ALGONQUIAN NAMES

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Of the many things Algonquianists can be grateful to John Hewson for, perhaps the most useful is his computer-generated dictionary of Proto-Algonquian. And one of the most intriguing reconstructions in it is *ešinléhk- (with various finals) 'call or name so'. There are related forms with initials other than *et- or eš- 'so', but, when no qualifying initial at all is present, apparently suppletive *wi:n- 'call or name, mention by name' is used. Despite appearances, however, the two stems are in fact related. It is easy enough to explain the *-inl- of *-inléhk-. PA initials like *wi:n- lose their initial sonorant (if any) when used as medials, many shorten their closed vowels outside an initial syllable, and *wi:n- in particular is seldom, if ever, found unextended with one of the following finals: *-(e)swi 'reflexive: own, self', *-t 'gender-neutral transitive final', or, as in the present case, archaic *-l 'transitive animate final' (see Proulx 1985: 79). This leaves *-éhk- to explain.

PA *-éhk- 'artificial, substitute, pretend' (of a substitute for a naturally-occurring entity) is a formative present in middle reflexive *-éhka:so- 'pretend', in *-éhke:- 'make, gather', and in nominalized *-éhka:n 'artificial product'.[1] PA *-éhka:so- is well attested in Hewson's (1993) PA dictionary (with cognates in Fox, Cree, Menominee, and Ojibwa). Examples are *wekima:hka:sowa 'she pretends to be chief', and *nepo:hka:sowa 'she pretends to be dead'. PA *-éhke:- is also well attested in Hewson's dictionary, e.g., eškwete:hke:wa 'she makes a fire' (*eškwete:wi 'fire'). Examples of *-éhka:n are as follows. Cree has pi:simw- 'sun' but pi:simohka:n- 'clock' (Ellis 1995). Similarly, a Cree who is chief by virtue of age and competence is an okima:w, while one elected or appointed is an okima:hka:n 'surrogate chief' (*wekima:wéhke:- plus nominalizing *-n). Compare Western Abenaki zŏgəmŏka 'she or he makes a chief (ceremonially)' (*sa:kema:wéhke:wa). The 'Wabanaki Chief-making ceremony...was modeled after a typical European investiture for one in high office' (Smith 1977: 215)—so it is a substitute for Native customs. Perhaps it is also the same *-éhk(e:) which is found in some terms for adopted kin: Plains Cree o:hta:wi:hka:win 'adopted father' (o:hta:wiy

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[1] Presumably, gathered natural resources become artificial by being concentrated.

'father'), *okosisi:hka:win* 'adopted son, step-son'. Other examples of PA *-éhk-* are rare, but there's perhaps Fox *nenehke:neme:wa* 'she thinks of him' (lit. 'sees him artificially, or substitutes for seeing him, by thought), and *nenehkime:wa* 'she mentions him' (lit. 'substitutes by speech for seeing him'). These are relics of an ancient morphology, as *nen-* only retains the meaning 'see' in Blackfoot and Yurok (meaning 'recognize' elsewhere). Another case is the use of the East Cree locative suffix /ihch/ as a simulative marker so that /naapehc/ may be glossed as 'on/to/from the man' or as 'like a man' according to context. (Marguerite MacKenzie, personal communication.)

Etymologically, *-inléhk-* thus means 'call by a substitute name'. Examples are: *ešinléhka:sowa* 'she is so named' (Hewson's dictionary), and in Ojibwa *nind andjinikana* 'I change her name' (Baraga 1878), Algonquin *ijinikâtan* 'elle lui donne un nom' (Lemoine 1909), Menominee *ya:cene:hkanɛw* 'she renames him', Montagnais *atshinikateu* (phonetic *atnəkatew*) 'elle l'appelle par un autre nom' (Drapeau 1991), and Blackfoot *iksiminihkat-* 'call by a pet name, joking name, nickname'. That PA *-inl-* 'name' has here incorporated the archaic transitive animate final *-l-*, suggests that in origin substitute names were most commonly given by animate entities to other animates, and that extension to other verb forms was secondary. Two such extensions are as follows:

