de article
,aronhia,e in the sky
etsitron you are situated in such a place

"Our father which art in heaven."

"aiesachiendaensken
may thy name be exalted"

aiesachiendaen we should honour you, place your
name in a position of honour

sken volitive particle

"May we place your name in a position of honour!"

"aia8ak8astasken aronhia,e aiesendaieratasken
may we be made happy in heaven thou mayst have thy* will,

nondende ia,8es8osken haia8enk etiesendaierati.
on the earth in like manner may it happen that thou hast thy will

wia/,/8ak8as/8/a we should be happy, may we be happy

sken volitive particle

/,/aronhia,e in the sky

aiesenda/,/erat we should take you for our leader,
our model for living

asken volitive particle

n article

ondende on earth

(aia8enk) (it should happen) (?)

8o that, there

sken volitive particle

aia8enk it should happen

*Misprint in text for 'thy'

etiesenda/,/erati

we took you for our leader in such
a place

'May we be happy in heaven by taking you for our leader (if) it
should happen that on earth we had taken you for our leader.' (?)

"Ta8annontasken exentate ondaie d'ora8enstak8i
mayst thou give from time to time that which is needful

n'88enonk8at ta8annont i8ondi d'ate8entate d'aionnhk8i.
for our life give us also for the day that which makes to live."

ta/,/8annont

give us

asken

vollitive particle

ex

dislocative particle

entate

it is day, a day

ondaie

that

d'

article

ora8/a/nstak8i

it puts something in a state of
goodness, 'grace'

n'

article

on/,/8enonk8at

our medicine (i.e., 'soul')

ta,8annont

give us

i8ondi

also

d'

article

ate8enta/,/e

every day

d'

article

aionnhk8i

our life-sustainer

'Give us this day that which puts our 'soul' in a state of 'grace'
Give us also our daily sustenance!'

"Sasandi,onrhenk non8ari8adera,i 8oskenai8en n'endit8on8adi,onrhens
Pardon us our wrong doings as we pardon

n'onxihiatolati
those who offend us"

sasandi,onrhenk

forgive, forget it

n

article

on/,8ari/h/8a/n/dera,i	our sins (i.e., we make a mistake accidentally or deliberately)
6o	that, there
sken	volitive particle
aia8en/k/	it should happen
n'	article
endi	we
tson/,8a/n/di,onrhens	we forgive, forget it
n'	article
onxiato/,/ati'	they offended, bothered us

'Forgive the mistakes we make as we (should) forgive those that offend us.'

"ennonchien eon,8asichen^{nia} de,ari8aderai' a8eti ta,8a,arennien
let not overcome us the sin all turn from us

d'okaot
the evil."

ennonchien	prohibitive
eon,8a/h8/ichennia	we will be overcome by it
de	article
,ari/h/8a/n/dera/,/i	mistakes, 'sin'
a8eti	all
ta,8a,arennien	remove it, take it away from us
d'	article
okaot	it is bad, 'evil'

'Let us not be overcome by all which is 'sin'; remove the badness from us!'

(v) "Voeu a la Saint Vièrge de la Nation des Huron en la
Langue Huronne envoye a chapitre de Chartres en 1678."
(in Chaumonot, 1688, pp105-6)

"Sendat Loretronon Tecatontariige Haon Gonastaenx8indik Dexa Gracharandiont Marié Charseekeondaon."

Sendat	Wyandot (Huron)
Loretron/n/on	dwellers of Lorette
te/,i/atontari/,/e	at the place of two large bodies of water (i.e., Quebec)
haon	locative particle
/,/onastaenx8indik	they give her a present
dexa	article + cislocative particle
/,/a/charandiont	a hanging string of wampum
Marie	Mary
Charseke	at Chartres
ondaon	its place

'The Huron of Lorette, Quebec give this string of wampum to Mary in her place in Chartres.'

"Marie Saatatoguete on 8atonnhara ndaoten de chiesannonchionnianni chartres ekandataen asen te satondin'nen,..."

Marie	Mary
saatato/,/et/i/	you are special, 'holy'
on/,/8atonnhara	we rejoice (place ourselves on top of 'life')
ndaoten	superlative
de	article
chiesannonchionnianni	when they made a house for you
chartres	Chartres
ekandataen	there is a village in such a place
asen	volitive particle
te	volitive particle/prefix

/e/satondinnen we had made it for you

'Holy Mary, we greatly rejoiced when they made a house for you in the village of Chartres: if only we had made it for you!'

"ondaie etiesannonchionniatandi d'esa8etonhend stante' strak8atecheud ahotiatan, non, nen chartreronnon"

ondaie	that
etiesannonchionniatandi	they made you a house in such a place
d'	article
esa/k/8eton/d/end	when you went to give birth
stan	negative particle
testak8ateche/n/d	you would not have known fornication
ahotiatannonnen	we should take care of them
Chartreronnon	dwellers of Chartres

'That is where they made a house for you when you had gone to give birth without having known fornication. One should take care of the inhabitants of Chartres.'

"O,ndaie dokontax8i esachiendaentak ason tsaten te eschierak ondechha8eti."

ondaie	that
d'	article
okontax8i	at the beginning
esachiendaentak	they had honoured you
ason	still
tsaten8	someone
te echierak	(?)
ondecha8eti	all over the world
(?)	

"Chigannen etjon8a ranne'ntagui Marie di8tsatatiens de 8endat a8aat-si,..."

chi/e,/annen	great, large
etion/,/8arannenta/,/i	she is attached to us (with 'chie,annen), we are far from her
Marie	Mary
di8.	God
tsatatienna	you are mother and son
de	article
8endat	Wyandot (Huron)
a/,/8aatsi	we are called

"We are far from Mary, Mother of God, we who are called Huron"

"ondaie d'a8ak8etak esachiendaenk aion8esenteguen taonsaia8axih8ach-
a8a nonh8arih8andera/ ouderati desan te esachiendaentak:..."

ondaie	that
d'	article
a8ak8etak	at the end, finally
esachiendaenk	we honour you
(aion8esenteguen)	(?)
taonsala/,/8a/r/i8acha8a	we should make satisfaction for some bad thing done
n	article
on/,/8arih8andera/,/i	our sins (we have made mistakes, deli- berately or unconsciously)
o/n/derati	greatly, excessively
d/e/	article
s/t/an	negative particle
te esachiendaentak	we did not honour you
(?)	

"ondaie ati nonh8a a8erhe ndio sen aia8atiecraxon de chartre'o'non,..."

ondaie	that
--------	------

ati	then, therefore
nonh8a	article + now
a/,/8erhe	we wish
ndio	come on!
sen	volitive particle
aia/,/8atieCraxon	we should be mixed together
de	article
chartrerannon	inhabitants of Chartres

'That, then, is why we now wish to be joined with the people of Chartres.'

"gataguen tson8andigonrat, a8eti chida8a8endat e8aton de Marie tekgan-
nonronk8anneonhoin, ia8amonh8eha, ia8a8endiost:"

/a,i/ata/x/en	my brother (we two are brothers)
tson/,/8andi/,/onrat	we are of one mind
a8eti	all
chi(a)	coincidentally, at the same time (?)
d	article (?)
a/,/8a8endat	we are Wyandot' (Huron)
e8aton	it will happen
de	article
Marie	Mary

te k/8/annonronk8ann/i/on/n/on we will greet her with great
respect many times

/e/a8/,/a/nn/onh8eha	we will love her
/e/a/,/8a8endiost	we will choose her as master

'My brother, we who are Huron are all of one mind; we will greet her
with respect many times; we will love her and choose her as our
master.'

