

The Mission Press Wea Primer of 1837

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In this paper I will discuss various linguistic and historic aspects of an important document in the Wea dialect of the Miami language, the Wea Primer of 1837, published by the Mission Press of the Cherokee Nation. I will first discuss some of the linguistic aspects of this work to show how it can be interpreted, and briefly propose some ideas as to its origin and background.

The Mission Press Wea Primer of 1837 (henceforth referred to as the WP) is the only surviving document in the Miami-Illinois language that I am aware of from a period of extensive English-language based protestant missionary work in the frontier areas of Kansas and Oklahoma, characterized by the work of missionaries such as Jotham Meeker, Moses Merrill, and Ira Blanchard.¹ It is not a large work, consisting of only 48 printed pages; of these, there is one page explaining the writing system, and eight and a half pages of untranslated texts (including a one page hymn, the rest being reading lessons). As I presently have only just started to translate these texts, this paper will primarily focus on the wordlists that make up the rest of the WP.

The obvious way to begin a discussion of the linguistic aspects of the WP is with what the primer itself says about its transcription system, which I here reproduce verbatim (Chart 1).

Thus, the phonetic values of these characters would seem to be as shown in Chart 2, taking the non-transparent consonant symbols first. Given the actual phonemic consonant inventory of Miami-Illinois (as explained in Costa 1991),² these symbols would seem to represent the phonemes shown in Chart 3.

¹I here thank Jay Miller and the Newberry Library in Chicago for bringing my attention to this document and making a photocopy available to me.

²For reference, the consonant phonemes of Miami-Illinois are as follows: *p, t, k, ĉ, s, š, h, m, n, l, w, y*. Additionally, the first six of these sounds can occur preaspirated or with a preceding nasal. See Costa (1991:368).

Chart 1

Vowels.

Names.	Sounds.
a	as a in fate; occasionally as e in met.
v	as a in fall, far, rival.
e	as e in he, and i in him.
i	as i in in pine. [sic]
o	as o in note
u	as oo in wood.

Consonants.

b	be	n	en
c	che	p	pe
d	de	s	es
ge	ge hard	r	she
h	he	q	kwe
j	ja	t	te
k	ka	f	the
l	el	z	ze
m	em	x	ng nasal, as in long.

Chart 2

Symbol	Phonetic Value
c	[č]
g	[g]
j	[j]
r	[š]
q	[kw]
f	[θ]
x	[ɣ]

Chart 3

Symbol	Phonemic Value
c	č
g	k
j	č ³
r	š
q	kw
f	s
x	nk

Taking the vowel symbols, a system based on English spelling is obvious (Chart 4). However, the phonemic values of these symbols are less straightforward than those of the consonants; given that Miami-Illinois has a vowel inventory of short *a, e, i, o* and long *aa, ee, ii, oo* (the same as Fox and Shawnee), it becomes clear that the WP orthography distinguishes one

³Generally, voiced obstruents only appear in Miami-Illinois after nasals, and this is indeed where the WP symbols (b d g j z) occur most often.

Chart 4

Symbol	Apparent Phonetic Value
a	[e], [ɛ]
v	[a], [ɑ]
e	[i], [ɪ]
i	[ay]
o	[o]
u	[u]

Chart 5

Symbol	Apparent Phonemic Value
a	e, ee
v	a, aa
e	i, ii
i	ay, aay ⁴
o	o, oo
u	o, oo

vowel quality too many since [o] and [u] represent allophones of the same vowel, *o(o)*, and the system overlooks vowel length, which is contrastive for all four vowels. Thus, the equivalences shown in Chart 5 can be assumed.

The following forms (Table 1) in the WP show how these symbols are generally used, with the important exceptions that the majority of the time, ⟨u⟩ is actually used to signify *w*, and that ⟨e⟩ is also used to indicate *y*.⁵

Table 1

WP Form	Gloss ⁶	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms ⁷
koku	'frog'	kooka	Ottawa googsenh
lukuvke	'dishes'	(a)laakanaki	PA *wela:kani
pevlo	'come (imp.)'	pyaalo	PA *pya:io
pekundaue	'it is dark, night'	pihkonteewi	Fox pehkoteewi
eulvna	'five'	yaalanwi	PA *nya:ʔanwi
kakunoru	'mule, donkey'	keekanohs(i)a	Shawnee keekaanoʔše ... cont'd

⁴Miami-Illinois *ay* and *aay* are biphonemic sequences of rather infrequent occurrence. Thus, their being given their own symbol must be seen as a direct influence from English spelling.

⁵Occasionally the writer of the WP forgets himself and uses actual ⟨w⟩ and ⟨y⟩: thus, note ⟨wupundunto⟩ 'look at it (imp.)' (⟨waapantanto⟩), ⟨yupev⟩ 'buck' (⟨a)yaapia), and ⟨lunyvhe⟩ 'men (obv.)' (⟨a)leniahi).

⁶The glosses given in this paper for words from the WP are mostly my own, rather than the often inadequate glosses given in the original.

