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A EUROPEAN LOANWORD OF EARLY DATE\*  
IN EASTERN NORTH AMERICA

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ABSTRACT

Examples of truly naturalized loan words from European languages are rare in the languages of eastern North America. Possibly the most successful loanword of this kind in this region is a European term for the domestic pig.

Why a term for Sus scrofa should be so widely loaned is probably due to two reasons. First, the animal readily naturalized in the temperate eastern woodlands, and it was both hunted and bred by the Indians. Second, salt pork was a staple food item widely used by European colonists and traders, even in areas where pigs could not live.

It appears that the prototype word was borrowed from a European language only once or twice, probably somewhere on the Atlantic just south of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, or else on the coast south of New England or in the Hudson valley. The word then passed from language to language by relay diffusion.

\*Maps used in this paper have been reprinted with permission from:

George P. Murdock, ETHNOGRAPHIC BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NORTH AMERICA, New Haven, Connecticut, Human Relations Area Files Press, 1960.

I wish to thank also all those persons--too numerous to mention by name--who kindly took time to supply me with, or answer questions about, Indian terms used in this paper. The paper would have been impossible without their help.

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1. Introduction. Examples of truly naturalized loanwords from European languages are rare in languages of eastern North America. Such as there are refer in general to items of introduced culture, including non-native animals.<sup>1</sup> It is the aim of this paper to consider the spread throughout a large part of North America of a European-derived term for Sus scrofa, the domestic pig.

The etymon which underlies the loanwords is koš, which is onomatopoeic according to Wartburg.<sup>2</sup> koš is widely attested in French dialects, both as coche, that is, in its simplex form, and in reduplicated and diminutive forms: cocoche, coucouche, cochon, cochin. Numerous related terms also occur in vocabulary relating to swine in Swiss German, Swabian, Flemish, Galician, Asturian, and Catalan.<sup>3</sup>

The American Indian reflexes of koš present a number of differences of detail, but their close relationship is evident both from their overall similarity--all, for example, require a fully reduplicated prototype--and from the total dissimilarity of terms for pig from languages outside of koš territory. koš-derived terms occur in languages from the Mackenzie Valley of northwest Canada eastward to the Atlantic as far south as New Jersey, bypassing New England. Inland, terms are found in all the languages of the Great Lakes region, eastward as far as the Hudson River Valley. In the southwest, Arkansas is the southern limit; in the southeast, Tennessee and northern Alabama and Georgia. See the accompanying maps.<sup>4</sup> The historical cultures represented in this vast territory are respectively boreal woodland and arctic hunting, northeast and eastern woodland agricultural, and prairie-plains hunting.

2. Terms for pig. The list below gives the terms for pig which are used in the majority of the languages formerly spoken in North America east of the Continental Divide. Languages from this region whose terms do not derive from koš are nevertheless given, because they clearly define the limits of the spread of the koš words. The sub-grouping of terms in the list is done on geographical, cultural, and linguistic bases. The principal groups are New England, Southeast, and North/Central. No terms in New England and the Southeast are related to koš-derived terms of the North/Central group. The latter group also includes numerous languages on its western and southern

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edges which have terms not related to those derived from koš. The Indian terms given are from a multitude of sources, ranging from antique word lists and dictionaries to modern field notes. Terms are given in the spelling of the source. Following each term is the identification of the source and the date of publication. When no date is given, the term was secured by personal communication from a knowledgeable person. Also given in some instances is a phonetic transcription of the form.

## I. New England

1. Malecite pik<sup>˘</sup>se (Chamberlain 1899)
2. Penobscot piks (Siebert)  
pigs (Rasles 1833)
3. Abenaki piks, pig<sup>as</sup> (Day)
4. Narragansett pigsuck (Trumbull 1903 < Roger Williams 1643);  
ockqutchaunnuk "woodchuck"