"onne ichien axlendi8a daat agon8e chartrerannon,..."

onne	behold
------	--------

ichien	expletive
axiendi0a	we pray to them, ask of them.
daat	article + superlative
a/,/on8e	they are people, human beings
chartreronnon	inhabitants of Chartres
'Behold, we pray to them, ask a favour of them, the people of Chartres.'	
"a8erhe endisken aonsionxigenthen d'etiesachiendaentatiend dinda8-ak8ak etsae hiendaenhaj, tho ichti de onionh8a aguenk."	
a/,/8erhe	we wish
endi	we
sken	volitive particle
aon/ta/ionxi/,/en0en	they would put us higher in their estimation at such a time
d'	article
etiesachiendaentatiend	when we would have gone about honouring you
dind'	and (+ article)
a8/e/sk8ak	after, during the course of it
esa/c/hiendaenhaj	we will continue to honour you
0o	that, there
loti	it is like
de	article
onionh8a	we (alone)
a/,/enk	it should be
'We wish that they would put us higher in their estimation when we have gone about honouring you; and afterwards we will continue to honour you as we should.'	
"sianigerhe te on8ata8ahe daher8ehonnonh8a sen aonxientenh8a de te esannonconk8annion,..."	
s/t/an	negative particle

s/t/an	negative particle
i/,/erhe	I wish (for such a thing)
te on/,/8ata8ahe	we will not fail
d	article
a/,/8erhe	we wish (for such a thing)
honnonh8a	they (alone)
sen	volitive particle
aonxi/,/enten	they would put us higher in their estimation
8a	others
de	article
te esannon/r/onk8annion	we will greet you with great respect

'I hope that we will not fail in our wish that others will put us higher in their estimation when we greet you with great respect.'

"o,ndaie aonsahatichamia non8ahekencha8an Hotiaranhdore desa8endiosti, ondaie sken tande,ndi etion8a tandore d'on8aonh8a hatendareti hotindigon8annens, te hotiannrak8an,nens."

ondaie	that
aonsahatic/onn/ia	they should set something in order
n	article
on/,/8ahekencha8an	we are lazy, slow do to something
'They should take away our laziness (in this matter):'	
hotia/t/andore	they are prompt, quick, diligent
d	article
esa8endiosti	they chose you as master
ondaie	that
sken	volitive particle
tandendi	let us move forward, advance
etion/,/8atandore	where, when we are quick to do something

d article
 /h/onnonh8a they (alone)
 hatfi/idare they exist, are situated at such a place
 ti relative particle
 hotindi/,/onr8annens they have great minds
 te hoti/,/annrak8annens they have great vision (?)

'Let us advance to a state in which we are as quick to choose you for our master as those who, as they have great minds and great vision, are quick to do so now.'

"Marie Saatatoqueti Dj8tsatiens, 8ok8an,nens."

Marie Mary
 saatato/,/eti you are special, 'holy'
 Di8 God
 tsatatiens you are parent and child
 8o that, there
 (s)k8/a18/annens (you) are elders, ancients

'Holy Mary, mother of God, you (Mary and God) are elders (and therefore wise and worth listening to) (?).'

"Marie Saatoque^cti Di8tsata tiena, 8o chien stechiak8eton onn8atiguehen d'hechieua ogontichien iaxi,ndageren chartreeron,non ogont te etannonronk8a,nnion8a:..."

Marie Mary
 saatato/,/e^cti you are special, 'holy'
 Di8 God
 tsatatiens you are parent and child
 8o that, there
 /i/chien expletive
 st relative particle (?)
 (h)echiak8eton you gave birth to him

onh8ati	it is along time
/,/ehen	it was, used to be
d'	article
hechie/n/a	you are parent to him
o/,/ont	nonetheless
ichien	expletive
/e/axinda/,/eren	we will imitate them
chartreronnon	inhabitants of Chartres
o/,/ont	still
te e/s/annonronk8annion8a	they greet you with respect in such a place

'Holy Mary, mother of God, it was a long time ago that you gave birth to your son, nevertheless, we will imitate the people of Chartres who still greet you with great respect.'

"desak8etonde te stak8ateche, 8adesonh8a chie8endio dachierhon 8endat asen axeenas8a stan orast'eendak8ateche."

de	article
esak8etonde	you would have been pregnant (?)
te stak8ateche	you would not have known fornication
8ade	as, because
sonh8a	you (alone)
chie8endio	you are master
d	article
achierhon	you wished
8endat	Wyandot (Huron)
asen	vollitive particle
axeenas8a	I should bring them into my family
stan	negative particle
orast	still

(t)eendak8ateche they will not know fornication

'You who were pregnant without fornication, as you (alone) are master, you wished to bring into your family those Huron who still have not known (illicit (?)) fornication.'

"xa ichien esachiendaenk onnochia togentigue onde de skiatieren ti gannonchi8ten:nen chiondaonx 8o haone..."

xa	cislocative particle
ichien	expletive
esachiendaenk	we honour you
onno/n/chiato/,/e/c/ti/,/e	at the special, 'holy' longhouse
onde	that
de	article
skiatieren	they resemble each other
ti	relative particle
/,/annonchi8tennen	it was a longhouse of such a nature, characterized thus
chiondaon/k/	your house
8o	that, there
haon/,/e	(with '8o') then, at that time

'We honour you here in a 'holy' longhouse that resembles the house which you had (at the time that you gave birth).'

"di8 hechienasti ston8e ihoton a8erhe ton8entent iaon de Marie, e8erhon taxendigonterasen gatogen on8e ionton a ons honaerens8a gehiana."

di8	God
hechienasti	you brought him into your family
(i)ston8e	you are a human being
ihoton	he became something
a/,/8erhe	we wish
t(e)	volitive particle/prefix
(e)on/,/8enten/r/	she will take pity on us
(asen) (?)	volitive particle

dé	article
Marie	Mary
e8erhon	she will wish
/a/taændi/ / ontera	I should open their minds
sen	volitive particle
/, /ato/ , /en	it is true
on8e	people, human beings
/e/onton	they will become such
aónsahonaerens8a	they should resemble him
dé	article
h/e, /iena	I am parent to him

'You took God into your family when he became human; we wish that you will take pity on us, that you, Mary, will wish: "I should open their minds to the truth; they should resemble my son"

"8o ati ta8enk desa te skak8aterihatie, ogont echiok8etonhde; 8o ara tchiaka dak8eton d'Jes8s hechiena ehechiaticchien daat ehechiatarerit"

8	that, there
ati	then, therefore
/ai/a8enk	it should happen
desa	article + you
te s/t/ak8aterihatie	you go about as a virgin (i.e., not knowing fornication)
o/, /ont	still
echiak8etonde	you are pregnant
8o	that, there
haon/, /e	(with '8o') then, at that moment
8o	that, there
ara	only
t/e/hiaka	he will be together with you

d	article
ak8eton	to give birth
d'	article
Jes8s	Jesus
hechi8na	you are his parent
ehechiatic8ien	you will create him
daat	article + superlative
ehechiata8erit	you will furnish him with all that is necessary

'(You wished): that you who were a virgin still would be pregnant; that at the moment of birth, you would be together alone; that you would create your son Jesus and furnish him with all that was necessary.'

"non8adigo, nragon; ondaie ichien a8atratsista d8xa esacharaenx8indik,..."

n	article
on/,/8andi/,/onra/,/on	in our minds, thoughts
ondaie	that
ichien	expletive
a8/,/atratsista	we desire it
d8xa	article + dislocative particle
esacharaenx8indik	we present to you this string of wampum

'That is why in our minds we desire to present to you this string of wampum.'

"ondaie atirakatha 8o tho on8akont chierongue,..."

ondaie	that
at/e/raka8a	it is a sign of something
8o	that, there
8o	that, there
on/,/8akont	it is hung, suspended by us

chieron/,/e on your body

'It is a token of our feelings that we hang on your body.'

"Bade isa sk8aata8en daak atoguen aat 8endat a8aasti Loretronn teia-
tontargue houati a8andare."

Bade as, because

isa you

sk8aata8/a/n we are your people

daa/t/ article + superlative

/,/ato/,/en it is true

aat superlative

8endat Wyandot (Huron)

a,/8/aasti we are called

Loretronnon inhabitants of Lorette

te/,/iatontari/,/e Quebec

/on/h8ati it is a long time

a/,/8andare we dwell, exist

'It is quite true that we who are called Huron, inhabitants of Lorette,
Quebec, will live as your people for a long time.'

(vi1) "Priere en temps de guerre"; circa 1683 (JR64:58)*

"Di8 sa chie8endio st' lonnhe ata, 8annhe k8e de 0/i/on, 8ahah8ten on-d
d8ta, e8te de aronhia, e hona8ti ak8ahahichiaindi."

Di8 God

sa you

chie8endio you are master

st' relative particle

a, lonnhe we live, are living

ata, 8annhe protect us

k8e de t' in order that, so that

ion,8ahah8ten	our path is of such a nature
n'	article
ond8ta,e ^C te	one bearing the 'mat' of war
de	article
,aronhia,e	in the sky
honati	on this side
sk8ahahichia/,/indi	you will make a path for us

'God, you who are master of our lives, protect us so that you will make our war path a path to the sky.'