⁷In comparing forms from the Wea Primer, original forms from other sources on the Miami-Illinois language are coded to their origins as follows: Mi/D = Miami/Dunn; Mi/H = Miami/Hockett; P/H = Peoria/Hockett; Mi/G = Miami/Gatschet; P/G = Peoria/Gatschet; W/G = Wea/Gatschet; Mich. = Michelson's notes on Peoria; V = Volney; LB = Le Boulenger; and Gr = Gravier. 'G' by itself indicates the form was found in Gatschet's notes on Miami-Illinois with

vkele	'his mother'	akiili	PA *wekye:li
tahemenv	'strawberry'	(a)teehimina	PA *wete:himina
fuxgunue	'it is hard'	soonkanwi	Ojibwa zoongan
pelosu	'child'	(a)piloohsa	Shawnee hapeloʔθa
nelvne	'my tongue'	niilani	PA *ni:ʔanyiwī
ueuelv	'horn, antler'	wiiwiila	Shawnee wiiwiila
vkvuetv	'porcupine'	aakaawita	Mi/D ⟨akawitta⟩
nuxge	'now'	noonki	Mi/G ⟨nū'ngi⟩
neueuv	'my wife'	niwiiwa	Ojibwa niwiiw
uceue	'hill'	ačiwi	PA *wačiwi
petouv	'he brings it'	piitoowa	Fox pyeetoowa
uulkeuv	'he digs a hole'	waalhkiwa ⁸	Fox waanehkeewa
uekeume	'house'	wiikiaami	PA *wi:kiwa:Hmi
beuekune	'hip' ⁹	(a)piiwikani	Menominee nepi:wekan 'my pelvis bone'
uuuv	'eggs'	waawa	Cree sg. wa'wi
nepauv	'he sleeps'	nipeewa	Shawnee nepeewa
nemvuvke	'my eyebrows'	nimaama(a)ki	PA *ma'ma'w-; ¹⁰ cf. Gr (nimama8aki)
mekendukuvv	'pillow'	mihkintaakana	G ⟨mixkindakána⟩, Shawnee mkitaaka
vkouv	'doe'	akowa	Menominee oko'w 'female animal'

no indication as to dialect. The Dunn forms are obtained primarily from Dunn's original filecards at the Indiana State Library in Indianapolis (Dunn 1910a), though some are also obtained from his texts and notes (Dunn 1910b). Gatschet forms are from Gatschet (1895a, 1895b, 1895c). The other relevant sources are Michelson (1916), Hockett (1985), Volney (1857), Le Boulenger (1725), and Gravier (1700).

⁸Compare Gatschet's *waalhkiiani* 'I dig a hole' ⟨wálxkiani⟩.

⁹This is given in the WP as 'hench bone'. Compare also Gr ⟨api8igane⟩, Mi/G ⟨apiwikani⟩, and Mi/D ⟨piwikani⟩.

¹⁰This stem has been substantially reshaped in several daughter languages, but this seems like a reasonable guess for a reconstruction. The change of *-aawa* to *-a* word-finally in the modern language is regular, and also seen in PA **wekima:wa* 'chief', which gives Illinois *akimaawa* (Gr ⟨akima8a⟩, LB ⟨akima8o⟩), but modern (a)kima (Mi/D ⟨akíma⟩, G ⟨kíma⟩, P/H ⟨ki'ma⟩). However, it is unclear whether this stem final vowel is still long before the plural; that is, whether the correct Wea plural for 'eyebrow' is *nimaamaaki* or *nimaamaki*. Cf. Ottawa *maamaanh*, Kickapoo *maamay-*, Munsee *ma'ma'wan* (Ives Goddard, p.c.), Massachusetts (pl.) ⟨momóunog⟩ and W. Abenaki *nəmāmán* 'my'. With semantic shift, note also Menominee *nema'ma'w* 'my cheek'.

However, a serious problem with the vowel transcriptions in the WP is that there is considerable indeterminacy among the vowels *a(a)*, *e(e)*, and *i(i)*. That is, there are a great many examples of confusions between *a(a)* and *e(e)*, and between *e(e)* and *i(i)*.¹¹ Far and away the commonest example of this is where orthographic ⟨v⟩(*a*) is given for phonemic *e(e)*, where one would expect orthographic ⟨a⟩ (Table 2).