## II. Southeast

1. Monacan  
Tutelo mǎsgoló? (Sapir 1913)
2. Tuscarora watsquerre (Lawson 1709)
3. Catawba wítkerāk "pig, woodchuck" (Siebert)
4. Yuchi wedzá? (Crawford); compare  
wedzagowá "opossum", i.e. "biting hog"
5. Cherokee si·kwá (Chastain); compare  
seequa "opossum" (Adair 1775)
6. Creek sókha (Haas 1941); compare  
sókhahá·tka "opossum", i.e. "white hog" (Haas 1941)
7. Hitchiti-  
Mikasuki sokí· (Sturtevant); compare  
sokihátkī· "opossum", i.e. "white pig"
8. Alabama-  
Koasati sokha (Haas 1941)
9. Choctaw šokha; (Haas 1941) compare  
šokata (Haas 1941) "opossum"; compare  
shookka "opossum, pig" (Adair 1775)  
Adair indicates that the term was also used in Chicasaw.
10. Biloxi kcicka, kcixka [kšiška], [kšixka] (Dorsey and  
Swanton, 1912); compare  
kcixka yoká "opossum, i.e. swamp hog"
11. Ofo feska (Dorsey and Swanton 1912); compare  
feska tcáki "opossum, i.e. forest hog"
12. Tunica ?íyut?e (Haas); compare  
?íyušéla "opossum"
13. Caddo nahkuš (Chafe); compare  
nár-cush "opossum" (Marcy 1853)  
The current word for "opossum" is cat?á·win? (Chafe)
14. Atakapa híyen, hiyén (Gatschet and Swanton 1932); compare  
kákíp híyen "opossum, i.e. forest hog"

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## III North/Central

## 1. Northeast

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| 1. Micmac        | kulkwi·s [kulkwi·s] (Fidelholtz)<br>koolkwees (Rand 1888)                                     |
| 2. Mohawk        | kwéskwés (Huot 1948)<br>kwiskwis (Cuoq 1882)  |
| 3. Oneida        | kóskos (Chafe)  |
| 4. Cayuga        | kwiskwis (Schoolcraft 1853)   |
| 5. Onondaga      | kwiskwis (Chafe 1970)<br>quisquis (Zeisberger 1887)   |
| 6. Seneca        | kwiskwi·s (Chafe)   |
| 7. Huron-Wyandot | quisquesh (Anonymous, c. 1820)<br>kwis-kwic [kwiskwiš] (Hewitt)                               |
| 8. Delaware      |   |
| Unami            | kwóškwóš (Goddard)<br>kush-kush (Salem Indian Interpreter c. 1684)<br>kwskus (Campanius 1696) |
| Munsee           | kó·ško·š (Goddard)  |
| 9. Shawnee       | koško "hog", koškooki "hogs"<br>koškooθaki "pigs, hogs" (Voegelin 1938)                       |

## 2. Great Lakes

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| 1. Naskapi         | kWu·kWuh (McNulty)   |
| 2. Cree-Montagnais |  |
| Mistassini         | ko·hko·ś (Ellis)   |
| Moose              | ko·hko·š (Ellis)   |
| Plains             | ko·hko·s (Hockett 1957)  |
| 3. Algonkin        | kokoc (Cuoq 1886)  |
| 4. Ojibwa          | ko·kko·šš [ko·hko·š·] (Bloomfield 1957)<br>coocóoche (Long 1791 "Chippeway") |
| 5. Potawatomi      | kokkošš (Hockett 1957)   |
| 6. Menomini        | ko·hko·s (Hockett 1957)<br>kokosh (Schoolcraft 1853)                         |
| 7. Fox             | ko·liko·ša (Siebert)   |
| 8. Miami           | kokoša (Voegelin 1938 <Dunn)   |
| 9. Winnebago       | xkuxkúše (Taylor)<br>khku khkú shi ra (Dorsey 1878)                          |