"Areisa,en d'axiena don(t)aionkaratat ati chien de chie8enda de 8o
eonsatindask8en8a8it ettiendare d'asen te a,orih8iosti!"

*Unfortunately, the writing in this manuscript was faded and illegible in places. In more than a few instances, letters and words were determined by what seemed to fit semantically and grammatically.

areisa,en	alas!
d'	article
axiena	we are their parents,
aontaionkaratat	they would keep it here
atichien	would it be possible?
chie8enda	your word
de	article
8o	that, there
e/,/on(8)atindask8en8a8it	they will bring prisoners (?)
ettiendare	they live here
d'	article
asen	volitive particle
te	volitive particle/prefix
a,orih8iosti	they take it as good news (they are Christians)

'Alas, could it be possible that our children would keep your word, as

they will bring prisoners here where they live. If only they were Christians!

"aoien^cka, 0o aia, ondi, onr⁸tenst nondechonronnon ti a, ondi, onf⁸ten de e, ona⁸ennenh⁸a."

aoien ^c ka	as soon as
0o	that, there
aia, ondi, onr ⁸ tenst	one would put their minds in such a state
n ¹	article
ondechon ^c ronnon	an underground dweller (the devil)
ti	relative particle
a, ondi, onf ⁸ ten	their minds are such
de	article
e, ona ⁸ ennenh ⁸ a	they will carry one's word

'As soon as the underground-dweller would render their minds, so, their minds would carry his word.'

"Ennonsken Jesus te on, 8axaska ond⁸ta, e^cte de esarih⁸a⁸asennik etsih-(en)^ctatsi d'onne (e)(a)a, 8/e/nh⁸i;..."

ennonsken	prohibitive
Jes ⁸ s	Jesus
te on, 8axaska	we will separate
ond ⁸ ta, e ^c te	one bearing the 'mat' of war
de	article
esarih ⁸ a ⁸ asennik	we take such an affair for you
etsih(en)tatsi	(?)
d ¹	article
onne	demonstrative particle
(a)(e)a, 8enh ⁸ i	(?)

(?)

"ennonsken d⁸ak/e/n^ctra d'oki d'i⁸erhe a, arih⁸aton 0o /onne/ horih⁸-

a8/an/ dexa te on, ionde^chraton;..."

ennonsken	prohibitive
e8ak/e/ntra	(?)
d ¹	article
oki	one having spiritual power
d ¹	article
i8erhe	one wishes
a, arih8aton	an affair is lost, disappears
8o	that, there
onne	demonstrative particle
horih8a8an	his affair
dexa	article + cislocative particle
te on, ionde ^c hraton	we (will) not lose our world
(?)	

"ennonsken d¹i8/erhe/ a8a/t/ennon/sk/on, 8ahon onnon^chiato, e^cti n¹on/te/ndae^ctak8a d¹a, orih8io^cti ate (,a)ndata,e;"

ennonsken	prohibitive
d ¹	article
i8/erhe/	one wishes
(e8atennonskon, 8ahon)	(?)
onnon ^c hiato, e ^c ti	a special, 'holy' house
n ¹	article
on/te/ndae ^c tak8a	they profane it all over the world
d ¹	article
a, orih8io ^c ti,	they are Christians
a te , andata, e	at every village
(?)	

"Ta, 8entenrasken Jes8s aic^cta8a /s¹n/ d¹oki d¹i8erhe axea^ctatiron ten n¹ondechon a, otio^ck8a8eti non8e dexa endaron^cnon:..."

ta,8entent	have mercy on us!
asken	vollitive particle
Jes8s	Jesus
aio ^c ta8a	one should fail
/sen/	vollitive particle
d'	article
oki	one having spiritual power
d'	article
i8erhe	one wishes
axea ^c tatironen	I should lead them
n'	article
ondechon	in the earth
a,otio ^c k8a8eti	all of their group
n	article
on8e	people, human beings
dexa	article + cislocative particle
endaronnon	they exist in many places

'Have mercy on us Jesus; let it be that the one having spiritual power (the devil) should fail in his wish to lead all the people living all over the world into the earth.'

"Go ichien ea8enk Jes8s Go ichien areisa,en ea8enk, onta te chiere8at-a^cnde oskenra,e^cte;..."

Go	that, there
ichien	expletive
ea8enk	it will happen
Jes8s	Jesus
Go	that, there
ichien	expletive
areisa,en	alas!

ea8enk it will happen
 onta te chiere8atan^cde if you do not stop someone
 oskenra,e^cte a warrior (one who bears war)
 'It will happen. Jesus, alas, it will happen, if you do not stop the warrior (i.e., stop raiding and warfare).'

"a,otio^ck8a8eti nondēchon ea,otio^ckonment de xondec^chen iens a,on8e, d'eonxih8ic^chennia nonxiesa^cθa:..."

a,otio^ck8a8eti all of their group
 n article
 ondechon in the earth
 ea,otio^ckonment they will fall into something
 de article
 x cislocative particle
 ondec^chen a country lies in such a place
 iens they go around, live together
 a,on8e people, human beings
 d' article
 eonxih8ic^chennia they will surpass us
 n article
 onxiesa^cθa they treat us cruelly

'All of the people who walk about on this earth will fall into the earth and those who treat us cruelly will surpass us (in number and force).'

"tsaatandore Jes8s d'achierhonska e^cndi sen ,aronhia,e axennionde^ct non,echiendaenk a,orih8iošti:..."

tsaatandore you are quick to do something
 Jes8s Jesus
 d' article
 achierhonska you thought of wishing
 e^cndi I
 sen volitive particle

,aronhia,e	in the sky
axemiondêct	I should lead them to such a place
n'	article
on,echiendaenk	they honour me
a,orih8iosti	they are Christians

'Jesus, you are quick to think of wishing: "I should lead those who honour me, those who are Christians to the sky.'

"asennhehasken Jes8s, asennhehasken de sarih8a8/an/ ,arih8iosti, a, arih8aentatie sken eond(?)(c)hontis de cherih8aienstandi non8e:..."

asennhe	give protection!
hasken	volitive particle
Jes8s	Jesus
asennhe	give protection
hasken	volitive particle
de	article
,sarih8a8/an/	it is your affair
,arih8iosti	one is a Christian
a,arih8aentatie	one went about applying such a belief
sken	volitive particle
eond(?)(c)hontis	(?)
de	article
cherih8aienstandi	you taught them such a thing
ni	article
on8e	people, human beings
(?)	

"tsinCnen atichien taon/t/esannonCronk8annion dexa endaron non (d18) (...)(...)(sarih8a8an)? Stan ies8s 8o e8at(...):..."

tsinnen	who
atichien	would it be possible?

° taon/t/esannon ^c ronk ⁸ annion	one should greet you herewith great respect
dexa	article + cislocative particle
endaron ^c non	they live in many places
di8	God
(...)	(?)
(sarih8a8an)	(it is your affair)
stan ies0a	all kinds of things
0o	that, there
e8at(...)	(?)
(?)	

(viii) "Instructions d'un infidél moribond" (Partial translation
P609-10)

"a, iataxen satetsirati te satonharenronk? atiaondi te tsisatondik, aerisa, en (areisa, en) de tion8el ndaoten on, 8atanditenstandi, a8entenhaon k8enheons. taot aek8aer?"

a, iataxen	we two are brothers
satetsirati	you are sick, miserable
te satonharenronk	you are poised between life and death
atiaondi	perfectly, entirely
te tsisatondik	you are no longer able to do something
aerisa, en	alas!
de	article
tion8e	we (you and us) are human
ndaoten	superlative
on, 8atanditenstandi	we are worthy of compassion, pitiable
a8entenhaon	all day long, continually
k8enheons	we die, are dying
taot	what is the nature of it?
aek8aer	we should do something

"My brother, are you sick, poised between life and death? Are you no longer able to function perfectly? Alas, we humans are pitiable creatures, we are continually dying. What should we do?"