Table 2

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
puneke	'potatoes'	(ah)peniiki	PA *wexpenye'ki
nenuhke	'my hand, finger'	ninehki	PA *neneθki
lumuv	'dog'	(a)lemwa	PA *aθemwa
mvqu	'beaver'	(a)mehkwa	PA *ameθkwa
lvnev	'man'	(a)lenia	PA *elenyiwa
ufepuvu	'raccoon'	eehsipana	PA *e'hsipana
pumexge	'above'	péminki	PA *ešpemenki
nemuhkomv	'my vein'	nimehkoma	PA stem *-meçkw- 'blood'
neluxgoxke	'my armpit' (loc.)	nilenkonki	PA stem *-θenkwiw-
datolune	'my hat'	(ni)ntehtoleni	Mi/D ⟨n'dätoläni⟩
lvnusuv	'buffalo'	(a)lenaswa	Kickapoo onenoθwa
mezunzuquke	'horseflies'	misesaahkwaki	G ⟨mizä ⁿ zaxkwäki⟩
sune	'stone'	(a)hseni	PA *a?senya
lvnemvuhav	'coyote'	lénimahwia	G ⟨lánimá'wia⟩
metvmsv	'woman'	mitem(o)hsa	Fox metemooha, Mi/H ⟨mité'msə⟩

A common subtype of this group consists of nouns where the *-i* marking the inanimate singular is transcribed as ⟨a⟩, the WP symbol for *e(e)*, instead of as ⟨e⟩ (Table 3).

Table 3

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
netumba	'my nape'	nihtaampi	PA *ne(h)ta'mpyi ¹²
rola	'silver, money'	šooli	Mich. ⟨cólí⟩
kehqa	'kettle'	(ah)kihkwí	Gr ⟨akic8i⟩, P/H ⟨kíxkwí⟩
mefola	'canoe, boat'	mihsooli	Mi/D ⟨missólí⟩

¹¹Though apparently not between *i(i)⟨e⟩* and *a(a)⟨v⟩*.

¹²Compare Algonquin (locative) *nitaambing* (LeMoine ⟨nitāmbing⟩ 'nuque'), Fox *nehtaahpi* (reshaped), Cree *nita'hpíy*, and Arapaho *nóto?*. In Miami-Illinois,

Tables 4, 5, and 6 are examples of the remaining attested confusions.

Table 4
(a) ⟨e⟩ for *i(i)*

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
famenv	'papaws'	(a)hšiiimina	Mi/D ⟨asimí'na⟩, Shawnee ha?šiiimi
nepate	'my tooth'	niipiti	Fox niipiči
mendaqu	'screech owl'	miintikwa	G ⟨míndikwa⟩

Table 5
(e) ⟨i⟩ for *e(e)*

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
rameuv	'he feeds him'	(a)hšameewa	Fox ašameewa
cexuepelo	'sit down (imp.)'	čiinkweepilo	G ⟨tcingwepílú⟩
ketensv	'hazelnuts'	(pah)kiihteenhsa	G sg. ⟨pxkixtānsi⟩

Table 6
(a) ⟨e⟩ for *a(a)*

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
rameuv	'he feeds him'	(a)hšameewa	Fox ašameewa

As was noted, ⟨i⟩ is used for *ay*, though this is not completely consistent; i.e., not all instances of *ay* are written with ⟨i⟩, as in the last three examples in Table 7.

Table 7

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
peniv	'bed' (pl.?)	(a)pinaya	Fox apinayi 'sofa, bench'
ihkume	'forever, for good'	aayaahkaami	Mich. ⟨'aiyā'kāmi ⁿ ⟩
kemotiv	'pocket' (pl.?)	kímotaya	Gr ⟨askim8tai⟩ 'un sac' ¹³

... cont'd

note also Gatschet's ⟨nitambi⟩ and Gr/LB ⟨nitampi⟩; the preaspirated *ht* in Miami-Illinois is confirmed by the consistent absence of prenasalization on the *t* in the first person forms (see Costa 1991:381).

¹³Compare PA **maškimotayi* (Goddard 1983:371).

dieqe	'I am hungry'	(ni)ntayihkwi	Fox ayihkwiwa 'he is weary' ¹⁴
miuue	'really, directly' ¹⁵	mayaawi	Fox mayaawi
nenouue	'my cheek'	ninowayi	PA *nanowayi ¹⁶
nelokue	'my skin'	nilookayi	PA *neLo'kayi ¹⁷
wuev	'opossum'	aayeelia	Gr (aeria), Kickapoo aayeeniha

Table 8 shows the use of the consonant symbols.

Table 8

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
mozuv	'deer'	mooswa	PA *mo'swa 'moose'
nunenauv	'he sings'	nahineewa	P/H ⟨nohinεwα⟩
vlvqtue	'it is cloudy'	aalahkwatwi	PA *a'laxkwatwi
ketelume	'certainly' ¹⁸	kiihtilaami	PA stem *ke'ʔtel-, ¹⁹ Mich. ⟨kī'tīlami⟩
nelukere	'my guts, entrails'	nilakiši	PA *neθakeši
qundame	'door'	kwaanteemi	PA *eškwa'nte'mi
nequki	'squirrels'	(a)nikwaki	PA *anyikwa
nekute	'my foot'	nihkaati	PA stem *-xka't-
kecekume	'sea'	kihčikami	Shawnee kčikami
amkokune	'gourd'	eem(i)hkookani	Gr (emic8gane)
mesv	'firewood' (pl.)	mihsa	PA *mehθali
nukepeone	'chair'	naahkipioni	Mi/H ⟨nák'ipiyònj⟩

¹⁴Compare the other transcriptions of this word, LB ⟨nintaic8e⟩, V ⟨indāiexkoui⟩, and Mi/D ⟨nīndaikwī⟩. See Costa (1991b:38).