## III North/Central

## 3. Plains

1. Stoney           ĩktótkton (Taylor)
2. Blackfoot       ééksini "grunter" (Taylor)  
cf. ai'ksi ni (Hayden 1862)  
cou cou sh (Schoolcraft 1860)
3. Gros Ventre    θéé'eeníbee "flat nose" (Taylor)
4. Assiniboine    gugúša (Hollow)
5. Crow           naxpitsé ú•uxe "bear deer" (Lowie 1960)
6. Hidatsa        mašiiitadaxpitsi "white man's bear"  
(Matthews 1887)
7. Mandan         māšíta mātó "white man's bear" (Hollow)
8. Arikara        kúxkux (Taylor)  
kukúx (Hayden 1862)
9. Yankton        khukhúša (Hollow)
10. Santee         kukuše [khukhuše] (Williamson 1902)
11. Teton         khukhúše (Taylor)
12. Arapaho       nih'óóθouwóx "white man's bear" (Salzmann 1956)
13. Cheyenne      iškoxsiisíhotámi "sharp nosed dog" (Frantz)  
e kú si sí o tum (Hayden 1862)
14. Iowa          ko kó tha (Hayden 1862)
15. Omaha         kúkusi (Dorsey 1891)
16. Pawnee        kúhku (Parks)  
cf. kúhkuska•su "ham, i.e. hog leg"  
kóxo, ko shán (Hayden 1862)
17. Osage         ko kó ġi [kokóθi] (LaFlesche 1932)
18. Kiowa         cé'céyo (Chastain)
19. Wichita       kucířa (Garvin 1950)
20. Comanche     po'ro? (Casagrande 1951)  
mu'nua? "nose mover" (Casagrande 1951)  
mubi•pó'roo? "nose pig" (Canonge 1958)  
ho•kI (Casagrande 1951)
21. Tonkawa      ?okme•low (Hoijer 1949)

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## III North/Central

## 4. Arctic

## 1. Canadian Eskimo

Québec kokosi (Schneider 1966)

N.W.T. kukusi (Thibert 1954)

2. Hare kukuch (Petitot 1876)

3. Dogrib gúgu (Zimmermann)

4. Slave gugú· (Monus)

5. Chipewyan kokuch (Petitot 1876)

6. Beaver góógóōš (Holdstock)

7. Carrier gegus (Walker)

8. Kutchin tsé-tchpô (Petitot 1876) [cʔít čhó·] "big porcupine"  
lègó·šò· (Mueller)

3. New England and Southeast groups. Since terms in the New England and the Southeast groups are not related to terms in the North/Central group, they call for no comment. Note, however, that the Southeast is nicely defined as a distinct area by the kinds of terms for pig which are used in the area: all terms appear to be extensions of names of two native animals, the woodchuck (groundhog) and the opossum (see Figure 1).

4. North/Central group. Terms in the North/Central group were presented in four subgroups.

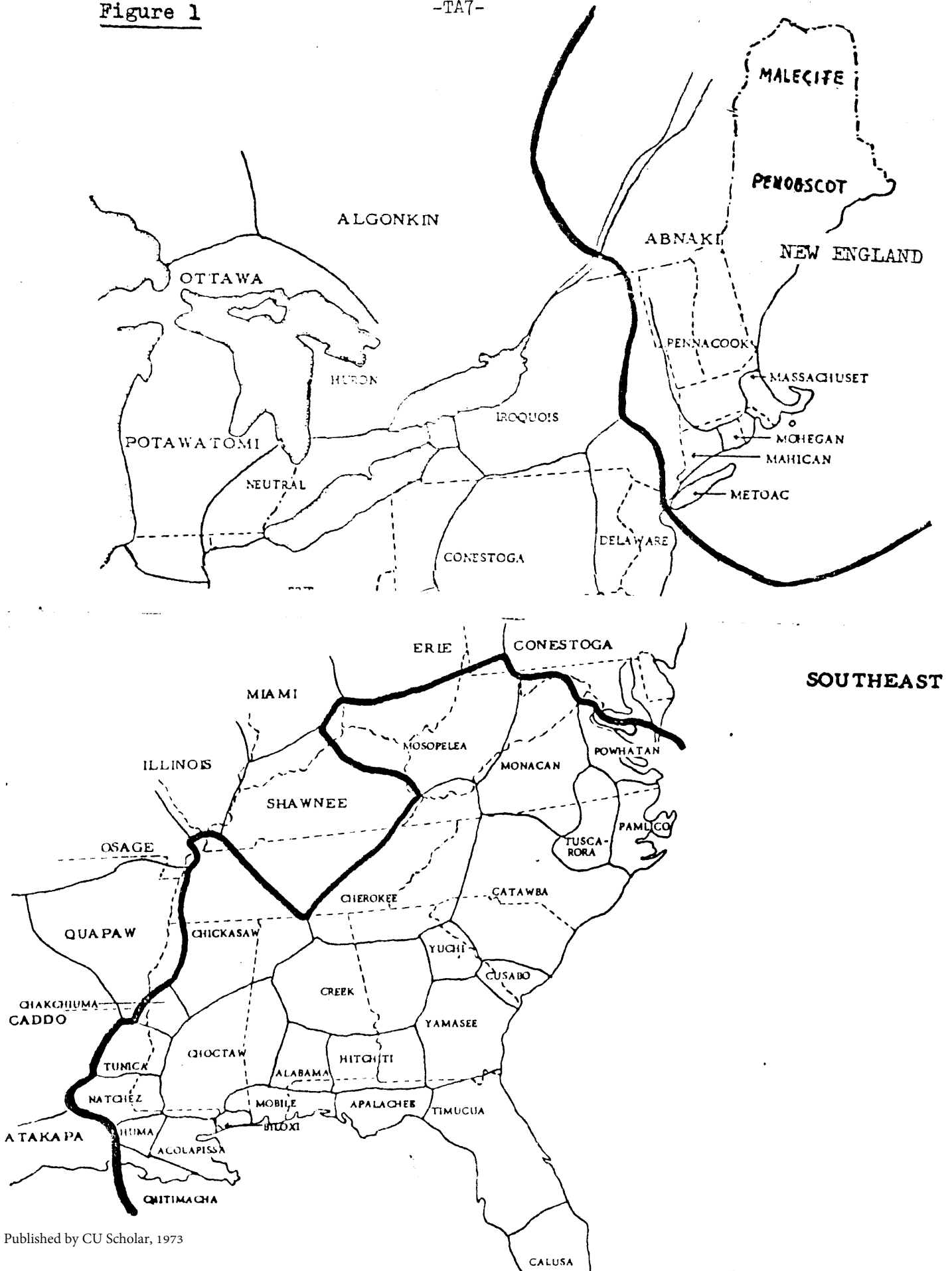
4.1. Northeast group. The first of these subgroups--the Northeastern--consists of the northern Iroquoian languages and the Algonkian languages Micmac, Delaware, and Shawnee. Terms in this subgroup best preserve the full reduplication of koš which also underlies the terms of the other subgroups (see Figure 2 and Figure 3).