"aon, iondech8ten k8enheons: skarih8at ichien a, 8arih8enha a, 8annion, euhak d'ia, 8atanditenstak8a d'onna ont8a, 8enhe 8ache, a, 8erhe, aronhia, e ea, 8ak8as8a d'ea, 8enhej, 8o ichien etsa, ionnhontie aondechenhaon; a, 8erhe d'onm'aa, 8enhej oerichien n'on, 8atie8 ex8ondechen, tsondechachen ondi; ondaie ichien onnianni etsa, 8atondechen, aronhia, e daat ondech8asti aat chrih8ateri i?"

aon, iondech8ten	the customs of our countries should be such
k8enheons	we die, are dying
skarih8at	it is one affair, a singular matter

ichien

a,8ar1h8enh8a

,a8annion,enhak

d'

a,8atanditenstak8a

d'

onna

ont8enheonche

a,8erhe

,,/aronhia,e

ea,8ak8as8a

d'

ea,8enhej

8o'

ichien

etsa,ionnhontie

aondechenhaon

a,8erhe

d'

onn'

aa,8enhej

oeri-ichien

n'

on,8aties

ex'

ondechen

tsondechachen

expletive

we carry, bring such a belief with us

we are French

article

we console ourselves with it

article

when

we are about to die

we believe

in the sky

we will be happy

article

we will die

that, there

expletive

our life will resume, begin again

forever

we believe

article

when

we die, have died

it matters little

article

we abandon, leave it

cislocative particle

a country lies in such a place

it is too miserable a country, it is a very bad country

ondi	finally, at last
ondaie	that
ichien	expletive
onnianni	it is good
etsa, 8atondechén	we will place ourselves or be put in another country
,aronhia, e	in the sky
daat	article + superlative
ondecha 8asti	it is a good country
aat	superlative

'The customs of our countries should be such concerning our dying: There is one thing which we Frenchmen console ourselves with when we are about to die. We believe that we will be happy in heaven when we die; that our life will begin again there and last forever; that when we die it matters little, for we are abandoning a miserable world; that we will be put in another world, one that is very good.'

"chrih8ateri i? n'onh8a, te ,enheons on, 8annonk8at onn'ek8atonnhaten, ondaie 0o ara 8kaot i8atonk k8aeron, e? chrih8ateri? ,askennontes on, 8annonk8at onn'a, aa, enha de k8aeron, e , ehen?"

chrih8ateri	you know of it, about it
i	interrogative
n'	article
onh8a	now, when
te ,enheons	it does not die
on, 8annonk8at	our medicine ('soul')
onn'	when
ek8atonnhaten	we stop living
ondaie	that
0o	that, there
ara	only
8kaot	it is bad, worthless, vile

i8atonk	it becomes such
k8aeron,e	at our jbody
chrih8ateri	do you know of it, about it?
,askennontes	it goes to a land of 'ghosts'
on,8annonk8at	our medicine ('soul')
onn'	when
a,aa,enha	it leaves, departs
de	article
k8a,eron,e	at our body
,ehen	it used to be

'Did you know that when we stop living our 'soul' does not die, that only our body deteriorates? Did you know that our 'soul' goes to a land of 'ghosts' when it leaves our bodies?'

"chi hontendot hati,ondaskehen, ihontonk, ,askennontes on,8annonk8at onn'ek8enhej te 8atox8a0a onati ,askennontes, s0'ontendot skat ati hontsa0a st'eskenntes0a abeti n'on8e ,ehen, din d'a,0atato,eti ,ehen, dind' ennonk8aesa ,ehen: ondi,onhia,i ati n'on8e hontendot, 0o ioti d'aiendiagon, ondaie 0b ara te ,ato,en d'isk8erhe eskat i0ochien eskennontes0a; aior8an tson,8andi,onrat te d'aia,enrhon eskat i0ochien eonkeron a,otiok8aseti n'on8e, ,ehen."

chi	far away (i.e., long ago)
hontendot	they told a story
hati,ondaskehen	they are old + it used to be; they were old men (Huron expression for 'our ancestors')
ihontonk	they say such a thing
,askennontes	it goes to a country of 'ghosts'
on,8annonk8at	our 'soul'
onn'	when
ek8enhej	we will die
te 8atox8a0a	it lies, is situated in such a place
onati	on this side, near something

st	relative particle
hontendot	they told a story
eskat	one, it is one
ati	then, therefore
hontsaθa	they name, designate it to be such
st'	relative particle
eskennonteθa	they are in such a place of 'ghosts'
aθeti	all
fi'	article
onθe	people, human beings
,ehen	it used to be
din	and
d'	article
a,oaatato,eti	they are special, 'holy' people
,ehen	it used to be
din	and
d'	article
enmonkθaesa	they are sorcerers, dangerous or 'bad' people
,ehen	it used to be
ondi, onhia, i	it is wrong (or a broken mind (?))
ati	then, therefore
onde	that
hontendot	they told a story
θo	that, there
ioti	it is like
d'	article
aiendiagon	they would be telling tall tales,

	stories meant solely for entertain- ment
endi	we
aat	superlative
on, 8andi, onrato, endi	we (our minds) are certain, sure
ti	relative particle
, arih8ten	it is a matter of such a nature
eskennontes	they go to a land of 'ghosts'
ichien	expletive
, ato, en	it is true
n'	article
on8e	people, human beings
, ehen	it used to be
ondaie	that
8o	that, there
ara	only
te , ato, en	it is not true
d'	article
isk8erhe	you believe
eskat	it is one
i8ochien	the same (expletive)
eskennontē8a	they are in such a place of 'ghosts'
aiora8an	it would be good
tson, 8andi, onrat	we are of one mind
te	if
d'	article
aia, enrhon	they would wish
eskat	one, it is one

ibochien	the same (expletive)
eonkeron	they will be (put) together
a,otioK8a8eti	all of their group
n'	article
on8e	people, human beings
,ehen	it used to be

'Long ago, the ancestors (of the Huron) told a story saying: "when we die our 'soul' goes to a particular place of 'ghosts'". They stated that it was the place of 'ghosts' where all people who have died would go; whether they were special, 'holy' people or 'evil' sorcerers. They were mistaken in telling such a story. It is as if they were telling tall tales to amuse us. We are sure of such a thing. It is true that people who have died go to a place of 'ghosts', but the notion that you have that they all go to the same place is false. It would be good if we were all of one mind, if those who have died would wish to be together in one group. (But usch is not the case.)"

"anniaten acheatont chiondaon de 8a aia, ondi, onr8tenk d' d'aia, ok8-enraskon, d'aia, osk8ahataj, aons achienk achienta8a chia acheatingenk, achierhon, i, erhe d'eonniamik, 8o ichien aontachrih8ara8a; d'achierhon, stante 8atonde de skat te eskennontea a8eti n'on8e ,ehen, aionniaini-88a atichien ta te ontatiatohie8a d'a, ondi, onra8asti din d'a, otieronskon n'on8e ,ehen; aek8atsirat isen ichien d'ibaa on, 8ara8an a8entenhaon atiaondi aionxindi, onrachat a, otieronnonskon, a, ok8enraskon a8eti d'oki ontechia8a."

anniaten	sometime
acheatont	you should let them into such a place
chiondaon	your place
de	article
8a	others
aia, ondi, onr8tenk	they would have such thoughts
d'	article
aia, ok8enraskon	they would frequently steal
d'	article
aia, osk8ahataj	they would continue to be 'bad, hateful
aons	passage (?)

achienk	three, three times
achienta8a	a day would pass for you
chia acheatingenk	at that time you would put them outside
achierhon	you would wish
i,erhe	I believe
d'	article
eonniannik	it will be a long time
0o	that, there
ichien	expletive
8ontachrih8ara8a	you would reflect of this matter
d'	article
achierhon	you would wish
stan	negative particle
te 8atonde	it will not be possible, will not happen
de.	article
skat	one, it is one
te eskennonte8a	they are not, in such a place of 'ghosts'
a8ati	all
n'	article
on8e	people, 'human beings
,ehen	it used to be
aionniannis8a	would it be better? (Huron expression implying the negative: 'It would not be better!')
ta te ontatiahie8a	if they are mixed together
d'	article
a,ondi,onra8asti	they have good minds (i.e., are peaceful, slow to anger)

din	and
d'	article
a, otieronnonskon	they frequently perform destructive acts
n'	article
on8e	people, human beings
, ehen	it used to be
aek8atetsirat	we would be miserable
isen ichien	certainly
d'	article
i8aia	it is, small, of little account
on, 8ara8an	we are good (i.e., in a state of 'grace')
a8entenhaon	continually
atiaondi	entirely, perfectly
aionxindi, onrachat	they would corrupt our minds, make us angry, troubled
a, otieronnonskon	they frequently perform destructive acts
a, ok8enraskon	they frequently steal
a8eti	all
oki	one, possessing spiritual power
ontechia8a	one causes death by some means

'Sometime you should invite into your house those who steal; they would continue in their hateful ways and you would put them out within the passage of three days. I believe that you would reflect on this matter for a long time, and would wish that it would not be possible that all people who have died be in the same place of 'ghosts'. It would not be for the best if those who frequently perform destructive acts and those who are peaceful were to be mixed together. We should certainly be miserable; as it is not enough that we are good, are in a perpetual state of 'grace', for those who steal, and those who kill by spiritual means would enrage us, trouble our minds.'