¹⁵In Miami-Illinois, this appears to be an all-purpose intensifier; within its range of meanings are 'immediately', 'directly', 'definitely', 'exactly', or 'very'. See Costa (1991:369).

¹⁶Compare Ottawa *nnoway*, Shawnee *ninowa* (awali) (sg./pl.), Fox *nenowayi*, and Cree *nano'way*.

¹⁷Compare Gr ⟨nir8gai⟩ and Shawnee *nilooka*. See Goddard (1983:380).

¹⁸This is given in the WP as 'suddenly', apparently a mishearing for English 'certainly'.

¹⁹Cf. Kickapoo *keehtena* 'really, truly' and *keehtenaami* 'really, my!', Menominee *ke'ʔten* 'truly, really, genuine', (Swampy?) Cree *ke'hčina* 'surely', Maliseet *ketelte* and Micmac *kell* 'truly'.

Table 9 shows the marking of preaspiration in the WP, which, though by no means consistent, is found a good deal more often than one would expect from a document of the early 19th century.

Table 9

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
kekohremv	'your sister' ²⁰	kikohšima	Menominee <i>neko'ʔ-semaw</i> 'my cross-sibling'
vhke	'field'	ahki	PA *axki 'land'
muhqu	'bear'	mahkwa	PA *maθkwa
pehkune	'tumpline, packstrap'	(a)pihkani	Ojibwa <i>abikan</i> , Gr ⟨apicane⟩
lukehqe	'bark'	(a)lakiikhwi	PA *walake'θkwi
nohsv	'my father'	noohsa	PA *no'hθa
melohkumeue	'it is spring'	milohkamiwi	PA *melo'xkamiwi
tohkenauv	'he touches him'	toohkineewa	Cree <i>to'skine'w</i>
nehqnuv	'my elbows'	niikwana	Kickapoo <i>newiiskwani</i>
mohce	'not, no'	moohči	Mich. ⟨mó'tci⟩ ²¹
nohkunue	'it is soft'	noohkanwi	PA stem *lo'xk-
mevluahke	'walnut tree'	myaalweehki	G ⟨miálwäxki⟩
pahqune	'rib, back'	(ah)pehkwan	PA stem *-xpeθkwan-

The WP states that the symbol ⟨x⟩ stands for "ng as in long", presumably indicating that the sound this letter is meant to represent is [ŋ]. In Miami-Illinois, [ŋ] is actually an allophone of *n* and *m* occurring before *k*; the resultant cluster, spelled *nk*, is pronounced [ŋg]. In practice, *nk* is indicated in the WP as ⟨x⟩ before *w* and as ⟨xg⟩ elsewhere; Table 10 presents some typical examples.

Table 10

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
nexgev	'my mother'	ninkya	PA *nekya
uwpuxgev	'swan'	waapankia	Mich. ⟨wāpāngya'⟩
rexgosv	'mink'	šinkohsa	PA *šenkwehsa
ueoxgonce	'because (of)'	wiiyoonkonči	Mich. ⟨wīyuñgō'dji'⟩ ²²

... cont'd

²⁰Though the modern sources show disagreement on the gloss of this term, the French missionary sources consistently give it as 'cross sibling, cross cousin'. Compare the first person forms G ⟨ningūshima⟩, V ⟨ningochema⟩ and Mi/D ⟨niŋgocīma⟩, as well as the more archaic Illinois forms Gr ⟨nig8chima8a⟩ and LB ⟨nic8chima8o⟩.

²¹Cf. Fox *moohči* 'even'.

²²This literally means 'from itself': *wiiyaw-enk-onči*. Cf. *wiiyawi* 'himself'.

fluxgunue	'it is hard'	soonkanwi	Ojibwa zoongan
eketumexge	'watermelon'	iihkihtaminki	Unami (e)ski'tamink
lupexuaukune	'bridle'	laapiinkwiaakani	G (nápingwiakani)
mukuxuae	'it is dull, blunt'	mahkankweewi	LB (mac8ng8e8i)
luxuoke	'stars'	(a)laankwaki	PA *aθa(·)nkwa
cescepulvexuauu	'he blinks'	čiihčiiipaala- kiinkweewa	G (tchitchipala- kingwiáni), 'I blink'

Though the WP states that the symbol ⟨f⟩ stands for [θ], as is explained in Costa (1991:369–70), in Miami-Illinois this sound is simply an alternate pronunciation of ⟨h⟩s. However, upon examination, it turns out that the great majority of word-internal uses of this symbol in the WP in fact indicate preaspirated *hs* (Table 11).