The evidence of the northeastern languages points to three different prototypes: ko·ško·š and ko·sko·š, and ko·ško·s. The latter two can certainly be derived by dissimilation from the first.

The better known Iroquoian languages have [š] only as a positional variant of [s] before [y]. The Iroquoian terms, except Huron, could therefore continue any of the prototypes. The Huron terms, with final [š], point

Figure 1

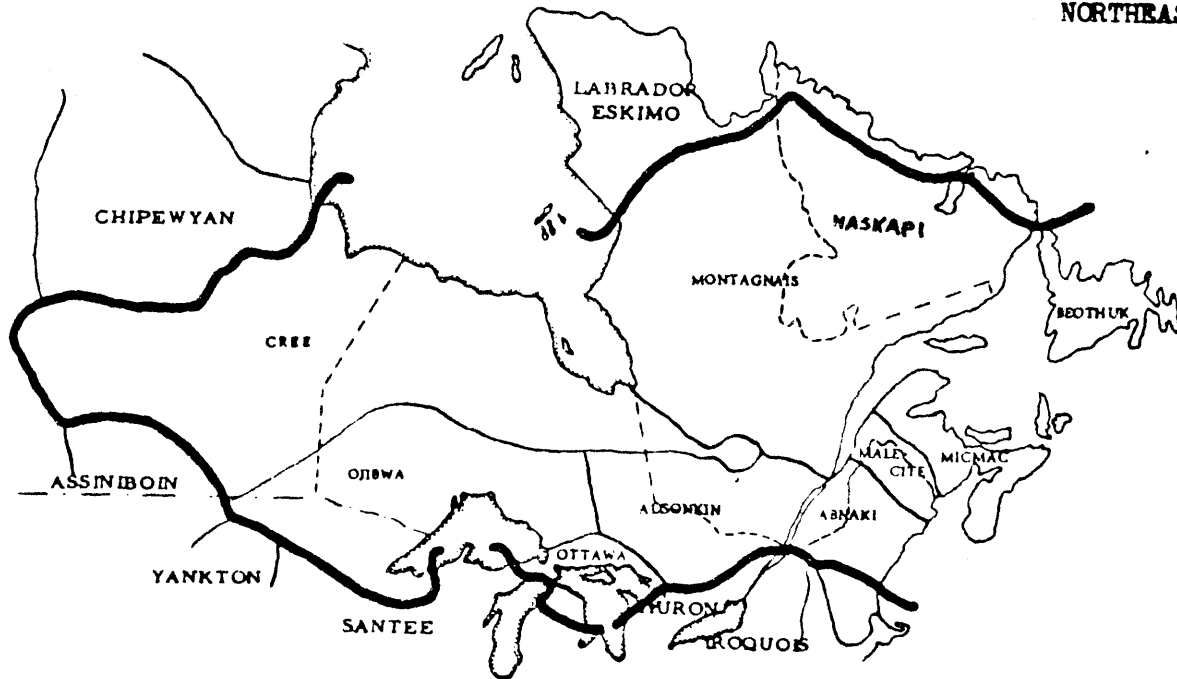
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Figure 2

