

Miami-Illinois Tribe Names

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In their known history, the Miami-Illinois-speaking tribes have been associated with a wide range of territory. In the mid-seventeenth century, Miami-Illinois speakers lived throughout the states of Indiana and Illinois, as well as across the Mississippi River in Iowa and Missouri. Their occupation of this region put them in contact with a great variety of tribes from the Northeast, Great Plains and Southeast, in addition to their Great Lakes neighbors. Moreover, the later removal of part of the Miami-Illinois-speaking peoples to Kansas and Indian Territory gave those groups contact with many other tribes moved to Oklahoma that they probably had not encountered before. This, plus the fact that we have written documentation of Miami-Illinois for over two centuries, from about 1700 until 1916, means that we have an especially large body of data on tribe names in Miami-Illinois, for not only their names for other tribes and themselves, but also for several other tribes' names for them.

In this paper I will examine the Miami-Illinois tribe names I have been able to gather, and discuss the historical and linguistic questions that these names raise. I will first look at the Miami-Illinois tribes' names for their neighboring tribes, followed by a few selected names for the Miami-Illinois found among other tribes. I will then conclude with an examination of the names the Miami-Illinois tribes used for themselves.

To begin, the following are the known Miami-Illinois names for the Siouan-speaking tribes they had contact with:¹

¹ In this paper, I give first the usual English name for each tribe, a phonemicized form of this name in the Miami-Illinois language (in italics), followed by some representative cognates in other languages, and finally the transcriptions of the Miami-Illinois name exactly as found in the original records (in angled brackets). The abbreviations used for various languages and data sources in this paper are as follows: Ck: Creek; D: Jacob Dunn's Miami-Illinois notes; Dk: Dakota; F: Fox; Ft: the anonymous French-Illinois dictionary in the Archives des Pères Jesuites de la Fontaine, St-Jerome, Québec; Gr: Gravier's Illinois-French dictionary; Gt: Albert Gatschet's Miami-Illinois notes; I-O: Iowa-Otoe; K: Kickapoo; Ka: Kaw; LB: LeBoullenger's French-Illinois dictionary; M: Menominee; M-I: Miami-Illinois; Mich.: Truman Michelson's Peoria notes (1916); Mo: Morgan (1871); Mu: Munsee Delaware; Oj: Ojibwe; O-P Omaha-Ponca; Os: Osage; Ot: Ottawa; Pc: Ponca; P/D: Jacob Dunn's Peoria fieldnotes; Q: Quapaw; Sh: Shawnee; Sk: Sauk; Tr: Charles

- (1) Iowa
aayohoowia
 Sk *a·yohowe·wa*, M *ayo·ho·we·w*
 Tr ⟨iioahōāweear⟩
- (2) Kaw, Kansa
kaanse~kaansa
 Sh *ka·θa*, F *aka·sa*, Ka *kká·ze*
 Gt ⟨káⁿze⟩ & ⟨káⁿza⟩, D ⟨káⁿza⟩

The name for the Kaw is obviously borrowed from a Dhegiha Siouan language, quite possibly the Kaws' name for themselves, *kká·ze* (Rankin 1987:79). Gatschet's fieldnotes show two different M-I forms for this name, one very close to the Siouan form in keeping the final *-e*, and one adapted to normal M-I patterns with the final *-e* replaced by the regular animate singular marker *-a*.²

However, what is considerably more interesting about this term is that its use to designate the modern Kaw tribe is probably recent. In precontact times, *kaanse* was very likely a M-I cover term for all the Dhegiha tribes, including the ancestors of the Kaw, Quapaw, Osage, Omaha, and Ponca. A major clue to this is that the Indiana Miami name for the Ohio River, *kaanseenseepiwi*,³ literally translates as the 'Kansa River', though this form seems to point to a diminutive form of the 'Kaw' term,⁴ **kaanseensa*,

Trowbridge's Miami notes (1824-5); U: Unami Delaware; Wb: Winnebago. Unless otherwise mentioned, sources for Siouan and Algonquian forms are as follows: Dakota, Omaha-Ponca and Winnebago: Koontz (personal communication); Fox: Goddard (1994); Iowa-Otoe: Good Tracks (1992); Kaw: Rankin (1987); Kickapoo: Voorhis (1988); Menominee: Bloomfield (1975); Munsee: O'Meara (1996), respelled to the system of Goddard (1982); Ojibwe: Nichols (1995); Quapaw: Rankin (1991); Shawnee: Voegelin (1938-40); and Sauk: Whittaker (1996). I thank Ives Goddard, John Koontz, Michael McCafferty, Bob Rankin and Blair Rudes for help and comments on an early draft of this piece.

² The older form of the 'Kaw' term, the Illinois name for the Potawatomi, and general name for the Osage are the only known animate nouns in M-I which do not end in *-a*.

³ This is given by Dunn as ⟨kantzánzäpīwe⟩ and ⟨kantzánzäpīwī⟩.

⁴ This apparent diminutive, and the association of *kaanse* with the Ohio River, is also seen in M-I *kaanseenseemini* 'pecan' (D ⟨kantzánzäminī⟩), probably so named because pecans do not extend much further into southern Indiana than the bottomlands along the Ohio River. Shawnee shows the same semantic connection in its 'pecan' word *ka·θe·mi*, from which Unami *ká·se·m* 'pecan' is borrowed (see Goddard 1978b:77).

which is otherwise not found.

The fact that M-I *kaanse* is a Dhegiha Siouan loan, and that Miami speakers associated this name with the Ohio River, obviously suggests that in the late-prehistoric period there were Dhegiha Siouan speakers along the Ohio River in southern Indiana or southern Illinois, immediately south of the Miami-Illinois.⁵ In fact, this was first pointed out by James Owen Dorsey over a century ago, when he stated that “Five of these peoples, the Omaha, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas, were then together as one nation. They were called Arkansa or Alkansa by the Illinois tribes, and they dwelt near the Ohio River” (Dorsey 1886:215). However, it remains to be answered why the M-I name for these Dhegiha speakers should be the same as that for the modern Kaws, who are associated with the Kansas area. The best suggestion seems to be that there were ‘Kansa’ clans among the different Dhegiha tribes into the historical period, and that the M-I speaking tribes’ first dealings with the Ohio River Dhegihas were with people from a Kansa clan. This too finds support in the research of Dorsey (1897:226), who stated that there was a ‘Kanze’ gens among the Omaha.