'ndio satrihotat a, iataxen onn'a, onatendoton daat ,arih8atoeti tendi a

te eskennontes onn'aaihej n'on8e; 8atsek eskennonte0a d'a, ondi, onhier-
ihen, 8atsek i0ondi d'ia, ondi, onhiachensa, ondaie i0ochien skat iontienk
de chiate a, ondi, onr8tennen; tsaten e8a0ara ondaie eonk8i d'a, o0aratin-
nen; tsaten'e, arih8anderaxon, ondaie eonriskon d'a, orih8anderaskon
, ehen."

ndio	come on!
satrihotat	pay attention, listen!
ai, ataxen	we two are brothers
onn'	when
a, onatendoton	I tell you
daat	article + superlative
, arih8at0/, /eti	it is a special, 'holy' matter
tendi	they are two
a te eskennontes	every one goes to a place of 'ghosts'
onn'	when
aaihej	they die
n'	article
on8e	people, human beings
8atsek	outside, beyond
eskennonte0a	they are in such a place of 'ghosts'
a, ondi, onhierihen	they have right, correct thoughts
8atsek	outside, beyond
i0ondi	also
d'	article
ia, ondi, onhiachensa	they have 'bad little' minds
ondaie	that
i0ochien	the same (expletive)
skat	one, it is one
iontienk	they are placed together

de	article
chia te a, ondi, onr8tennen.	they were of the same mind, thinking
tsaten	someone
e8a8ara/t/	one will perform good acts
ondaie	that
eonk8ej	they will be together.
d'	article
a, o8aratinnen	they performed good acts
tsaten	someone
e, arih8anderaxon	one will commit many sins, make many mistakes
ondaie	that
eonriskon	they will go, venture forth to- gether
d'	article
a, orih8anderaskon	they frequently sinned, made mistakes
, ehen	it used to be

'Come, my brother, listen when I tell you of the very special 'holy' matter that there are two places to which people go when they die: the place of the right-minded and the place of the bad or wrong-minded. Those of like minds are placed together: one who will do good deeds will be together with those who in the past did good deeds; one who will commit many sins will go together with those who formerly were subject to sin.'

" ,aronhia, e ache eonda, rat d'a, o8aratihatfend st'ondende iensk8a eonk-
8as8a eonk8as8a ichien n'ondaie , arih8a8eti, tsa, ochiatorande, te
tsontesk8etande, te tsaiheonche stenes8a te tsa, oeh8ache ."

, aronhia, e	in the sky
ache	truly
eonda, rat	one will live in such a place
d'	article
a, o8aratihatfend	they went about doing good deeds

st'	relative particle
ondende	on earth
iensk8a	they used to go about, live in such a place
eonk8as0a	they will be happy
ichien	expletive
n'	article
ondaie	that
,arih8a8eti	the whole affair
te tsa,ochiatorande	they will no longer feel pain
te tsontesk8etande	they will no longer grow old
te tsaiheonche	they will no longer die
stenies0a	all kinds of things
te tsa,oeh8ache	they will no longer need

'Those who went about doing good deeds on earth will surely be in heaven: no longer will they feel pain, grow old, die or experience need.'

"oten d'a,orih8anderaskon, ondechon ichien ea,osonment ,atsista,e de, te 8asx8ach ea,oaate,annon, aondechenhaon te ontiata,astande, te ondi,onhiaxe."

oten	on the other hand
d'	article
a,orih8anderaskon	they frequently sinned, made mistakes
ondechon	in the earth
ichien	expletive
ea,osonment	they will fall
,atsista,e	in the fire
de	article
te 8asx8ach	it does not extinguish

ea, oatate, annon	they will burn in many places
aondechenhaon	forever
te ontiata, astande	they will not be consumed
te ondionhiaxe	the mind will not be broken (i.e., one will not lose consciousness).

'On the other hand, those who frequently sinned will fall into the earth; they will burn forever in a fire without being consumed by it and they will not lose consciousness (i.e., will continually feel the pain of burning).'

"Stan ichien ondi, onhia, e te 8atonk d'onn'aontatiationd ,aronhia, e d'a, oatato, eti , ehen. Stan i8ondi ondi, onhia, i te ontatiationties ondechon d'a, otieronnonskon , ehen; haatato, en hendi, onraenk de ,aronhia, e eonk8as0a, chia d' eontetsirat ondechon."

stan	negative particle
ichien	expletive
ondi, onhia, i	wrongly, senselessly
te 8atonk	it is not possible
d'	article
onn'	behold
aontatiationt	they enter such a place
,aronhia, e	in the sky
d'	article
a, oatato, eti	they are special, 'holy' people
, ehen	it used to be
stan	negative particle
i8ondi	also
ondi, onhia, i	wrongly, senselessly
te ontatiationties	they are not abandoned
ondechon	in the earth
d'	article
a, otieronnonskon	they frequently perform destructive acts

,ehen

it used to be

haatao,an

he is a special, 'holy' person

hendi,onraenk

he thinks

,aronhia,e

in the sky

eonk8as0a

they will be happy

chia

at the same time

d'

article

eontetsirat

they will be miserable

ondechon

in the earth

'It is not without reason that those who were special, 'holy' people enter heaven and those who frequently performed destructive acts are abandoned in the earth; for a special, 'holy' one thinks and decides that those in heaven will be happy at the same time as those in the earth will be miserable.'

Appendix B: The Huron Confederacy

The people referred to in the texts as the 'Huron', were, until the break up of Huronia midway through the seventeenth century, united in a confederacy of four, perhaps five related tribes. In the pages that follow I will present: (a) an interpretation of the names given to these 'tribes'; and (b) a brief look at one of the fundamental differences which separated the 'tribes' into two dialect groups.

The Names of the Five Tribes of the Huron Confederacy

(1) 'atinnia^gsenten' - Bear tribe

In the Jesuit Relations the terms used to refer to this tribe were as follows:

attigna ^g sentan	JR16:226	1639	Paul Le Jeune
attigna ^g ouentan	JR19:124, 268	1640	Hierosme Lalemant
attigha ^g ouantan	JR23:42	1642	" "
attinnia ^g sentan	JR26:216	1643	" "
attinnia ^g oentan	JR34:130	1649	Paul Ragueneau

The term 'atinnia^gsenten' is constructed from the word "annia^gsenten", which, according to Potier (P450) meant "le pais des ours". It was probably derived from the word "annion^g,en", meaning (P451) "ours", although the mode of derivation is unknown to me. With the fzp-n pronominal prefix ati- we have a word which should mean something like:

(2) 'atinn^gnonniahak¹' - Barking Dogs tribe

In the Jesuit Relations, the terms used to refer to this tribe were as follows:

attiguenongha	JR 8:70	1635	Jean de Brebeuf
attignenonghac	JR10:234	1636	" " "
" "	JR11:16	"	" " "
atignenongach	JR13:124	1637	Francois Le Mercier
atignenonghac	JR13:36	1637	" " "
attiguenongnahac	JR15:56	1638	" " "
attigneenongnahac	JR16:226	1639	Paul Le Jeune

attinguenongnahac	JR19:124	1640	Hierosme Lalemant
attingneenongnahac	JR19:182	1640	" "
attingueenongnahac	JR21:168	1641	" "
" "	JR23:116	1642	" "
attingueennonniahac	JR26:258	1643	" "

The term 'at^ginn^gnonniahac appears to be constructed with the noun* given by Potier (P451) as "ann^gnon", meaning "a/nim/al domestiq/ue/...chien...esclave", and the verb "ann^gien", meaning (P307): "abboier, japer, comme font les chiens". Taken with the f^z-n pronominal prefix ati- and the habitual aspect with the former past suffix we get the meaning: 'they were or used to be barking dogs'. Such a name may point to the mythical origin of the tribe, or to their possibly being made up originally of captured peoples or 'slaves'.