NORTHERN GREAT LAKES  
AND  
NORTHEAST



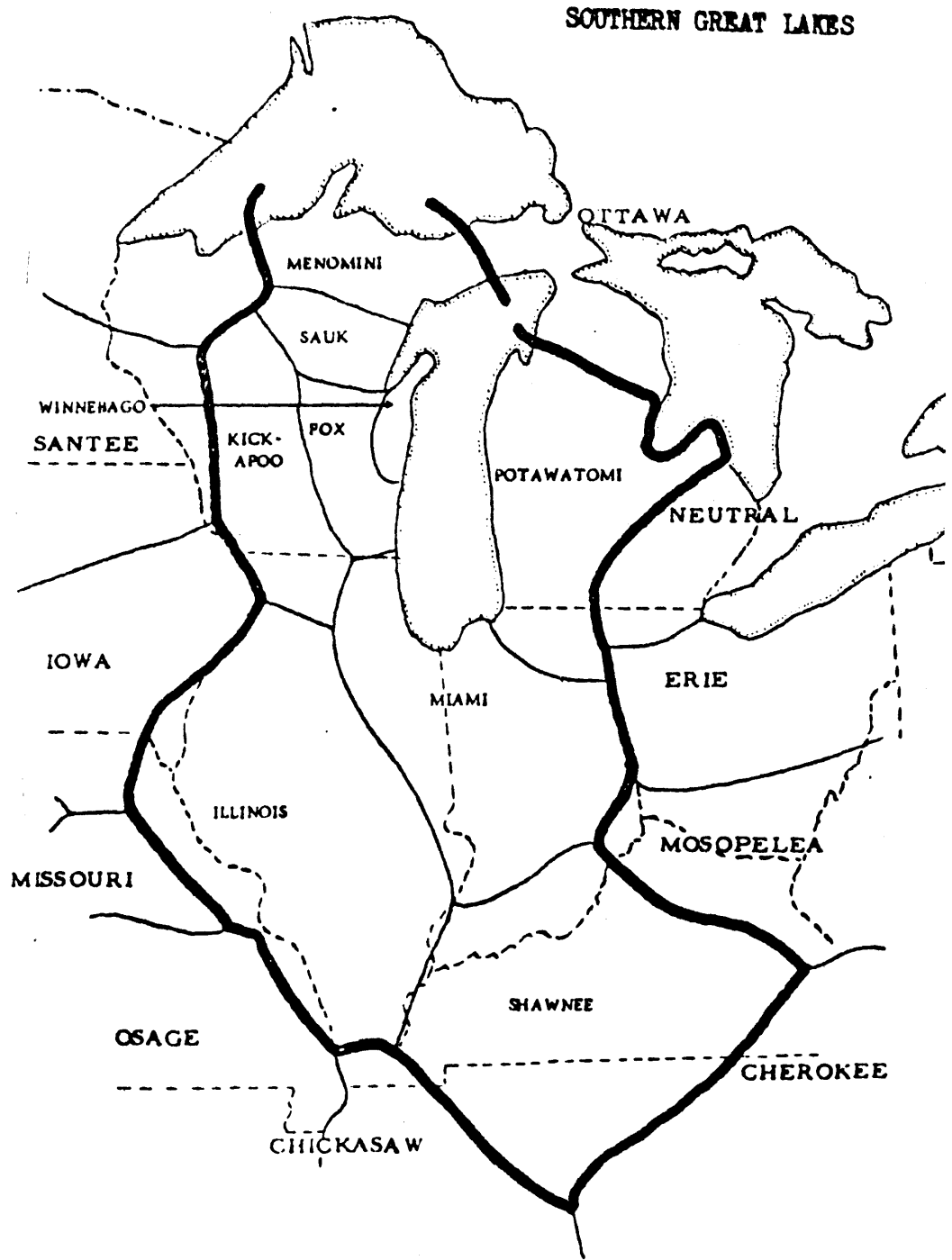
NORTHEAST





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Figure 3



-TA10-

to the prototype  $ko \cdot sko \cdot \check{s}$ . In all the Iroquoian languages [wi] corresponds to the long  $\underline{o}$ 's of the prototypes. This probably indicates that the long vowel of the source language was pronounced at too high a phonetic level to permit identification with Iroquoian [o:]. The nearest Iroquoian equivalent was apparently [wi].<sup>5</sup> Oneida must have subsequently shifted the common Iroquoian [wi] to [ol], since the loss of length is difficult to explain otherwise. The long vowel in the second syllable in Seneca is predictable by Seneca rules.<sup>6</sup> Note that Iroquoian languages typically stress the first syllable of this word.

The second syllable of the Micmac word suggests an Iroquoian source for the Micmac term. Completely unexplained in the Micmac form is the presence of medial [ɬ] where [s] should appear. This must be a development internal to Micmac.<sup>7</sup>

The old Unami recordings, and the modern Munsee forms, show that Delaware mainly continues the  $ko \cdot \check{s}ko \cdot \check{s}$  prototype. The modern Unami form shows strong Iroquoian influence, probably reflecting the close relations of displaced Unami Delawares and Iroquoian Mingos in mid 18th century Ohio.

The Shawnee forms reflect the  $ko \cdot \check{s}ko \cdot s$  prototype. This is shown by the plural stem  $ko\check{s}koo\theta$ , where [θ] is the regular Shawnee equivalent for general Algonkian [s].<sup>8</sup> This stem was identified by the Shawnees as a diminutive stem, cf.  $-e \cdot \theta$ , the diminutive suffix.<sup>9</sup> By metanalysis this yielded a generic stem  $ko \cdot \check{s}ko \cdot -$ , which underlies the singular form glossed 'hog' and the plural form glossed 'hogs'. All the vowel shortenings are regular.<sup>10</sup>