- (3) Osage
wašaasi
 Q/Ka/Os *wažáže*
 Gt ⟨washáshi⟩, D ⟨wacáci⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨wā‘cā‘cīk‘i⟩ (M-I *wašaasiiki*)

This name is also clearly borrowed from Dhegiha, as seen by the Quapaw/Kaw/Osage form given here. Michelson’s Peoria form suggests initial *wa-* rather than *wa-*, though this is not supported by the other transcriptions or by Algonquian cognates such as Sauk *waša·ša*, Kickapoo *wasaasa*, or Shawnee *hosa·si*.

- (4) Quapaw
kaahpa
 Sh *hokahpa*, Q *okáxpá*
 Tr ⟨kāūhpau⟩, Gt ⟨káxpá⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨ka‘pak‘i⟩

This name for the Quapaw unproblematically comes from a Dhegiha source such as Quapaw *okáxpá* (Rankin 1991:44), where it originally meant ‘people who went downstream’. Gatschet also attests a locative *kaahpaanki*

⁵ Possibly these Dhegiha-speakers are to be associated with the Caborn archaeological complex in southern Illinois.

‘in Quapaw country’ (⟨kaxpáŋgi⟩), which seems to suggest an underlying stem *kaahpaa-*.

- (5) Sioux
šaaha
 Sh *saha*, F/Sk *aša·ha*
 Gr/LB ⟨chaha⟩, Tr ⟨shauhāū⟩, Gt ⟨shahá⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨‘a‘cá‘aki⟩

The M-I name for the Sioux also clearly comes from a Siouan name for that tribe. Though it does not seem that this name was used among Dakotan speakers themselves, possible donors are Iowa-Otoe *šáhq*, Winnebago *šq·hq*, Kaw *šahq*, or Omaha-Ponca *šaq*.⁶ No Siouan etymology for this name is known.⁷

- (6) Winnebago
oontankia (?)
 Dk *hótąke*, I-O ⟨hotúŋge⟩, Ka *hóttąga*, Wb *ho·čq·gra*⁸
 Gr ⟨8ndankia⟩, LB ⟨8ndakia⟩ [sic]
- (7) Winnebago
wiiniptikwa
 M *wenepeko·w*, Sh *wi·nipyeko*
 Tr ⟨winēēpaakwaa⟩, D ⟨wīnīpīkwa⟩

There are two different names for the Winnebago in Miami-Illinois, an old Illinois name and a modern Miami name. Number 6 is the only name for the Winnebago in the old Illinois sources, and it is not found after that time period. It too is borrowed from some Siouan tribe’s name for the Winnebago. It may or may not be borrowed from Winnebago itself, since the pronunciation of the Illinois form is phonetically somewhat closer to the Dakota, Iowa-Otoe, and Kaw forms than to Winnebago *ho·čqgra*.

Number 7, on the other hand, is the only modern Miami name for the Winnebago, and it matches the name for the Winnebago in all the other Algonquian languages. It is from a pseudo-PA form **wi·nipyeko·wa* ‘people of the dirty water’ (Goddard in Lurie 1978:706).

⁶ The Iowa-Otoe form here is from Good Tracks (1992:228); the Kaw form is from Rankin (1987:128); and the Winnebago and Omaha-Ponca forms are from John Koontz, personal communication.

⁷ Bob Rankin and John Koontz, personal communication.

⁸ The Iowa-Otoe form is from Good Tracks (1992:282); the Kaw is from Rankin (1987:62); and the Dakota and Winnebago forms are from Lurie (1978:706).

Names 8 thru 11 are terms for the Muskogean tribes with which the Miami-Illinois were familiar:

- (8) Chickasaw
aciikaša
 Sh *ci·kasa*
 Gt ⟨tchikasha⟩, D ⟨atcí·kaca⟩
- (9) Choctaw
caahta
 Sh *cahta*
 Tr ⟨tshōhtau⟩, Gt ⟨tcáxta⟩, D ⟨tcakta⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨tcá?tak¹⁴⟩
- (10) Seminole
seeminoolia
 Sk *šimano·ni·ha*
 Gt ⟨seminólia⟩
- (11) Creek
maaškwa
 Sh *homasko*, Ck *ma·skó·ki*
 Tr ⟨mōshkoa⟩, Gt ⟨máshkwa⟩, D ⟨mackwa⟩
 (cf. M-I plural *maaškooki*,⁹ Shawnee plural *homasko·ki*)

The M-I names for the Chickasaw and Choctaw unproblematically come from their own names for themselves, such as Chickasaw *čikašša?* (Munro 1994:74) and *čahta?* (Munro 1994:69). The name for the Creek, *maaškwa*, likewise comes from the Creek's own name for themselves, *ma·skó·ki* (Jack Martin, personal communication). The M-I form is clearly backformed from this, since from an Algonquian perspective, *ma·skó·ki* would sound much more like a plural noun than a singular. Thus *maaškooki*, the original form, was interpreted as a plural and *maaškwa* was created as its appropriate singular. Shawnee *homasko*, Fox *ma·ško·ha*, Kickapoo *maaskooha*, and Unami *mášku* (see Goddard 1978b:77) would all ultimately seem to have the same origin, with singular endings appropriate to each language.

12-15 are the names for the Iroquoian-speaking tribes with which the Miami-Illinois had contact:

- (12) Cherokee
katoohwa
 Sh *katohhwa*, U *katúhwa*¹⁰
 Gt ⟨katu·hwa⟩, D ⟨katówa⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨katō·wák¹⁴⟩

The name for the Cherokee in M-I, Shawnee, and Delaware is borrowed from Cherokee 'kituhwa', the name of an important Cherokee settlement in North Carolina. This has been known for over a century; the first reference to it I can find is in Mooney, where he states:

kítu·hwā [was] an important ancient Cherokee settlement formerly upon Tuckasegee river, and extending from above the junction of Oconaluftee down nearly to present Bryson City, in Swain County, North Carolina. The name, which appears also as Kettooah, Kittoa, Kittowa, etc., has lost its meaning. The people of this and the subordinate settlements on the waters of the Tuckasegee were known as Ani-Kituhwagi, and the name was frequently extended to include the whole tribe. For this reason it was adopted in later times as the name of the Cherokee secret organization commonly known to whites as the Ketoowah society, pledged to the defense of Cherokee autonomy. [1900:525]

- (13) Tuscarora
taskaloolwa
 Sh *taskalo·no*, Mu *táskalo·w*
 Tr ⟨tuskalōāloa⟩

Trowbridge is the only source for M-I name for the Tuscarora. The form he gives can be compared other Algonquian forms such as the Shawnee and Munsee terms given above.¹¹ In Trowbridge's notes, 'oa' is often used for final *-wa* (see 'Creek' and 'Shawnee'); moreover, Shawnee and Munsee both agree that the first two vowels of this name are short and the third long (which is impressionistically supported by Trowbridge's transcription); thus, the probable phonemicization of this word in M-I would seem to be *taskaloolwa*. The *-wa* ending probably has its origin in an older deverbal ending **-oowa* which has (by normal sound law) reduced to *-wa*.¹²

¹⁰ From Ives Goddard, personal communication.