Table 11

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
qefule	'his son'	(a)kwihisali	PA *wekwisali
pupufev	'woodpecker'	paahpaahsia	PA *pa:xpa:ʔθe:wa
lumfanue	'it is windy'	(a)laamhsenwi	Gr (aramissen8i) ²³
fanumejuqe	'sugar maple'	(a)hsenamišaahkwi	PA *aʔsena:minšya
kenecunfu	'your child'	kiniičaañhsa	PA *keni:čya:ñhsa
mefola	'canoe, boat'	mihsooli	PA stem *mehθo:θ-
pelafev	'raven'	pilehsia	Menominee penē:hsiw 'eagle'

In fact, there are attested doublets off single stems with *hs* where some WP transcriptions show ⟨f⟩, and others ⟨(h)s⟩ (Table 12):

Table 12

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
ofule	'his father'	oohsali	PA *o:hθali
nohsv	'my father'	noohsa	PA *no:hθa
kohsv	'your father'	koohsa	PA *ko:hθa
dvsu	'my leggings'	ntaahsa	Ottawa ndaas
dofamv	'one's leggings'	(a)taahsema	

... cont'd

²³This stem seems not to be attested elsewhere in central Algonquian, but it appears as a final in Eastern Algonquian; compare Maliseet *pəmləmsən* 'the wind blows along'.

kelsuv	'sun'	kiil(i)hswa	V (kilixsoua)
kelfola	'sun' (obv.)	kiil(i)hsooli	
metofenevke	'people, Indians'	(mih)tohseeniaki	G (mi'htuhsāniāki)
~ tosanevke			

In a few cases, ⟨sf⟩ is used to signify simple *hs* (Table 13).

Table 13

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
rexgepsfu	'coot, grebe'	šinkiphsa	Ojibwa žingibis
neqesfu	'my son'	nikwihsa	PA *nekwiʔsa
ubesfauv	'he jumps'	ampihseewa	Mich. (ʔāmbʔsātci)(eempihsaači)

The following (Table 14), however, are examples of words where *hs* is represented by plain ⟨s⟩.

Table 14

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
pelosv	'child'	(a)piloohsa	G (pilúxsa), P/H (piloxsə)
konsv	'heifer'	koonhsa	G (kun'hsa)
usundaue	'it is sunny'	aahsanteewi	PA *a:ʔθam- 'facing' ²⁴
nelsv	'my hair (pl.)'	niil(i)hsa	Shawnee niileʔθa
nesua	'three'	nihswi	PA *neʔθwi
svne	'stone'	(a)hseni	PA *aʔsenya
mesv	'firewood (pl.)'	mihsa	PA *mehθali, Mi/H (mjs'a)
metumsv	'woman'	mitem(o)hsa	G (mitām'hsa), Mich. (mitāmʔsa')

Finally, there are a few words where ⟨f⟩ represents plain *s* (Table 15): this actually is quite rare over all.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is that of the dialect affinity of the WP. As discussed in Costa (1991), the different attested dialects of Miami-Illinois are all very similar, and most of the genuine differences among the various records are best viewed as simply diachronic, not dialectal. Thus, in determining the dialect affiliation of the WP, there is not much to compare it to; the only other substantial amount of Wea data in existence

²⁴Cf. Mi/D (assándäki) (*aahsanteeki*); the *hs* in Miami-Illinois is proven by the related form *aahsanteepakwi* 'grape', literally 'leaf facing the sun', P/G (axsanda-pákwi), P/H (axsáñdepáʔakwə), Mi/H (pl.) (as'ándepakwə).

Table 15

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
fuxgʷnue	'it is hard'	soonkanwi	Ojibwa zoongan
kepʷefendola	'I listen to you'	kipesintoole	G ⟨kipässindolä⟩, PA stem *pesentaw-
uʷpefeʷ	'he is white'	waapisiwa	WP ⟨uʷpeseʷ⟩, Mi/D ⟨wapi'síta⟩
ʷnfoee	'tail'	ansooyi	Mich. ⟨'a ⁿ zóyi⟩

was gotten from Sarah Wadsworth, a Wea from Indiana born about 1853, who moved to Kansas in 1873 and to Oklahoma in 1875 (Dunn 1937:39). Both Albert Gatschet and Jacob Dunn got extensive data from Wadsworth, and Dunn took some care to note the peculiarities of her speech as it differed from Miami and Peoria proper. Judging from Dunn's notes, the only differences between Wea and Miami that he noticed were lexical, and though there are not many of these, a few key examples do match in Dunn's notes and in the Wea Primer. One such example is the word for 'window'; in all non-Wea sources, this is given as *poohkišaakani* (Mi/H ⟨pok'íšakan⟩, P/H ⟨poxkíšqkaʔn⟩, Mi/D ⟨pokí'cakáni⟩, P/G ⟨pukishákani⟩), whereas all Wea sources agree on *poohkhtaakani* (WP ⟨poktʷkʷne⟩, W/D ⟨póktakáni⟩, W/G ⟨puktakáni⟩). Another such example is the word for 'hickory', for which the Wea sources agree on *kweehsianikopa* ~ *kweehšianikopa* (WP ⟨qefeneqopʷ⟩, W/D ⟨kwáčianí'kopa⟩, W/G ⟨kwässianíkupa⟩), while Dunn specifically gives the Miami and Peoria equivalent as *peešiaanikopa* (Dunn ⟨páčianí'kopa⟩).²⁵ However, some of the other specifically Wea forms given by Dunn are not present in the WP; for instance, Dunn states that the Wea word for 'bed' is *teehsooni* (W/D ⟨täsóní⟩),²⁶ while the primer gives only the normal Miami-Illinois *pínayi* ((peniv); see Table 7 above). Similarly, Dunn's notes state that the Peoria word *pihsihsia* 'prairie chicken' (P/D ⟨p'sí'sĩa⟩) has as its Wea equivalent *pihšihsia* (W/D ⟨p'cí'sšĩa⟩); however, the Wea Primer gives only the ostensible Peoria form: ⟨pefefev⟩.²⁷ By the same