First, the contrast between *-inléhk-* and *wi:n-* shows up in a James Bay Cree conversation about speaking proper Cree (Ellis 1995: 214-216), where the distinction is made between those who call things by their real Cree names (*iši-/wîhc/ikâtêw*, extended root *wi:nt-*) and those who call them many different things (*pe:pi:toš i š/inihk/âtamwak kwêkwâna* mihcêt, medial *-inléhk-*). Second, a pair of Ojibwa examples is found in the film narration for a documentary on birch-bark canoes written by Earl Nyholm and 'recreated' and delivered by Selam Ross (Nichols 1988:238, 256). In one case Ross uses *-inléhk-* to refer to *giizhikaandag-...ezh/inik/aadeg* 'cedar...as it is called'. The standard Ojibwa word for 'white cedar'—the one appropriate here—is just *giizhik*; *giizhikaandag* generally means 'cedar bough' and is thus not the real name of the cedar. In the second case he uses *wi:nl-* to refer to *gaawandag ezhi-/wiin/ind* 'spruce, as people call it', using the standard word for 'white spruce'. Although both these examples involve inanimates, they do confirm that *wi:n-* refers to a true name, *-inléhk-* to a name of convenience.

In the case of persons, where the contrast likely originated, ethnographic sources provide an approximate idea of what a 'true' name was in protohistoric Algonquian culture. Mandelbaum (1979: 140ff) describes it

well for the Plains Cree: the parents of a baby invited an old person (a shaman) to a feast where she or he prayed and had visions in which a 'spirit guardian' gave a name to protect the child. The old person then took the child in her arms and announced the name. Such names were a private matter, involving personal power, and known mainly by those present (close friends and family). Outside this group people were known by nicknames and names descriptive of memorable events in their lives. Something of this original meaning of *wi:n-* is seen in a few dictionary entries: Ojibwa *waawiinaad* 'I give her a name ceremonially' (Rhodes 1985, reduplicated stem) and *nin wawina* 'I call upon his name' (Baraga 1878), Algonquin *wîndan* 'dire le nom de' (Lemoine 1909), Menominee *we:hnɛw* 'she gives him a name, calls or mentions his name', and Montagnais *uileu* 'elle le nomme' (Drapeau 1991).

In contrast to *wi:n-*, which is very widespread, the geographical distribution of *-inléhk-* is severely restricted. In the more northerly languages (Blackfoot, Cree, Ojibwa, and Montagnais) it is highly productive (most commonly in *ešinléhk-*)—but it is only vestigially attested elsewhere. I believe this distribution is culturally significant. For example, naming changed radically in the patrilineal societies south of the Great Lakes—especially those which experienced Mississippian cultural influences (Shawnee, Miami-Illinois, Fox-Kickapoo-Sac). Although an old person still prayed for guidance and announced a baby's name, that name had to be some variant of the name of the clan to which the baby would belong—and hence at least partly public. In these societies and in Unami Delaware as well, *-inléhk-* 'call by a name of convenience' disappeared— while in some of them *wi:n-* and its by-forms took on the conspicuously public function of signaling clan or lineage membership. Lineage membership normally comes by birth, and hence a lineage name is 'natural' rather than 'artificial'. First, for the Fox (and the closely related Sauk and Kickapoo as well), Callender (1978: 621) cites *mi:so:ni* as 'name; clan' (*m/i:nsw-*). There is also Fox *wi:čiso:m-* 'have as fellow clan-member(s)' (*wi:č/insw-*, cited in Dahlstrom 1987: 61). Finally, Goddard (1978: 226) gives Unami Delaware *náni tǝli-wihǝlá:i:n* 'that's his lineage' (root *wi:nl-*).

The contrast between 'true' and 'substitute' entities and events is evidently ancient. PA *-éhk-* 'artificial, substitute, pretend' dates back to Proto-Algic, as in Wiyot *šip/ǝrag/ǝd* 'imitate (people)' but *šap/ék/ǝd* 'imitate (woodpeckers)' (Teeter 1964: 226, 230). One can obviously genuinely imitate other people, but a person imitating a woodpecker is at best a poor substitute. (Compare M. MacKenzie's Cree example above.)

I originally (Proulx 1984: 183, 197) reconstructed Proto-Algic *wegen- 'mention a name' (PA *wi:n-, Yurok wegen-), and *nehk- 'call, name' (PA *nehk-, Yurok nek(e?y)). Proto-Algic *ege regularly gives PA *i:. However, taking into account the present evidence and some from Wiyot, these reconstructions must be revised.