¹¹ The Munsee form is from Goddard, in Landy (1978:524); the phonemic Shawnee form is found in Voegelin's fieldnotes.

¹² This can also be seen in the form for 'Kickapoo', below.

⁹ From Gatschet's ⟨mashkóke⟩, Dunn's ⟨mackokí⟩, and Michelson's ⟨mÁ·ckuki'⟩.

- (14) Iroquois, later Wyandot
pahsiikania
 F *asikane·ha* ‘Seneca’¹³
 Gr ⟨psigania⟩, LB ⟨psicania⟩, Tr ⟨puseekāuneeau⟩, Gt ⟨paxsikánia⟩, D ⟨psikánia⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨p^s‘sígānyak’¹⁴⟩
- (15) Huron/Wyandot, later Iroquois
naatowia
 F *na·towe·wa* ‘Wyandot’¹⁴
 Gr ⟨nat8eīa⟩, Gr/LB ⟨nad8eīa⟩, Tr ⟨nautoawēēau⟩, Gt ⟨natúwia⟩, D ⟨natowīa⟩¹⁵
 Mich. pl. ⟨nátoyák’¹⁶⟩,
 Note also:
nataweewewa~nataweewia ‘Timber rattlesnake’¹⁶
šiihšiiikweewa~šiihšiiikwia ‘Massasauga, black rattlesnake’¹⁷

The names for the Iroquois and the Huron-Wyandot have an interesting history. In old Illinois from the early 1700s, *pahsiikania* is the name for the Five Nations Iroquois, especially the Seneca.¹⁸ This is about what one would expect from comparing Illinois with its sister languages, where *pahsiikania* matches forms like Fox *asikane·ha* ‘Seneca’. In old Illinois, and in Miami in the time of Trowbridge, *naatowia* was the name for the Huron/Wyandot.¹⁹ This agrees with modern Fox, where this name means

¹³ Ives Goddard, in Fenton (1978:321).

¹⁴ Ives Goddard, in Tooker (1978:406).

¹⁵ This is the correct Dunn Miami form for this word; Voegelin (1938–40:377) gives an incorrect Miami form ⟨natawia⟩, with second-syllable ‘a’.

¹⁶ The original transcriptions are LB ⟨nata8e8e8a⟩, Gr ⟨nata8a8e8a⟩, WP ⟨nvtvueuev⟩, Gt ⟨natawéwia⟩, and D ⟨nataúwāwīa⟩.

¹⁷ The original transcriptions are Gr ⟨chichig8eīa⟩, LB ⟨chichic8e8o⟩, WP ⟨rereqev⟩, G ⟨shíshikwia⟩, and D ⟨cī’cīkwīa⟩.

¹⁸ LeBoullenger glosses this term as ‘Seneca’ and Gravier and Trowbridge gloss it as ‘Iroquois’. I do not know the origin of the initial *p* in this term, though all attestations of the word agree on it. Gatschet’s informant claimed this name meant ‘split leg’, though this seems to be a mere folk etymology. The Illinois sources also agree on another name for the Iroquois, as seen in Gravier and LeBoullenger’s form ⟨atchiss8e8a⟩ and Gravier’s ⟨atsits8eīa⟩. Though phonemically probably something like **acihsweewa*, this form appears to have no cognates anywhere else and it is not known how it is different from *pahsiikania*.

¹⁹ Gravier and LeBoullenger give this term as ‘Huron’, and Trowbridge gives it as ‘Wyandot’.

‘Wyandot’. However, as Ives Goddard first pointed out,²⁰ starting in the mid-1800s (all records after Trowbridge), these names switch places. In modern M-I, Gatschet, Dunn, and Michelson all agree in translating *pahsiikania* as ‘Wyandot’ and *naatowia* as ‘Iroquois’ or ‘Seneca-Cayuga’.²¹

This is also a good place to discuss the etymology of *naatowia*. Frank Siebert (1996) shows that **na·towe·wa* was almost certainly the Proto-Algonquian word for the Massasauga rattlesnake. He argues that this word basically meant ‘heat seeker’, and that it was later semantically extended as a name for Iroquoian-speaking tribes the Algonquians had contact with. Though Siebert’s account works for Proto-Algonquian, it does not hold true for Miami-Illinois. Although Proto-Algonquian **na·towe·wa* is the name for the Massasauga in most Algonquian languages, M-I *nataweewewa~nataweewia* unquestionably designates the Timber rattlesnake. It is the M-I cognate of the other main Algonquian ‘rattlesnake’ word, *šiihšiiikweewa~šiihšiiikwia*, that designates the Massasauga (< PA **ši·ʔši·kwe·wa*; see Goddard 1978b:74). Thus, if Siebert’s species identification is correct, the two main ‘rattlesnake’ words have also switched places in Miami-Illinois.

First, some background: there are two species of rattlesnake found in the original M-I-speaking area, the Eastern Massasauga (*Sistrurus catenatus catenatus*) and the Timber Rattlesnake (*Crotalus horridus horridus*). The Timber Rattlesnake is much larger, 36–54 inches long, and, in the phase most often seen in the Great Lakes area, yellow and black. The Massasauga is considerably smaller, only 20–30 inches, and is much darker, mostly black. The important sources on M-I clearly distinguish these two snakes; Gravier identifies *nataweewewa* as ‘gros serpent sonet’, and *šiihšiiikwia* as ‘petit serpent sonet’, indicating that he recognized two kinds of rattlesnakes in Illinois country and that the difference for him was relative size.

In the later records, the identifications given for these two species are even clearer. Dunn gives *šiihšiiikwia* as “rattlesnake (black) found in prairies — known also as the massasauga”, and *nataweewia* as ‘common yellow rattlesnake’. Likewise, Albert Gatschet, probably quoting verbatim what his speaker told him, glosses *nataweewia* as ‘big yellow rattlesnake’, and *šiihšiiikwia* as ‘the black rattlesnake’. Thus, both Gravier and the

²⁰ See Fenton (1978:320) and Tooker (1978:406).

²¹ In one place, Gatschet gives *naatowia* as ‘Wyandot’, even though his normal gloss for *naatowia* is ‘Iroquois’, and the usual name for the Wyandot he gives is *pahsiikania*. This is also the only attestation of this word anywhere with second-syllable *a* and not *o*. I do not know how to interpret this.

modern sources agree on their species identifications despite a time separation of two centuries.