*The noun here may have originally been derived from the verb "ann^gien".

(3) 'arenda(,e)(en)ronnon' - Rock tribe

In the Jesuit Relations, the terms used to refer to this tribe were as follows:

arendarhonon	JR 8:70	1635	Jean de Brebeuf
arendor ⁿ on	JR10:234	1636	" "
arendarrhonon	JR13:36	1637	Francois Le Mercier
arendahronon	JR15:50	1638	" "
ahrendaronon	JR19:124	1640	Hierosme Lalemant
arendaronon	JR20:18, 20	1640	" "
arendaenronon	JR20:94	1641	Charles Garnier
" "	JR23:150, 158	1642	Hierosme Lalemant
arendaronnon	JR27:28	1643	" "
arendaer/onnon/.	JR28:148	1646	" "
arendaenronnon	JR33:80, 120	1648	Paul Ragueneau
*arendaer ^{cr} /onnon/.	JR36:142	1651	" "
arendageronon	JR43:41	1657	Claude Dablon

*This was given as "arendaer." in the text cited. However, on the original handwritten page (JR36:138), the form that I have presented above was used.

There is some question as to the exact meaning of this name. It seems that there were three different variations occurring in a roughly chronological order. The first variation was 'arendaron/n/on', constructed with the noun "arenda", given by Potier (P452) as meaning:

"rocher, roc", and the populative suffix -ron/n/on, with the combined meaning: 'people of the rock'.

The second variation was 'arendaenron/n/on', constructed as the previous variation, but with -en following the noun. This could signify the presence of a verb root -en ("aen" in Potier; P221) meaning: "avoir quelque c/ chose/ a soi, en avoir le domaine, la propriété, la posséder"; "y avoir de quelque c/ chose/. en quelque/. lieu"; or "être a bas, être a terre, être couche,, étendu, gisant, être en arrêt, en repos, en paix, être dans l'oisiveté, l'inaction; être sans mouvement, immobile"; possible giving the meanings: 'people who have a rock. (in such a place)'; 'people who dwell where there is a rock'; or 'people of a lying or immovable rock'.

The third variation is 'arenda,eron/n/on' (of which 'arendaeron/n/on' is a dialect form), in which the external locative noun suffix (e.l.ns) is added to the noun, giving the meaning: 'people who dwell or are associated with a location at a particular rock'.

(4) 'atahonta,enrat' - White-Ears of 'Deer'* tribe

In the Jesuit Relations, the terms used to refer to this tribe were as follows:

tohontaenras	JR13:54	1637	Francois Le Mercier
tohontaenrat	JR16:226	1639	Paul Le Jeune
tahontaenrat	JR26:292	1643	Hierosme Lalemant
tahonta,enrat	JR36:118, 142	1651	Paul Ragueneau
atahonta,enrat	JR36:142	1651	" "

The term 'atahonta,enrat' is constructed with the noun "ahonta", given by Potier (P445) as meaning "orgille", and the verb "a,enrat", given (P247) as meaning "être blanc". With the fz-n pronominal prefix and the middle voice, we get the meaning: 'It has white ears'.

*Deer (the name which historians have traditionally assigned to this tribe) were given many different names by Iroquoian peoples. It is

quite conceivable that 'white-ears' was one of these names.

(5) 'ataron^cronnon' - Swamp-Dwellers tribe²

In the Jesuit Relations, the terms used to refer to this tribe were as follows:

ataconchronon	JR13:60	1637	Francois Le Mercier
atafonchronon	JR19:124, 166	1640	Hierosme Lalemant

Assuming that the -c- in the first example was a printing error (a highly likely prospect considering the frequency with which printing errors were made in the recording of Huron words in that 'Relation'), and that the -ch- was one way in which the missionary-linguists of the time represented the feature that was represented by -c- and -h- in other instances, then we appear to have a word constructed with the noun "atara", given by Potier (P453) as meaning: "fange"; the internal locative noun suffix (here -on), and the populative suffix; which could mean: 'people who live in a swamp'.

*This is the 'aspirate' -r- referred to by Potier (P5) and Chaumonot (P725) in their grammars. Other instances of its use with the populative suffix -ronnon are: "Agniehranon" (JR13:82), "Andastoerhonon" (JR14:8), "Andarahi^cronnons" (JR38:180), and "Andasto,er^connons" (JR 38:190).

The Dialect Feature -,-

The people of the Bear tribe were the only ones to have a mission among them until 1638, when St. Joseph II was founded (at Teanaostaiae) among the Barking Dogs. The Rock tribe had their first mission (St. Jean Baptiste at Contarea) in 1639. The first Swamp-Dwellers mission was St. Marie, founded in 1639. The people of the White Ears tribe were served by St. Joseph II in 1639 and 1640, by St. Jean Baptiste in 1641, but did not have a mission in their territory until 1642 (St. Michel at Scanonaerat).

As a consequence of this, the dialect of the Bear tribe (which

probably differed very little if at all from that of the Barking Dogs) was the lingua franca of missionary writing until 1647. In that year, in the "Journal des PP. Jesuits" written by Father Hierosme Lalemant in Quebec, one finds the word "Kontrande,en" recorded (JR30:164). This is a dialect variation of the '(C)(K)onkhandeen-' (possibly !t'ekon-trandé,en' - 'where they are close to each other'; see P282 "k8-atrande,en") found in the words "Conkhandeenrhonon" (JR8:116) and "Konkhandeenrhonon" (JR18:232) recorded at an earlier date. The dialect difference illustrated in the various versions of this word is one which is central to the distinction separating the Bear dialect (and presumably the Barking Dogs dialect) and the dialects spoken by the other Huron tribes (or at least the Rock and White Ears tribes).

This difference centres around the presence or absence of -, (written as -- in the texts), a letter used to represent a y-like phoneme which tended to occur before vowels, -8- (representing the -ou- of the word 'group' when preceding a consonant, and the -w- of 'away' when preceding a vowel), and occasionally -r-; preceded by a vowel or in word initial position. The absence of this phoneme (which occurs as -g- or -k- in the missionary writing of the Iroquois languages) is an innovative feature in Iroquoian phonology. This loss (not complete as the phoneme shows up as -k- when, for example the repetitive or cislocative prefixes occur before the fz-n pronominal prefix of consonant stem verbs i.e., in !(e)skat' - 'one, it is one') probably occurred sometime after the Bear tribe had split off from the other Huron (with the possible exception of the Barking Dogs) tribes to enter historic Huronia; possibly happening concurrently with the Barking Dogs when the two groups were living in close proximity in Huronia before they were joined by the other

tribes (see JRI6:227-9).

Writing of this letter, which seems to have been initiated by Lalemant in Quebec, started to progressively take hold in the works of other missionary-linguists in later years (even being used to write name of members of the Bear and Barking Dogs tribes). The reason for this dialect switch is somewhat obscure, as most Huron (including the Barking Dogs, the group who remained with the French after 1656) spoke a dialect which did not use this phoneme (the Bear and the Barking Dogs tribes were the two largest). Perhaps it was because the missionary-linguists found that, as the feature was present in the languages of all other Northern Iroquoian peoples, it would be more practical for teaching purposes that a missionary instructed in Iroquoian linguistics by means of Huron (which was first taught to missionaries before they went into the Iroquoian mission) should learn a dialect of Huron which was more like the other Iroquoian languages.

Footnotes

1-This group is often referred to in the literature as the 'Cord' tribe.

2-The exact status of this group is yet undetermined (see Trigger, 1976 p.30 and p.437, fn#6.)

Appendix C: Dating Ch.II (Chaumonot's Dictionnaire Français-Huron (1690-2)).