²⁵Dunn says that the Wea form for 'hickory' is a generic term, while Gatschet cites it as 'smooth bark hickory'; Dunn also says that *peešiaanikopa* is a generic term in Indiana but the term for only 'pignut hickory' in Peoria.

²⁶Compare Ojibwa *desahon* 'platform, bed in wigwam, bench', and Menominee *tə'hnahon* 'sitting platform'. In Illinois this word is attested in the more conservative form as *teehsahoni* 'echafaud' (Gr ⟨tessah8ni⟩, LB ⟨tessa8ni⟩). In the modern period, compare also Dunn's ⟨täsäóní⟩ and Mi/G ⟨tessúni⟩; Dunn's notes seem to indicate that the original meaning of 'scaffold' or 'shelf' for this word was retained in Peoria and Oklahoma Miami.

²⁷See Costa (1992:24).

token, Dunn gives for general Miami-Peoria (*ah*)*kwaanteemi* 'door' (Gr/LB ⟨ac8antemi⟩, Mich. ⟨kwándemi⟩, M/H ⟨kwándèm⟩, Mi/D ⟨kwandämí⟩) a Wea equivalent *kihseelaakani*²⁸ (W/D ⟨kísálakáni⟩, W/G ⟨kisselakáni⟩, Gr ⟨kisseragane⟩); however, the WP gives only *kwaanteemi* (WP ⟨qundame⟩).

Another possible diagnostic for Wea speech is the use of [θ] for (h)s. The evidence that [θ] was a specifically Wea trait is not extensive, but it seems fairly conclusive. First, it is reported that the last known speaker²⁹ of Miami in Oklahoma considered it such. Second, as discussed above, the data in the Wea Primer show this sound extensively indicated by ⟨f⟩, though it almost always seems to indicate *hs*. Dunn's data from Sarah Wadsworth completely lacks any indication of an interdental sound,³⁰ but Gatschet's texts from her show it extensively. Oddly, Gatschet indicates this sound as ⟨đ⟩, by which is presumably meant [ð]. The distribution of ⟨đ⟩ in Gatschet's data from Wadsworth is remarkably similar to that of ⟨f⟩ in the WP; that is, usually it represents underlying *hs*, though in a very few instances it represents *s*, but *hs* can also often be represented by ⟨s⟩ or ⟨ss⟩. In Table 16, ⟨đ⟩ represents Wea *hs* and in Table 17, Gatschet represents Wea *hs* by ⟨s(s)⟩.

Table 16

Gatschet Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
wiđa	'many'	wiihsa	Mi/H ⟨wis'ą⟩
iđa	discourse particle	(i)hsa	P/G ⟨'sa⟩, Ojibwa isa
nāđawatchi	'they capture him'	neehsaawaači	PA stem *neʔl- 'kill'
kāshikilāđingi	'coughing'	keeshikilehsinki	PA stem *le'hle- 'breathe'
piluđa	'child'	(a)piloohsa	P/H ⟨piloxsą⟩; cf. WP ⟨pelosv⟩
miđíma	'elder sister'	(a)mihsima	PA stem *-mihs-
sađikawáki	'cracklings'	saahsikawaki	Ottawa zaasgan, Shawnee θaʔθika

²⁸The apparent original meaning of this word is 'door flap', as it is given in Gravier. By the modern period it is also given by Dunn and Gatschet as 'midriff', or 'diaphragm'.

²⁹Apparently, this speaker, Woody Palmer, stated this opinion upon being shown a redaction of the Wea Primer. I thank John White for telling me about this.

³⁰As does the Wea data in Morgan (1871).