However, it is highly likely that *nataweeweewa*~*nataweewia* ‘Timber Rattlesnake’ and *naatowia* ‘Huron/Iroquois’ do not have the same origin within M-I. The extra syllable in *nataweeweewa* (**naataweewa* would be more expected on a comparative basis) would seem to point to a stem reanalysis of this etymon from the root **na-t-* ‘fetch’ + **-awe-* ‘heat’ that Siebert (1996) implies, to a new construction consisting of the root **nataw-* ‘look for’ + **-awe-* ‘heat’.²² This reanalysis is why the M-I ‘Timber rattlesnake’ word should be transcribed with first-syllable short *a* rather than the long *aa* suggested by forms like Menominee *na-tawεw* and Ojibwe *naadowe*.²³

Strictly speaking, this reanalysis should give a new form *natawa-weewa*, which seems to be the actual form Gravier gives: ⟨nata8a8e8a⟩.²⁴ However, for unknown reasons, LeBoullenger and all subsequent recorders have changed the third vowel of this word to *ee*, giving *nataweeweewa*~*nataweewia*. Thus, given that M-I has apparently restructured ‘Timber Rattlesnake’ with a different root from that seen in *naatowia*, it seems possible that *naatowia* as a tribe name might be a borrowing in M-I.

16 and 17 are the remaining M-I names for non-Algonquian groups:

(16) Comanche

paatoohka

Ka *ppádokka*, O-P *ppá=dąkka*²⁵

D ⟨patoka⟩ & ⟨pah-tō'-kah⟩

This term probably entered Algonquian from Siouan, where it is attested in Dhegiha and Winnebago. Though this term can be analyzed as meaning ‘stubby head’ in Omaha-Ponca (Koontz, personal communication), it is not clear whether this is the original meaning of this word or

²² I thank Ives Goddard for suggesting this scenario.

²³ The long *aa* in the first syllable of *naatowia* is confirmed by Michelson’s Peoria plural ⟨nátōyÁki⟩ ‘Seneca-Cayuga’.

²⁴ LeBoullenger also gives an alternate form for the snake name ⟨nanta8a8ia⟩, which shows the same third-syllable *a* as Gravier’s form, though LeBoullenger does not indicate how it is semantically different from his other form ⟨nata8e8e8a⟩. The prenasalization of the *t* in ⟨nanta8a8ia⟩ further confirms that the first vowel is short. Again, I thank Ives Goddard for bringing this form to my attention.

²⁵ The Kaw form is from Rankin (1987:129), and the Omaha-Ponca from John Koontz, personal communication.

merely a folk etymology. This term also appears in other Algonquian languages, such as Fox and Sauk *pa-to-hka-ha* and Shawnee *pa-tohka*.

(17) Pawnee

paana~*paania*

Sk/K *pa-ni-ha*, Sh *pa-ni*

Gr ⟨pana⟩, Gt ⟨pánia⟩

The modern M-I name for the Pawnees, *paania*, seems to point to an older form **pa-ni-wa*, from which we can also derive the Shawnee and Sauk-Kickapoo forms. However, *paania* is not found in the Illinois records, where instead we see a simple form *paana*, and two other forms, ⟨paniassa⟩²⁶ and ⟨panimaha⟩, with no difference in meaning given for these three terms. These latter two forms at least are clearly loans from Siouan, as seen from the corresponding forms in Omaha-Ponca, *ppáδisá*, literally ‘white Pawnee’, and *ppáδi umáqhā*, literally ‘upstream Pawnee’. The Kaw cognate of the latter form, *ppáyimáha*, is given as ‘Skidi Pawnee’,²⁷ which would presumably indicate that Illinois ⟨panimaha⟩ is the name for the Skiri Pawnee as well, and, by the process of elimination, that Illinois ⟨paniassa⟩ is the name of the the South Band Pawnee, the other main band of that tribe.

Numbers 18-28 are the known Miami-Illinois names for other Algonquian tribes:

(18) Delaware

waapanahkia

Mu *wá-panáhki-w*

Tr ⟨waubenāühkeeu⟩, Gt ⟨wapanáxkia⟩, D ⟨wapanakīa⟩

waapanahkiiha

Sk/K *wa-panahki-ha*

Gt ⟨wapana-kíha⟩, D ⟨wápanáqkíha⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨wāpana-kī-a-kí⟩

There are clearly two separate forms for ‘Delaware’ in M-I, one ending in the expected *-ia* and an equally common alternate ending in *-iiha*. While the *-ia* form is presumably native to M-I, the *-iiha* form is very likely borrowed from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, where *-i-ha* is a normal diminutive

²⁶ This form, given as ‘Pawnees’, is also found in Charles Trowbridge’s (1939: 66) Shawnee vocabulary from the 1820s, as ⟨pauneeearthaukēē⟩.

²⁷ The O-P forms are from John Koontz, personal communication; the Kaw form is from Rankin (1987:120).

ending. This is the only example I know of where M-I has borrowed this ending from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo. It seems likely Miami borrowed it from Kickapoo sometime in the late eighteenth century, when the Miami, Kickapoo, and Delaware all had villages near each other in Indiana, though it should be noted that Michelson's Peoria informant had *waapanahkiiha* as well.

(19) Mahican, Stockbridge

*mahikania*Mu *ma·hí·kani·w*²⁸

Tr ⟨mauheekāūnau⟩, Gt ⟨mahikánia⟩, D ⟨mahikánia⟩

(20) Nanticoke

nahtikwa (?)Mu *wənéhtko·w*²⁹, Sh *honehtiko*

Tr ⟨nāūteckoa⟩

Again, this name is only found in Trowbridge's notes, as is also the case with the Shawnee cognate. The Shawnee form is inferred from Trowbridge's (1939:66) plural ⟨oanaahteekoakēē⟩, presumably *honehtiko·ki*. Although Trowbridge does not explicitly mark the preaspiration on the Miami form, it is strongly indicated by the Munsee and Shawnee cognates. The 'āū' in Trowbridge's Miami form unambiguously indicates *a(a)*, rather than *e(e)*, and the final 'oa' presumably indicates *-wa* (from earlier **-oowa*), as also in 'Creek', 'Shawnee', and 'Tuscarora'.