4.2. Great Lakes group. The second subgroup of the North/Central group is composed of the Great Lakes languages: Naskapi, Cree-Montagnais, Algonkin, Ottawa, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Menomini, Fox, Miami, and Winnebago. All are Algonkian except Winnebago, which is Siouan. (See Figures 2 and 3). None of these languages has a sibilant medially in the word, but all the accurately recorded languages, except Naskapi, do have some kind of medial consonant cluster. One prototype,  $ko \cdot hko \cdot \check{s}$ , will account for all, since only languages lacking [š] as a phoneme have [s]. If the term was introduced into the area through an eastern Cree dialect, which appears plausible, then we can reconstruct a prototype of  $ko \cdot sko \cdot \check{s}$ ,<sup>11</sup> which, as we have seen, underlies the Huron terms as well.

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Languages which differ most from the secondarily derived prototype  $ko\cdot hko\cdot\check{s}$  are Naskapi and Winnebago. It appears that speakers of Naskapi have borrowed the Mistassini Cree term, making certain changes required by Naskapi phonology in the process. In Winnebago it appears that the initial syllable has been assimilated to the medial syllable, yielding a complete, though new, reduplication: [xku xku]. The final vowel is a normal Siouan feature, as will appear when other Siouan terms are examined. Lack of vowel length in Potawatomi is regular; the final vowels in Fox and Miami are suffixal.