The primary evidence for dating this text comes from Ch.II.241, under the heading "nom/me/". On this page one finds the following names recorded:

"Le p. Supr. de quebec	achiendase.	frere boussat
		toti ^C ri hatetsens
le p. cholnec	onnon ^{Ck8} ahi8ten	f. Maignerai
p. bruyas.	tentenhah8i0a	ok8entondi
p. Jean de lamberville	taiorhense	Mr de Mezerai
p. Jacq de lamberville	ondeson	setsenha ^{Ck8i}
p. chaussetiere	horonhia, ^e Cte	p. pierson
p. vincent bigot	,annenrontie.	,a ^C ronta,arha (la pierre forme
le p garnier	oraiha	
le p de couvert	,aronhia /crossed out in text/	
le p Rale	te haronhia, ^a Cnra	Michel postier du collige enstia,1.
le p gabriel /sic/	l'allemon /sic/	brule par les hurons hatironta"

The pertinent data concerning each of the names that I could identify is as follows:

- (1) "frere boussat" is Brother Jean Boussat, who arrived in Canada in 1686, and died in 1711 (JR71:156);
- (2) "le p. cholnec" is Father Pierre Cholenec, who arrived in Canada in 1674 and died in 1723 (JR71:153).
- (3) "f. Maignerai" is Brother Pierre Maigneret, who arrived in Canada in 1667 and died in 1722 (JR71:151).
- (4) "p. bruyas" is Father Jacques Bruyas, who arrived in Canada in 1666 and died in 1722 (JR71:150).
- (5) "p. Jean de lamberville" is Father Jean de Lamberville, who arrived in Canada in 1669 and died in 1714 (JR71:152).
- (6) "p. Jacq de lamberville" is Father Jacques de Lamberville, who ar-

ived in Canada in 1674 and died in 1711 (JR71:154).

(7) "p. chaussetierre" is Father Claude Chauchetiere, who arrived in Canada in 1677 and died in 1709 (JR71:154-5).

(8) "p. pierson" is Father Philippe Pierson, who arrived in Canada in 1677 and died in 1709 (JR71:154-5).

(9) "p. vincent bigot" is Father Vincent Bigot, who arrived in Canada in 1680, and returned to France in 1713 (ibid).

(10) "le p. garnier" is Father Julien Garnier, who arrived in Canada in 1662 and died in 1730 (JR71:149).

(11) "le p. de couvert" is Father Michel Germaine de Couverte, who arrived in Canada in 1690 and died in 1715 (JR71:157).

(12) "le p. Rale" is Father Sebastien Rale, who arrived in Canada in 1689 and died in 1724 (ibid).

From these figures we get a range of possible dates of writing that stretches from 1690 to 1709. The fact that Pierson died just prior to 1690 is no real contradiction to this proposed range as his name would be in recent memory, perhaps awaiting 'resuscitation' in a missionary yet unnamed.

One can gain greater precision in dating by trying to identify the person who was Father Superior at the time that this dictionary was written. The name "a^cchiendase" is not of much use in this regard, as it was originally given to Father Hierosme Lalemant (JR16:239), who was the-Superior many years earlier, and seems to have become associated with the position (much as the name "onnonnio" became associated with the position of governor). The method that I have chosen to use in dating is to assume that the person who was Father Superior would not be named twice, and that, as a consequence of this, he would not be any of the people so far identified.

Using that method we get two possible candidates: (1) Claude Dablon, the Father Superior from October, 1686 to August, 1693 (JR71:123); and (2) Martin Bouvart, the Father Superior from August 1698 to August 1705 (JR71:124). I feel that it was the former.

One reason for this choice is that it might help to explain why the dictionary was written in two distinct styles of handwriting; the second being that of someone who added sporadic reference to "Radices" or Huron verb and noun roots. I believe that this was due to the first writer having died and the second writer trying to coordinate the original work with a list of Huron 'roots' (eight pages of which are kept with the manuscript of the dictionary).

The two most important missionary-linguists working in the Huron language in the late seventeenth century were the Fathers Pierre Joseph-Marie Chaumonot and Etienne de Carheil. Chaumonot several dictionaries and grammars, while Carheil's main linguistic contribution was his compilation of a dictionary of Huron 'roots' (the one rewritten by Potier). Chaumonot died in February, 1693 (JR71:144), while Carheil lived until July, 1726 (JR71:150).

This suggests that Chaumonot¹, sometime before his death in 1693, and after Couvert's arrival in Canada in 1690, wrote the original manuscript, and that Carheil added the references to the Huron 'roots' sometime after Chaumonot's death.

1- The fact that Chaumonot's own Huron name, 'hechon', was not mentioned was probably due to a kind of monkish modesty on his part. If anyone else had written this dictionary, the name 'hechon', shared by Brebeuf, Chaumonot and Richer in turn, would almost certainly have been included.

Appendix D: Fundamental Huron Word Structure¹

In the charts that follow, I will present the various elements that can occur in one or more of the categories of noun, verb or noun + verb combination (other words are termed 'particles'). They are given in the basic order in which they can enter the construction of these words.

Prefixes²

Sec.	Mod.	Pri.	Pronominal					
			Agent	Patient				
pa	tl	ng	du	fu	cl	imp	l	1(ϕ)(d)(p) mv
co				oot	re		2(ϕ)(d)(p)	2(ϕ)(d)(p) rc
ctr				ao			l2(d)(p)	fz(ϕ)(dp)
							Fl(d)(p)	m(ϕ)(dp)
							fz(ϕ)(d)(p)	ind
							m(ϕ)(d)(p)	n
							ind	
							n	

Positional Arrangement of du, Mod. and Pri. Prefixes³

du I	ao Ia		cl	ao II
			re	opt II
	ao Ib	du II		
	opt Ia			
du I	opt Ib		cl	ao II
	fu		re	opt II

Nouns (when not in combination with a verb)

Prefixes		Stems	Suffixes	Attrib.
Agent	Patient	nr	ns	aug
all but n	n	vr*+ nm	e.l.ns ⁴	pop
n	all but n		i.l.ns	dm

Verbs and Suffixes ⁵

	Root Suffixes	Aspects	Expanded Suffixes	Attrib.
nr	inc	st	fac	aug
vr + nm	ca I	ha	pgr	dm
dnr	mo	pu	ct	pop
vr + ins-nm	di	pr	fp	
vr (rare)	ca	imp	rp	
	c-i		pp	
	ins		px	
	op I			
	op II			
	da			
	ds			

Abbreviations

- sec. = secondary prefixes
 mod. = modal prefixes
 pri. = primary prefixes
 pa = partitive
 co = coincident
 ctr = contrastive
 tl = translocative
 ng = negative
 du = duplicative ("Dualitatis", P28-9)
 fu = future (P8-11)
 opt = optative ("modus potentialis", P9-10, 12, 738)
 ao = aorist (p8)
 cl = cislocative ("Localitate", P26-7)
 re = repetitive ("reduplicazione", P24-5)
 imp = imperative (P9 and 22)
 1 = first person
 2 = second person
 s = singular
 d = dual
 p = plural
 dp = dual and plural
 12 = first person inclusive (including person (s) being addressed)
 fl = first person exclusive (excluding person (s) being addressed)
 fz = feminine-zoic
 m = masculine
 ind = indefinite
 n = neuter
 mv = middle voice
 rc = reciprocal
 attrib. = attributive
 nr = noun root
 vr = verb root
 nm = nominalizer
 ns = simple noun suffix
 e.l.ns = eternal locative noun suffix

i. l. ns = internal locative noun suffix
 aug = augmentative
 pop = populative
 dm = diminutive
 dar = dummy noun root or part of verb root excluded when verb is in combination with a noun
 ins-nm = either instrumental suffix + nominalizer or the instrumental suffix acting as a nominalizer
 inc = inchoative
 ca I = causative I
 mo = motive ("motus", P29)
 di = directive
 ca = causative (P62-4)
 c-i = causative-instrumental (P62-4)
 ins = instrumental (P62-4)
 op I = oppositive I
 op II = oppositive II
 da = dative ("neutro-acquisitivo", P60)
 ds = distributive ("Multiplicativo", P61)
 st = stative ("praeteritum", P7 and 10; "infinitivo", P13-4)
 ha = habitual ("indicativus praesens", P7)
 pu = punctual
 pr = purposive
 fac = facilitive ("frequentativa", P61)
 pgr = progressive ("continuativus", P60-1)
 ct = continuative
 fp = former past
 rp = remote past
 pp = purposive past
 px = proximate

- 1- For a good introduction to Northern Iroquoian morphology, see Lounsbury, 1953 (Oneida), and Chafe, 1960-1 (Seneca).
- 2- Each of the entries in a column is in complementary distribution (in the first three charts).
- 3- In this chart a solid horizontal line marks the limits to which a given prefix form can extend: i.e., the line under ao II and opt II indicates that they cannot follow an ao I + du II combination. The Roman numerals signify relative position. In the case of du I and ao Ib, there can be no other duplicative or aorist following; but with ao Ia, opt Ia and opt Ib, the I form must be followed by the appropriate II form, separated by du II (in the case of opt Ia), or cl or re (in other cases).
- 4- This can also occur after a verb root in the stative aspect.
- 5- The order in which these forms are presented here is not necessarily that in which they always appear in actual composition.