(21) Menominee

*pireehsiwa*PA **pele·hsiwa*; cf. Wb *ka·γí* 'crow'

Gr (pl.) ⟨piressi8aki⟩, LB ⟨piressi8a⟩

*naloomina*Sh *malo·mina*, K *manoomina*D ⟨nalomina⟩³⁰

There are two M-I names for the Menominee found in the records. In old Illinois, they are called *pireehsiwa*, which is also the M-I name for the

²⁸ From Brassler (1978:211).

²⁹ The Munsee form is from Feest (1978:250).

³⁰ A cognate Miami form is also found in Trowbridge's notes but is not entirely legible; it looks most like ⟨noaloamēēnear⟩.

raven³¹. This is probably calqued from some Siouan language of Wisconsin, as suggested by the Winnebago name for the Menominee, *ka·γí*, literally 'crow' (as first noted by Ives Goddard; see Spindler 1978:724). In modern Miami, the only name found is *naloomina*, obviously related to the 'wild rice'-based names found for this tribe in most neighboring Algonquian languages (Spindler 1978:723). The initial *n* in the Miami form is unusual, though it is also found in the inanimate equivalent of this noun, M-I *naloomini* 'oats, rice, wheat'.³²

(22) Kickapoo

*kiikaapwa*F/Sk *ki·ka·po·wa*

Gr ⟨kicap8a⟩, LB ⟨kicap8⟩, Tr (pl.) ⟨kikapwāūkee⟩, Gt ⟨kikapwa⟩, D ⟨kikapwa⟩

(23) Sauk

*saakiiwa~saakia*F (a)*sa·ki·wa*Gr ⟨saki8a⟩ & ⟨sakia⟩, LB ⟨saki8o⟩, Tr ⟨saukeēū⟩, Gt ⟨sákia⟩, D ⟨sákīa⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨saʔkyAkⁱ⟩

(24) Mesquakie, Fox

mahkwaskimina

Gr ⟨mac8askimina⟩, LB ⟨pac8askimina⟩ and ⟨pac8kimina⟩

This is the only known name for the Mesquakie in M-I, and it is only found in the French missionary records. Gravier gives this name as 'Renards peuples, autrement dit 8tagamis', which is basically how LeBoullenger glosses it. I cannot tell what the etymology of this term is, though its phonetic resemblance to Fox *meškwahki·ha* is probably significant. It is likely that the initial *m* of Gravier's form is older than the *p* of LB's, which is probably due to devoicing of the *m* from a following preaspirated consonant. Thus, the original phonemic form of this word (in Illinois) is probably something like **mahkwaskimina*, though the length of the second, third,

³¹ See Costa (1992:26). This noun probably meant 'thunderbird' in Proto-Algonquian.

³² From Dunn's Miami form ⟨nalomini⟩, and Gatschet's Peoria plural ⟨nalomina⟩. A more historically expected *m*-initial form *maroomini* is found in Illinois (Gr ⟨mar8mini⟩ 'folle avoine, bled froment, seigle' and Ft ⟨mar88mina⟩ 'folle avoine') and once in Dunn's Peoria fieldnotes (P/D ⟨malomini⟩ 'rice'), though a vowel-initial form *aroomina~aloomini* is also sometimes seen (LB ⟨ar8mina⟩ 'avoine', Tr ⟨alōāmenee⟩ 'wheat flour'). This too has parallels elsewhere in the family, such as Swampy Cree *ano·min* 'rolled oats' (Faries 1938:487).

and fourth vowels is not known.

- (25) Shawnee
šaawanwa
 Sh *sa·wanwa*
 Gr ⟨cha8an8a⟩, Tr ⟨shauwāūnoa⟩, Gt pl. ⟨shawanōki⟩, D ⟨cawánwa⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨cāwanók¹⁴⟩
- (26) Ojibwe
acipwia
 Sk *očipwe·wa*
 Gr ⟨8itchip8eia⟩, LB ⟨8tchip8eia⟩, Tr ⟨utcheepeeweeār⟩, Gt ⟨tchipwia⟩, D ⟨atcī'pwīa⟩, Mich. (pl.) ⟨tcīpwiyak¹⁴⟩

The modern M-I name for the Ojibwe, *acipwia*, is precisely the form that would be expected given sister language forms such as Sauk *očipwe·wa* and Ojibwe *ojibwe*. Unexpectedly, this name is given with initial '8' in the missionary records; it is not clear if this vowel should be interpreted as short or long.

- (27) Ottawa
taawaawa
 M *ata·wa·w*, Oj *odaawaa*
 Gt/D ⟨táwawa⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨táwāwákiⁿ⟩
- (28) Potawatomi
wahoorahē~wahoonaha
 Wb *wo·ráxe*, I-O ⟨watáxa⟩ and ⟨woraxa⟩, Ka *wáhióyaha*, Pc ⟨wáhiúðaxá³³⟩
 Gr/LB ⟨8a8rahe⟩, Tr ⟨wauhoanahāī⟩, Gt ⟨wahúnaha⟩, D ⟨wahónaha⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨wa'óna'āki⟩

The name for the Potawatomi is one of the most unusual tribe names in M-I. In old Illinois this name appears to be *wahoorahē*, while in all records from the 19th century on, it is *wahoonaha*. The exact phonemic shape of this word is not clear, especially whether the first and third vowels are long or short. Moreover, the appearance of Illinois *r* in this word as *n* in the modern language is not a regular sound change.

As first pointed out by Clifton (1978:741), this name is clearly related to names for the Potawatomi seen in several Siouan languages, as seen in

³³ Iowa-Otoe ⟨woraxa⟩, as well as the Ponca and Winnebago forms, are from Clifton (1978:741); the Kaw form is from Rankin (1987:139); and the Iowa-Otoe alternate ⟨watáxa⟩ is from Good Tracks (1992:204).

the Dhegiha, Winnebago, and Iowa-Otoe terms given above. Problematically, these forms do not have discernible etymologies in any Siouan language.³⁴

There are two possible scenarios for where *wahoorahē* came from. On the one hand, it could be a native Siouan word which M-I borrowed, though it is unexplained why M-I should borrow a name for a tribe with whom the Miamis were almost certainly in closer contact than the Siouans were. Or, alternately, *wahoorahē* could be a native M-I word, which was then borrowed by the Siouans that the Miamis were in contact with. This theory is especially intriguing since it implies that early on the Miamis had more dealings with Siouans such as the Iowa-Otoe and Dhegihas than the other Algonquians did, and that the Siouans became aware of the Potawatomi via the Miamis, whom they encountered first. All in all, this idea seems entirely consistent with the linguistic evidence and with the known geographical facts. However, the problems with this theory are that I have not been able to come up with any etymology for *wahoorahē* within the M-I language, and that it is quite an unusual word phonologically for M-I. For these reasons, I am inclined to think that *wahoorahē* is most likely a loan into M-I from an unidentified Siouan language, though given the great variety of phonetic shapes this name takes in the different Siouan languages, it is entirely possible that this word was later passed from M-I into some other Siouan language also adjacent to M-I, perhaps most especially the Kaw and Ponca forms.³⁵

At this point I would like to discuss a few selected names for the Miami-Illinois that were in use among other tribes.