Table 17

Gatschet Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
ätässiwitch	'he is a warrior'	eeteehsiwiči	P/G (âte'sia) 'warrior', Ottawa wedaase
sānamizhákwi	'sugar maple'	(a)hsenamisaahkwi	PA *aʔsena·minšya; cf. WP (fanumejuqe)
nitchánsahi	'his children'	(a)niičaanhsahi	PA *weni·čya·nehsahi; cf. WP (necunfule) (sg.) ³¹
ndásswi	'how many'	ntaahswi	P/G (ndáxswi)
mtusseníaki	'people, Indians'	mihtohseeniaki	P/G (mi'htuhsániaki); cf. WP (metofeneuke)

The following Wea forms from Wadsworth (Table 18) are transcribed by Gatschet with *both* (ḏ) and (s(s)) for phonemic *hs*:

Table 18

Gatschet's Wea	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
ässatchi, äḏátchi	'he has him'	eehsaaci	PA *aʔle·wa 'he places him'
n'swi, nḏwé	'three'	nihswi	PA *neʔθwi; cf. WP (nesua)

Finally, Gatschet gives at least one Wea form where (ḏ) apparently represents plain *s*: (nimakíḏána) 'my shoes' (*nimahkisena*; < PA sg. **mazke-seni*).

It is worthwhile to discuss where the language used in the WP stands historically, relative to the various sound changes that separate the earlier sources on Illinois and Miami from those of the early 20th century. Given its creation in the 1830s, it is most instructive to compare the data in the Wea Primer with that in Volney's Miami wordlist taken down in Indiana in 1795. When one compares both these documents, it turns out that the language in the WP is more conservative in some ways than that in Volney's, and less conservative in others. One way in which the data in the WP appear to be more conservative than that of Volney is in the retention of word-initial *l*. As explained in Costa (1991:373–374), PA **l* and **θ* are realized in the earliest records of Miami-Illinois (early 18th century) as *r* in all positions; by the modern period (the early 20th century) this *r* consistently appears in Miami as *n* word-initially, and *l* elsewhere; in Peoria it also usually appears as *n* word-initially, though occasionally word-initial *l* is preserved for some

speakers in some words. The change of *r* to *n* word-initially may have been complete in Miami by 1795, for it is found in all three of the stems with initial **θ* and **l* which are attested in Volney's list. Some examples of this are shown in Table 19.

Table 19

Volney Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
nipáhanoué	'it is cold' ³² (?)	nipahanwi (?)	Gr (ripan8i), P/H (lipa·nwi), Mi/H (népangi)
néssingué	'one breathes'	neehseenki	PA stem *le·hle-
nanguétchéoué	'it is light (of weight)'	naankičiwi	PA stem *la·nk-, Mi/D (nangi' tciwi)

However, over half of the words from initial PA **θ* and **l* which are attested in the WP retain *l* (Table 20):

Table 20

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
luxgelarenue	'it is light (of weight)'	laankilešinwi	PA stem *la·nk-, LB (niranghirechi)
lupece	'also' ³³ (?)	laapiši	Mich. (napí'ci'), Unami lápi 'again'
lapomelnuqe	'you (pl) are taught'	leepoomilanaakwi ³⁴	Cree yipwa·hka·w 'he is wise'
lupexuaukune	'bridle'	laapiinkwiaakani	G (nápingwiakani), Atikamekw ta·piška·kan 'necklace, harness'

However, at least the following three words in the WP show *n* for earlier *l* (Table 21):

³²Though this is glossed by Volney as 'cold', it looks as though it could possibly represent a hypothetical **nipahanwi* 'it is a cold wind'. Alternatively, it could simply be a poor transcription of *nipanwi* 'it is cold (of weather)'.
³³This form is given the WP as 'myself', for which the normal M-I reflexive pronoun is *niiyawī*. It is possible that its translation as 'myself' in the WP could be from its presence in constructions such as *niiła laapiši* 'I, too' which could be construed as roughly equivalent to 'I myself'. However, I have no good explanation for the *č* for expected *š*.

³⁴Compare *nipwaantikaani* (G (nipwandikáni)) 'schoolhouse'.

³¹See Table 11 above.

Table 21

WP Form	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
nohkunue	'it is soft'	noohkanwi	PA *loːxk-, LB (roscan8i)
nokemene	'flour'	noohkimini	Gr (r8kimini)
nupenvukune	'shirt'	naapinaakani	Gr (rapinagane), P/H (nilapinakani) 'my shirt'

This would seem to indicate that in the 1830s a sound change was in progress in Wea whereby word-initial *l* was gradually changing to *n*, a change which was possibly already complete in Miami proper, and which was not quite yet complete in Peoria as recorded a century later. However, the main way in which the data in the WP is less conservative than Volney's, and almost identical with the modern language, is in the deletion of word-initial short vowels. Word-initial short vowels are almost always retained in the Illinois records of the early 1700s, retained the majority of the time in Volney's list, and deleted more often than not in the Wea Primer and all subsequent records.³⁵ The following are some words which retain initial short vowels in Volney, but which delete them in the WP; the examples in Table 22 are completely typical.