Appendix E: The -ren- Concept

No discussion of the spiritual world of the Huron (or any other Northern Iroquoian people) would be complete without some mention of the concept of -ren- or 'spiritual power'. The 'power' represented by -ren- was 'possessed' by an individual or group, and by chanting, singing, praying, dancing or through any other form of demonstrative ritual, the individual or group was expressing to the spirit world the power he or they possessed. This presentation of power seems to have been a way of saying to the world of spirit beings (perhaps even demanding of them) that they (the spirit beings) should side with or assist the one or ones displaying their -ren- in an upcoming endeavour. In any competition, be it a game, a hunt, or a battle or raid, the victor was thought to be the one possessing the greater amount of -ren- power (see Hewitt, 1902, pp33-46, and 1910, pp147-8).

The following are examples of the use of -ren- in the context of missionary-Huron interaction:

(1) 'arendio, Sannen' - 'one having great -ren- or spiritual power'.

Those to whom this name was most frequently applied were those who, usually through dialogue with their oki, could predict the future, discern the nature and cause of an individual's illness or a drought, and prescribe the proper cure (i.e., like feasts, games, presents etc).

The Huron applied this name to the priests, thinking that they performed similar functions in European society (see "Arondiuhanne" in Sagard, 1968, p138). The missionaries, in turn, called those who were named 'arendio, Sannen' 'sorcerers', imputing that they had contact with the Devil (see JR8:123-5; 10:35-0, 185, 193-9; 13:187, 241; 14:29, 59; 15:137; 30:63; 33:221; 39:21; 39:21; Lafitau, 1974, p237 and Hewitt,

1902, p38). In the dictionaries we find the term given in the following entries: Ch.I.54 "Devin", Ch.I.197 "Sorcier...magicien, devin"; Ch.II.97 "etre devin, prevoir".

(2) 'atrend8t(andi)' - 'one presents, shows one's -ren- (stands it erect for someone to see)'.
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In Huron, as in other Northern Iroquoian languages, this noun + verb combination was used primarily with reference to singing sacred songs (Chafe, 1961c, p156, 1961b, 21; Chaumonot, 1970, p88; and Hewitt, 1902, p39, viz prophet or soothsayer). Even with the tendency of the missionaries to conceive of this combination as merely signifying the act of singing, some aspects of its religious nature were maintained even among the Wyandot of the early twentieth century (see Barbeau, 1960, pp12-3, 106:32; also see pp12, 104:19, viz the importance of -ren- songs). It was initially used by Brebeuf in the Ledesme text to express the Christian notion of being 'blessed'. This practice was discontinued by later missionary-linguists. The following are examples of the initial usage:

(a) Brebeuf used the phrase (BRL7:16-9) "..., sonhoua dat khlessak-hredotas ottindekien aouetti, ... Ahonakrendotas eoua chioutonrrae ecochiate." in his translation of the phrase "Vous estes beniste entre toutes les femmes, & beniste est le fruit de vostre ventre IESVS." The former can be translated as follows:

sonh8a	you (alone)
da/a/t	article + superlative
/c/hi	far, (with 'sonh8a') more than the others

(a8) esakhre/n/dotas they presented, or showed (or should present or show) their -ren- to you (i.e., they sing, dance, etc in your honour)

otindekien	women
a8eti	all
ahonakrendotas	they presented or showed (or should present or show) their <u>-ren-</u> to him
e8a	others
chi8tonrae	at your stomach
e/x/	dislocative particle
ochiate	it is fruit

'You are the woman most honoured in song and dance, and the fruit of your stomach is also so honoured.'

(b) Brebeuf used the phrase (BRIT15:19-21) "...akhrendotande ne aot orrone Aiesus Christ Onenguaenchaens.", in his translation of the phrase "...consacrer le precieux corps de nostre Sauueur,...". It can be analysed as follows:

akhrendotand(i)	to present <u>-ren-</u> to someone (?)
ne	article
aot	holy
o/e/rone	at one's body
Aiesus Christ	Jesus Christ
on/a/nguiaenchaens	one who saves us

'to present -ren- (hold a dance, feast, have special singing) honouring the body of someone, Jesus Christ, our saviour'

(3) 'atrendaen' - 'to put one's -ren- in such a place'.

This term, which aboriginally referred to various different ceremonial presentations or demonstrations of -ren- power, soon became the primary term of reference to the act and purpose of praying (see Appendix A, texts ii and iii; Ch.I.23, "Benir", 47, "Danse", 55, "Dogique", 68, "Esperer", 75, "festin", 77, "finir", 115, "Marier", 130, "Necessaire", 159 "prier", 237...; Ch.II.32, "benis", 88 "danse", 150, "finir"...;

P219 #37*, 183 #31, 212 "onta, achia^cti", 233, #58. 242 #80...; Barbeau, 1960, pp49 and 278:5). Hewitt (1902, p40) asserted that this combination (with the m-n pronominal prefix in an Iroquois cognate):

"...signifies in modern usage, he habitually prays. It acquired this meaning because prayer was not originally a begging for a thing, but because it was an act indicative that he who desired something from the body controlling it must lay down his own orenda (i.e., -ren-). The literal meaning of this sentence-word is, 'he lays down his own orenda,' thus indicating submission, defeat, surrender, and, symbolically, pleas for life, well-being."

To the best of my knowledge, this interpretation has yet to be corroborated by other writers.

(4) (a) 'atrendori' - 'to move or agitate one's -ren-'

(b) 'atrendonnianni' - 'to make one's -ren- for or against someone'.

These noun + verb combinations were used with reference to the casting of spells (See Ch.I.197, "Sorcier", with respect to the first and, with other Northern Iroquoian languages, in Hewitt, 1902, pp38-9 and Chaumonot, 1970, p88, "Atrennonnianni...jeter des sorts", with respect to the second). This 'spell-casting' was primarily performed by a society of 'curers' which was much like the 'false-face society' of the Iroquois. Brebeuf discussed the nature of this society in the following quote outlining what happened during their group performances (JR10:207-9):

"Now having arrived within musket range, they stopped and began to sing; those of the Village replied. From the evening of their arrival, they danced, in order to get an understanding of the disease; the sick man was in the middle of the Cabin, on a mat. The dance being ended, because he had fallen over backward and vomited, they declared him to belong entirely to the Brotherhood of lunatics; and came to the remedy therefore which is usual in this disease, and which would be sufficient to make them pass as fools, even if they were the wisest men in the world. It is the dance they call Otakrendoiae, the Brethen they call Atirenda..."

"It is a question of killing one another here, they say, by charms which they throw at each other, and which are composed of Bears' claws,

Wolves' teeth, Eagles' talons, certain stones, and Dogs' sinews. Having fallen under the charm and been wounded, blood pours from the mouth and nostrils, or it is simulated by a red powder they take by stealth; ...The greatest evil is, that these wretches, under the pretense of charity, often avenge their injuries, and purposely give poison to their patients, instead of medicine."

The translation of the term "Otakrendolae" (given as "akhrendolae" in JR10:205) could be 'they caused their -ren- to move against one another' (if the word in question is '(a)o/n/takrendolae') or 'they made their -ren- for or against one another' (if the word in question is '(a)o/n/takrendonnien').

The decline of this society in the eighteenth century is suggested by the fact that neither of these combinations is found in the Potier manuscripts, and that the entry of the related term of "atren" -which could mean (P203) "etre d'une certaine, d'un certain corps; societe, confrerie de danse, y etre de la parti, ligue, faction; etre consentant, d'intelligence, du nombre, da la bande" or "s'en prendre a quelqu'un/. sans sujet, le maltraiter a tort lui faisant des querelles d'allemand, lui en vouloir mal a propos" was qualified by Potier as being "(non aud)", i.e., not heard by him in his interaction with the Wyandot.

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