- (29) Shawnee: *pki·wileni* 'Miami'

pki·wileni is the normal Shawnee name for the Miami, and it is found in the unpublished Shawnee fieldnotes of Trowbridge, Gatschet, and Voegelin.³⁶ This is clearly the same name as the Miami village usually called 'Pickawillany' in English, located in western Ohio on the Great Miami River (Tanner 1986:44). However, given that this village was only

³⁴ Bob Rankin and John Koontz, personal communication.

³⁵ I thank Bob Rankin and John Koontz for helping to clarify my thinking on this issue, though they do not necessarily agree with my conclusions.

³⁶ Gatschet gives this as ⟨pkiwi=léni⟩, and Trowbridge (1939:66) as the plural form ⟨peekeeweeleneekēē⟩.

inhabited by Miami for four years, from 1748 to 1752 (Tanner 1986:41), one would assume the Shawnee had a name for the Miami before that. The only possible clue as to what this name was is in the Shawnee name for the Miami given by Voegelin in his *Shawnee Stems* (1938:352), *lo·wa·ni*. However, the problem with *lo·wa·ni* is that it is *only* found in Voegelin (1938). It is absent from Trowbridge's and Gatschet's materials, and, most strangely, I have not been able to locate it in Voegelin's fieldnotes. I do not know where Voegelin got *lo·wa·ni*, nor does it have a discernible etymology or cognates in other Algonquian languages. For the present I can only say that it probably is a valid Shawnee name, though it is clearly not the normal Shawnee name for the Miami.

(30) Delaware: *tuwéhtuwe* 'Miami'³⁷

The Unami Delaware name for the Miami, *tuwéhtuwe*, is interesting in that it too appears to have no cognates in any other Algonquian languages. It is obviously related to the name 'Twigh-Twee', which Charles Trowbridge (1938:6) first documented. Trowbridge states that "the original name of the [Miami] tribes was *Twaatwāā* sometimes pronounced *Twau Twāū*," and that this was imitative of the cry of the Sandhill crane, *cécaahkwa*, a totem animal of the Miamis. Trowbridge also says that this name was later dropped in favor of the current name, *myaamia*. The problem with this claim is that no source on the Miami-Illinois language has anything like *Twaatwāā* as a name for any Miami-Illinois group. Even the French missionary sources, dating back to the early eighteenth century, repeatedly give the name of the Miamis as *myaamiwa* or *myaamia*, the same name found everywhere else.

However, some light is shed upon the origin of this name by Jacob Dunn; in his Miami filecards, Dunn (n.d.(a)) states: "[Gabriel] Godfroy says other tribes called the Miamis to-wā-to-wā -- perhaps origin of Twightwee". This is highly revealing in that it shows that Gabriel Godfroy, a fluent speaker of Indiana Miami born around 1834, remembered 'Twightwee' as a foreign term, in a form very close to the actual Delaware word, and did not think of it as a native Miami name.

What seems to be the most likely explanation for this whole state of affairs is that this name dates back to the early 1800s, when there were several Delaware villages in Indiana, mostly along the White River. I

³⁷ From Ives Goddard, given in Callender (1978b:688).

believe that even though the Miamis became aware of the name early on, the word 'Twightwee' is most likely originally from the Delaware language. Given the total absence of this name in all Miami language sources, I do not believe it was ever a name the Miamis used for themselves, but rather that it was borrowed from the Delaware into the Miami's folklore early in the 19th century. Possibly it was not even that widespread among the Miamis in the early 1800s, since neither Dunn nor Gatschet ever seems to have found any Miamis who knew the 'Twightwee' story that Trowbridge gives.

At this point I would like to conclude with the names the Miami-Illinois-speaking groups had for themselves. I will start with some of the more minor names.

(31) Cahokia

kawakiwa~kawakia

(??)

Gr ⟨ca8ki8a⟩, LB (pl.) ⟨ca8kiaki⟩, Gt ⟨kawáki⟩

This is the name for the Cahokia, an Illinois band found around the western portion of that state in the late 1600s (Bauxar 1978:596). The correct phonemicization of this name is completely uncertain, and any of the first three vowels could be long. Interestingly, George Finley, Gatschet's main Peoria speaker, remembered this name,³⁸ which is where the form ⟨kawáki⟩ comes from. However, I do not think Finley was accurately remembering this name, since one would expect it to be more like **kawakia*. It is possible that Finley had misremembered this name as a plural, and that he thought the singular was something like **kawa*, though this is just speculation.

(32) Moingwena

mooyiinkweena

Marquette ⟨moing8ena⟩

(cf. Gravier's ⟨m8ing8eta⟩ 'visage plein d'ordure, metaphor sale, villain. injure'; phonemic *mooyiinkweeta*; cf. M-I *mooyi* 'excrement, shit'³⁹)

'Moingwena' is supposedly the name of an Illinois band located by the French in southeastern Iowa along the Des Moines river in the late

³⁸ Or, as Gatschet put it on the filecard that contains this word, 'A tribe of this name was heard of by Finley'.

³⁹ From Gravier ⟨m8i⟩, Gatschet ⟨múyi⟩ and Dunn ⟨móyi⟩; cf. Shawnee *mo·wi*.

seventeenth century (Bauxar 1978:596). In fact, the Des Moines River was very likely named after a clipped French form of the name of this group (Callender 1978a:680). This spelling of their name is not found in the French Illinois dictionaries, but instead is how Jacques Marquette spells it on the map he drew in 1674.⁴⁰

However, *mooyiinkweena* is almost certainly not the name this group had for themselves, since it has a very straightforward etymology (supported by the related Gravier form given above) as meaning ‘shitface’. *Mooy-* is the root for ‘shit’, *-iinkwee-* is the common M-I morpheme for ‘face’, and *-na* is the independent indefinite actor ending. Since it is hard to believe that any group of people would call themselves such a name, I suspect this name arose as an insulting name given to some group of Illinois Indians in southeastern Iowa by some other group of Illinois, probably a group with whom the French had more contact, such as the Peoria or Kaskaskia. Consequently, there would seem to be no evidence as to what the ‘Moingwena’ did call themselves.

(33) Illinois

inoka

??