First, consider the Wiyot non-initial a-grade[2] by-form -wənəl (from *-wanal), e.g., in hiyi-wə?nələt 'you call my name'. A non-initial form regularly lacks the infix *-eg- (which indicates iteration and the like, and is restricted to an initial syllable of a macroword). Proto-Algic *e drops between many consonants, and this a-grade variant is evidently a by-form of *wenl- (from Pre-Proto-Algic *wenel-). Proto-Algic *wenléhk- (*wenl- plus *-éhk- 'substitute') is a plausible source for Yurok nek(e?y), with Yurok treating the initial *we as an instance of the prefix of the same shape meaning 'part of a whole' and dropping it (as is often the case with that prefix).[3] *nl and *n both give Yurok n. Deverbal forms regularly drop an initial sonorant, so an originally iterative form of the same stem, Pre-PA *wi:nléhk- from Proto-Algic *wegenléhk- 'call someone by a substitute name', provides for deverbal PA *-inléhk-. No Wiyot cognate survives— but this isn't surprising, as Elsasser (1978:159) says that they are patrilineal—and cognates do not remain productive among the patrilineal Algonquians either.

For real (original) names in Proto-Algic, I'd now tend to reconstruct the extended form *wegenl- (PA *wi:nl-, Yurok wegen-). Wiyot din- (as in niniɫ 'they call it') is probably cognate, with an analogical replacement of the initial sonorant—something which isn't uncommon (see Proulx 1985: 66). The reflex of *nl in Wiyot is unattested outside this item, but n is plausible enough. Unextended *wegen- also works for Wiyot and Yurok, but doesn't provide the correct base for *w(eg)enléhk-. Most likely, the correct Proto-Algic reconstructions are *wegenl- 'mention someone's real name,

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2   A-grade in Algic is the substitution of *a for *e in a stem, with or without vowel harmony to other instances of *e in the same stem, to connote diminutive or meliorative meanings in the clearer cases. Sometimes, as in the present case, no obvious difference in meaning can be discerned.

3   Another example of loss of initial *we in Yurok is as follows. Yurok ska? 'pipe scabbard' reflects *weski?tyi 'hollow tube used in smoking' (PA *weɫkičyi 'pipestem': Cree oskičiy and Ojibwa okkič 'pipestem', cf. Cree oskici:hka:n 'stovepipe'). Also, compare Yurok tu:k from *w?ečegekwane 'fish-tail' (Proulx 1984: 185), and Yurok lo?og from *wenli?a:gwi 'coals' (Proulx 1992: 19).

tell about someone' and **w(eg)enléhk-* 'call someone by a substitute name'. Also reconstructible is a related dependent noun, **-wen* or a-grade **-wan* 'name' (Yurok *?new* 'my name', Wiyot *wənə?l* 'her name').

Throughout the Algonquian family, **wi:n-* came to mean not only disclosing a 'true' name (in the original name-giving event, or by a subsequent mention), but disclosing any (presumably important) information: Shawnee *howi:tamawa:li* 'she notified him (named it for him)', Cree *wi:htam* 'she names or tells it', Miami *wändaka* 'I call (name) her' but *wändamatingi* 'we are told (notified) of danger'. Wiyot has what may be a similar development, with *ləgədə?l* 'I tell about it/her' and *ləgədə?lił* 'she tells about it/her', again reflecting an evident a-grade of the stem: **waganal-*, and again with the initial sonorant replaced. The Wiyot verb is used when telling about personal accounts, cultural practices, and even myths. In Blackfoot this process went further. Evidently, by analogy with the extension of name disclosures to other disclosures, calling someone by a made-up name was extended to telling made-up stories. For example, Blackfoot *itsiniki-* 'to recount, tell a story' and *ikaitapiitsiniki-* 'to tell old stories' versus transitive animate *waanist-* 'to tell' and *sstaksaan-anist-* 'to tell a person about her faults'. Blackfoot *waan-* is historically **wi:n-* with initial change of **i:* to **a:*, and the historical transitive animate final **-ał* is added to the stem.

One is left wondering why only the northern languages fully retain the contrast between primary and secondary names. Perhaps this has something to do with population density. Where populations are fairly small it may be easy enough to keep track of people despite their primary names being kept private. In any case, the distinction is never maintained (except vestigially) in the Crow-Omaha area, and it is also absent in Micmac and Cheyenne (I have no good lexical information on Arapaho). Whatever a distinction between public and private names may reflect, the lexical distinction suggests that it is important. It is reconstructible for PA (and Pre-PA) society, so knowing more about its cultural significance would surely tell us something about these ancient societies as well.

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