Table 22

Volney	Wea Primer	Gloss	Phonemic Form	Comparative Forms
heleniah	luneu	'man'	(a)lenia	PA *elenyiwa
apilossah	pelosu	'child'	(a)piloohsa	Shawnee hapelo?θa
alangouâ	luxuuke (pl.)	'star'	(a)laankwa	PA *aθa(˙)nkwa
alanantsoua	lunusuv	'buffalo'	(a)lenaswa	Kickapoo onenoθwa
alamo	lumuv	'dog'	(a)lemwa	PA *aθemwa

Finally, I would like to turn to a discussion of the origins of the WP, in terms of both who wrote it and what its influences are. The title page of the WP gives the publisher as the Cherokee Nation Mission Press, and the name of the printer as John F. Wheeler, about whom nothing is known. No author or compiler is given. However, a crucial clue to the issue of the authorship of the WP is provided by Jotham Meeker. Meeker was a protestant missionary located in Kansas in the first half of the 19th century; from 1834 up to his death in 1855, he published 51 known books and pamphlets through his Shawnee Mission Press, of which at least 24 publications in Native American languages are known to survive. The great majority of Meeker's work

³⁵Word-initial vowels are deleted especially often before preaspirates.

was in Algonquian languages, especially Shawnee and Ottawa, the latter of which he was said to speak fluently. However, he also published a few works in non-Algonquian languages such as Creek and Iowa-Oto. Most of this work was of course religious in orientation, but there are intriguing exceptions, such as a 23-page version of the Ottawa laws he published in 1850 (of which at least three copies survive). In the published bibliography of Meeker's works (McMurtrie and Allen 1930), one publication in Miami-Illinois is listed, a "Presbyterian Wea First Book" published in 1835. It is apparent from Meeker's journal that this book was actually the work of one Joseph Kerr, a colleague of Meeker's and a missionary to the Weas and the Iowas. According to his journal, Meeker started printing this book in September 1835, and finished it a month later. However, it is clear that the First Book is not the same work as the Wea Primer under discussion here. This is proven by the fact that around 1839 one A.L. Davis, the sub-agent at the Osage River, sent the commissioner of Indian affairs in Washington several books of Indian language materials, among them "one book in Wea, printed [among the Shawnees], for the use of the Presbyterians, and one in Wea, for the use of the same, printed at the Presbyterian press among the Cherokees" (McMurtrie and Allen 1930:32).³⁶ Additionally, Meeker states that the Wea book he printed was 42 pages, as opposed to 48 pages for the Wea Primer. Plainly, the "Wea first book" that Meeker printed, which appears not to survive, is the first book that Davis lists, and the Wea Primer under discussion here is the second one.

The authorship of this second Wea book is not indicated anywhere in Meeker's journal, but the best guess would probably be Joseph Kerr. The orthography of the Wea Primer is squarely within the tradition of the Shawnee Mission Press and Meeker's publications, despite the false claim in the introduction to the WP that Pickering's orthography is used. Meeker orthographies for four other Algonquian languages, Potawatomi, Delaware, Shawnee and Ottawa, are discussed in McMurtrie and Allen (1930:30), and the writing system used in the Wea Primer is largely in agreement with them. The English-based, post-Great Vowel Shift system of representing [i] as letter ⟨e⟩, and [e] as letter ⟨a⟩ is also found for Shawnee; similarly to the use of ⟨i⟩ for [ay], the orthographies of Potawatomi and Delaware use ⟨y⟩ for this sequence; ⟨q⟩ for *kw* is also found in Delaware; similarly to the use of ⟨r⟩ for *š*, ⟨l⟩ is used for this purpose in Potawatomi and Ottawa; and the use of ⟨x⟩ for [ŋ] in Wea can be compared to the use of ⟨f⟩ for this sound in Ottawa and Delaware. However, the use of ⟨v⟩ for [a] is reminiscent of the use of ⟨v⟩ for short [a] in Choctaw, another language whose orthography was devised by Protestant missionaries in the early 1800s (see Byington 1871:320). In the 20th century, the orthography of the Wea Primer is similar in several

³⁶I thank Anthony Grant for bringing this passage to my attention.

respects to that of Thomas Wildcat Alford's Shawnee translation of the Four Gospels of the New Testament; among these are the use of (f) for *θ*, (v) for short *a*, (q) for *kw*, and such English orthographic features as letter (a) for *e* (*e*) and letter (e) for long *ii* (see Alford 1929:199-200).

Another possibility, though one that seems less likely to me, is that the WP is the work of David Lykins, a colleague of Jotham Meeker. I have not been able to find out much more about Lykins than about Kerr, but I have recently discovered a note about Lykins in the Jacob Dunn papers in Indianapolis (Dunn 1910b), where Dunn makes the following statement:

I found at Miami (Oklahoma) some of the children of David Lykins, the old Baptist missionary to the Miamis in Kansas. They said that he made a translation of the New Testament into Miami, but it and all of his other papers were destroyed during the Civil War and they have nothing at all by him.

If correct, this would seem to indicate that Lykins did do work among some Miami-Illinois speaking tribes, though I do not know whether any of this was actually done with the Weas. If Lykins did write the WP, this would explain why two Wea books exist, since otherwise there is no clear reason why Joseph Kerr should write two separate primers in the Wea language, both in the same time period.

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