Gr/LB ⟨in8ca⟩, LB ⟨inoca⟩, KW ⟨e no kx⟩

This is by far the most common name for the Illinois Indians in the missionary sources. Its original meaning is unknown, and again, I have no idea how to phonemicize it. Either of the first two vowels could be long or short, and the *k* could be preaspirated.⁴¹

Although this term is quite common in the French sources, the only post-missionary source I have ever found it in is Kerr’s (1835:36) *First Wea Reading Book*, where it is glossed as ‘Indian’.

(34) Illinois

irenweewa ‘he speaks Illinois’

Gr ⟨iren8e8a⟩ ‘il parle Illinois’

(cf. also Gravier’s ⟨niteren8e⟩ ‘je parle Illinois. je parle ma langue’; cf. LB’s ⟨reni8ei8ni⟩ ‘Illinois langue’)

This word, later pronounced *ilenweewa*, is clearly related to the name

⁴⁰ Thanks to Michael McCafferty for pointing this out to me.

⁴¹ To be precise, either of the first two vowels of this word could be long, and the *k* could be preaspirated or not, giving eight possible phonemic forms for this word: *inoka*, *iinoka*, *inooka*, *iinooka*, *inohka*, *iinoohka*, *inoohka*, or *iinoohka*.

‘Illinois’. The original meaning of this word in the Illinois language seems to be ‘he speaks in the regular way, the ordinary way’, where *iren-* means ‘ordinary’, *-(i)wee-* is a ‘by speech’ final, and *-wa* is the third person ending. The second half of Gravier’s translation of ⟨niteren8e⟩, ‘I speak my language’, supports the notion that this word does not refer to the Illinois specifically, but only by inference.⁴²

However, even though the French/English name ‘Illinois’ ultimately derives from Illinois *irenweewa*, it seems most likely that it does not directly come from Illinois. One of the earliest French attestations of the name ‘Illinois’ is in the Jesuit Relations (vol. 50:288), where in 1666–67, the missionary Claude Allouez, then based at Sault Ste. Marie, calls them ⟨ilinoüek⟩. This is clearly an animate plural, but both its ending and vowels are quite different from how it would appear in Illinois, *irenweewaki*. Instead, it looks much closer to the plural this word would take in old Ojibwe, *ilinwek*, from an implied singular *ilinwe*.⁴³ Given that in the seventeenth century, the French name ‘Illinois’ would have been pronounced exactly [ilinwe], it seems most likely that this term was borrowed from Illinois into Ojibwe, and then borrowed from Ojibwe into French as ‘Illinois’.

(35) Illinois

*maskootia~meehkootia*Sk/F *maško te wa* & F *meško te wa* ‘Peoria’

Gr ⟨masc8tea⟩ ‘Illinois’, & Tr plurals ⟨mekoateeaukee⟩ & ⟨makoateēūkee⟩ ‘Kaskaskia’

This term clearly means ‘prairie people’, from M-I *maskoteewi~mahkoteewi* ‘prairie’.⁴⁴ It is a name within M-I for certain Illinois bands, as well as a modern Fox and Sauk name for the Peoria. Gravier gives it as simple ‘Illinois’, not distinguishing it from ⟨in8ca⟩ (see 32 above). With

⁴² There is also evidence that this word could also be pronounced *ireniweewa*, with a different allomorph of the ‘by speech’ final. LeBoullenger’s form suggests this, as well as certain forms found in the *Jesuit Relations* given in Callender (1978a:680).

⁴³ Ojibwe regularly deletes final *-wa* from words borrowed from neighboring Algonquian languages, such as in *omaamii~omaamiig* ‘Miami(s)’ (Callender 1978b:688), from Illinois *myaamiwa*, or as in Ottawa *bewaane* ‘Peoria’, from Illinois *peewaareewa* (see 37 below).

⁴⁴ Note Gravier and LeBoullenger’s ⟨masc8te8i⟩, Gatschet’s ⟨maxkotéwi⟩, and Dunn’s ⟨makótāwī⟩.

apparent initial change, Trowbridge's (1938:12 & 68) Miami informant used it as a synonym for the Kaskaskia. The name seems to have passed out of use by the late nineteenth century.

(36) Kaskaskia

kaaskaaskiiwa-kaahkaahkia

Sh *kahkaski*, Ot ⟨kashkashki⟩⁴⁵

Gr ⟨caskaski8a⟩ & ⟨kaskaskia⟩, Gr/LB ⟨cascakia⟩, Tr ⟨kohkōhkee⟩, Gt ⟨kaxkákxia⟩, D ⟨kákakakia⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨kā'kyak'⟩ [sic]

This is the native name for the Kaskaskia. There is some variation in the Illinois records between the clusters between *hk* and *sk*.

As both Gatschet and Dunn agree, this name is also the M-I word for 'katydid', though Gatschet says it also means 'Green heron'. Gravier translates this word as 'cigale' (English 'cicada'), but this is also the same word both he and LeBoullenger use to translate another insect name, *raaraawa*.⁴⁶ The true difference between these two words is shown by Jacob Dunn, who gives *naala* (the modern form of *raaraawa*) as 'harvest fly' (another name for the cicada), as opposed to his *kaahkaahkia* 'katydid'. Clearly, the missionaries lacked the terminology in French to distinguish between these two different types of insect, so the modern English translations are more to be trusted.

(37) Peoria

peewaareewa-peewaalia

Sh *pe-wa-le*, Ot *bewaane*⁴⁷

Gr/LB ⟨pe8are8a⟩, Gt ⟨pāwalia⟩, D ⟨pāwālia⟩, Mich. ⟨pēwāliya'⟩

Although the phonemic shape of this name is quite clear, as old Illinois *peewaareewa* and modern M-I *peewaalia*, I have not been able to discover the etymology for this name, or the stem *peewaar-*.

⁴⁵ This Ottawa form, probably phonemic *gaaškaaskii*, is from Gatschet's Ottawa fieldnotes, presumably from Oklahoma Ottawa fieldwork.

⁴⁶ See Costa (1992:23 & 31).

⁴⁷ From Albert Gatschet's ⟨pewané⟩, presumably from Oklahoma Ottawa speakers.

(38) Piankashaw

peeyankihšiiwa-peeyankihšia

Sh ⟨pelagisiá⟩ (Gat.), pl. ⟨paalukeesheeaūkēē⟩ (Tr)⁴⁸

Gr ⟨peiaŋghichi8a⟩ & ⟨peiaŋghichia⟩, Tr ⟨püyunkteeshāū⟩, Gt ⟨peyangisha⟩ & ⟨payangisha⟩, D ⟨péangī'cia⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨pīyāŋgi'cAk'⟩

There are various etymologies offered for this name. Interestingly, Jacob Dunn (1908:298) said that "the meaning of Piankeshaw is uncertain, but Godfroy says that the idea it conveys to him is of something scattered about the ears". Gravier's comments on this name bring it into sharper focus; under ⟨peiaŋghichi8a⟩, Gravier gives "oreilles déchirées. nation Miamise", which relates to a verb he also gives on an earlier page, ⟨nipaiaŋghichina⟩ 'je lui déchiree l'oreille'. Thus, the name 'Piankashaw' seems to have a fairly certain etymology as meaning something like 'one with torn ears' or 'slit ears'. This would seem to imply an (unchanged) Illinois verb root **payank-* 'tear, slit' with the M-I 'ear' final *-ehšii-*.

It is interesting to note that Shawnee, the only sister language attesting cognates of this name, seems to replace the *y* in this name with *l*. I have no explanation for this, though it is agreed on by both Trowbridge and Gatschet.

(39) Wea

waayaahatanwa

Sh *wa-wiyawhtanwa*

Tr pl. ⟨wuyautōnoakee⟩, Mo pl. ⟨wa-yā-tā-no'-ke⟩, Gt ⟨wayaxtánwa⟩, D ⟨waiatanwa⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨waiyá'tānwAk'⟩

The name for the Weas is simply the non-reduplicated animate form of the verb *waawiiyaahatanwi* 'it is an eddy, whirlpool'. Thus, the name for the Weas clearly means something like 'whirlpool person'. The M-I name for the old Indian town of Ouatatonon, *waayaahatanonki*,⁴⁹ is merely the locative of this same I.I. verb. Shawnee has very similar cognate forms, with *wa-wiyawhtanwa* 'Wea'⁵⁰ and *wa-wiyawhtanwi* 'water circles around'.

⁴⁸ This Gatschet form is from his Shawnee fieldnotes; the Trowbridge Shawnee form is from Trowbridge (1939:66).

⁴⁹ As seen in Dunn's ⟨waiatánung⟩ and Michelson's ⟨waiya'tānuŋgi⟩.

⁵⁰ This is attested in Trowbridge's plural ⟨wauweeautonwaukēē⟩ (Trowbridge 1939:66) and Gatschet's Shawnee form ⟨wawia'tánua⟩.

(40) Miami

*myaamiwa~myaamia*F *mya·mi·wa*,⁵¹ Oj *omaamii*

Gr/LB ⟨miami8a⟩, LB pl. ⟨miamiaki⟩, Tr ⟨mearmear⟩, Mo pl. ⟨me-ä-me-ä'-ga⟩, Gt & D ⟨miámia⟩, Mich. pl. ⟨myāmiyak'⟩

The name for the Miami is *myaamiwa* in the oldest sources and *myaamia* by the 1800s. Judging from forms found in sister Algonquian languages, the original meaning of *myaamiwa* was 'downstream person', from a Proto-Algonquian root **mya·(m)-* 'downstream'.⁵² This reconstruction is confirmed by forms such as Ojibwe *maamiing* and Cree *ma·mihk* 'downstream', and derivatives such as Nipissing (*o*)*maamiwininiwag* 'downstream people' and Ojibwe *omaamiikweg* 'downstream women' (John Nichols, p.c.).⁵³ The **my* is confirmed by Menominee *miaham* 'he canoes downstream', showing a root **mya·-*, without the stem-extender *-m* seen elsewhere. This is not the only instance of this Algonquian 'downstream' etymon being used as a tribal name; in the Jesuit Relations, Claude Dablon uses the name ⟨oumamiouis⟩ for a group of Montagnais living one hundred leagues downriver from himself on the St. Lawrence at Sept Iles.⁵⁴

Evidently the Miami came to call themselves *myaamiwa* a long time ago, since in all sources, the word for 'downstream' in Miami-Illinois itself is *naaminonki*.⁵⁵ Presumably, once the Miamis started to call themselves 'downstream people', Miami speakers switched to *naaminonki* to mean 'downstream' and *myaamiwa* lost this original meaning, becoming solely a name.

Given that the word *myaamiwa~myaamia* looks like it originally meant 'downstream person', the obvious question arises, downstream of

⁵¹ Ives Goddard, personal communication.

⁵² I thank David Pentland for first pointing out this etymology to me two years ago.

⁵³ This last form can be compared to Miami *myaamiikwia* 'Miami woman' (Gt ⟨miami'kwia⟩).

⁵⁴ JR Vol. 59, p. 48-49. I thank Michael McCafferty for first bringing this to my attention.

⁵⁵ This is seen in Gravier's ⟨namin8nghi⟩ and Dunn's ⟨namí'nungī⟩. A Proto-Algonquian root **na·m-* is reconstructible for this, though its semantics vary across the daughter languages; cf. Kickapoo *naamaahkwe* 'under', Menominee *na·miah* 'with the wind, on the side toward which the wind is blowing' and Munsee Delaware *wóná·mi·w* 'person from downstream' (whence the name 'Unami'; see Goddard 1978a:237).

what, or down what river? Though it cannot be conclusively proven, it seems quite possible that it was the Saint Joseph river. There are two St. Joseph rivers in Indiana, one in the northeastern Indiana and northwestern Ohio, emptying into the Maumee River at Fort Wayne, and the other one mostly in southwestern Michigan but dipping into Indiana around the city of South Bend, and emptying into Lake Michigan at St Joseph. The Saint Joseph river that flows through South Bend is the river that 'downstream' probably refers to.

The Miamis have an origin legend that Gabriel Godfroy told Jacob Dunn around 1909 that has the Miamis first emerging from the water at a point along the St. Joseph river near South Bend. Possibly 'downstream' refers to this point, and perhaps it is in reference to some other tribe living up the St. Joseph's river from this 'Coming Out Place'. It is not certain who that would be, though in the earliest contact time the tribe living at the headwaters of the St. Joseph River, and indeed, the tribe that occupied the territory directly north of the Miami in Michigan, was the Mascouten, an Algonquian tribe who were friendly with the Miamis in earliest colonial period. Perhaps the Miamis were describing themselves as downstream from the Mascoutens. It is also significant the headwaters of the St. Joseph River were in the direction of practically all the sister Algonquian tribes to whom the Miami-Illinois speakers were most closely related, including not only the Mascouten, but also the Kickapoo, Sauk, Mesquakie and Potawatomi. So perhaps 'downstream' was in some larger sense a reference to an upstream area from which the Miamis felt their own ancestors originally came.

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