To summarize, it appears that the term for pig first reached the Great Lakes languages through Mistassini Cree, or a similar Cree  $\check{s}$ -dialect. After introduction into the Great Lakes region, the term spread by relay diffusion<sup>12</sup> from language to language, speakers of each language making the slight changes in form which were appropriate to the systems of their own languages, as we have already seen in the case of Shawnee.<sup>13</sup>

4.3. Plains group.

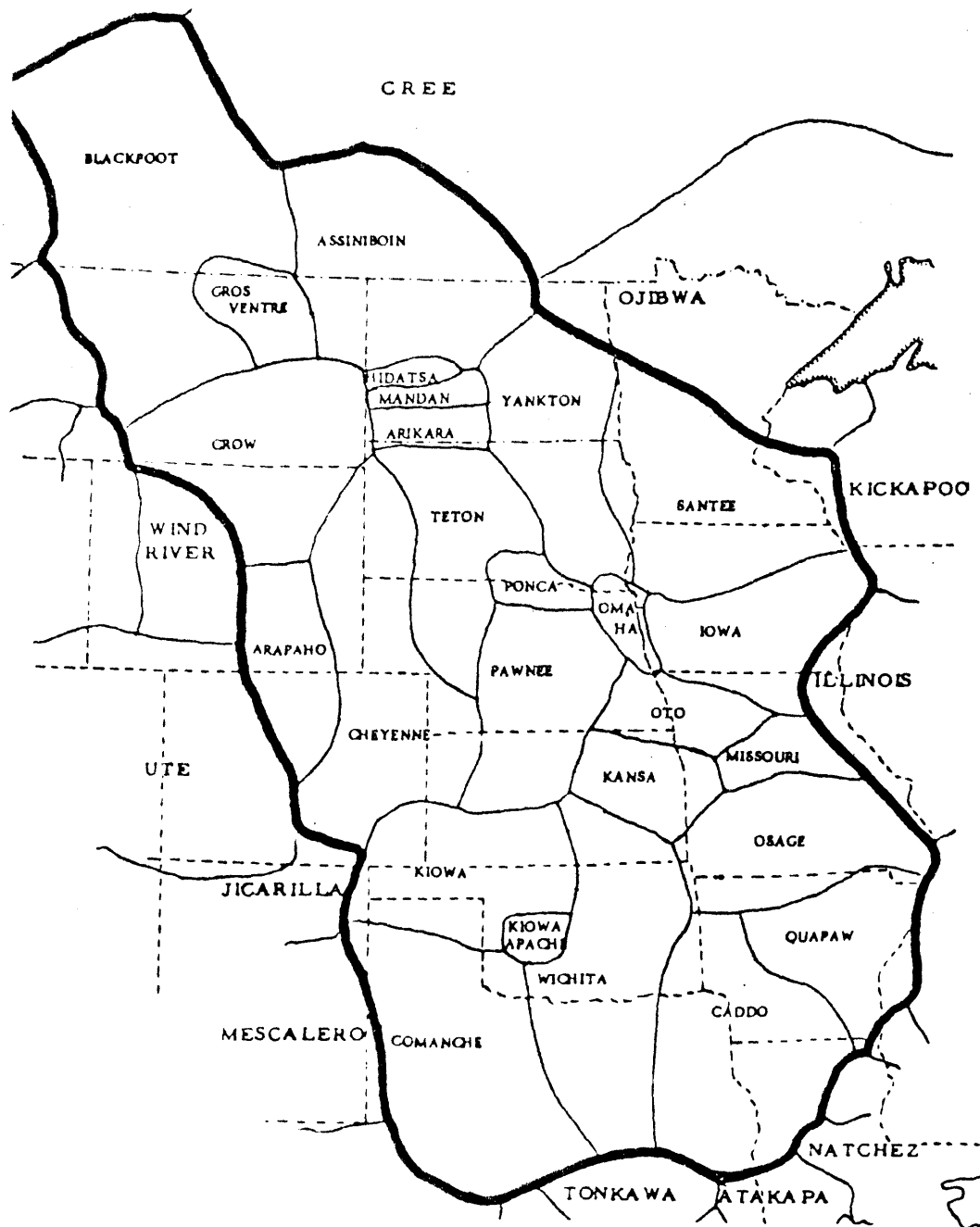
Moving into the Plains subgroup, we find reflexes of  $ko\check{s}$  largely in Siouan languages (see Figure 4). The terms in these languages have no medial cluster, and all examples also have a final vowel. Most can be derived from the  $ko\cdot hko\cdot\check{s}$  prototype common to the Great Lakes languages.

All the languages of the Dakota group (Assiniboine, Yankton, Santee, Teton) have [u] as the vowels of the first two syllables. This points to a donor language with [o·], probably Ojibwa, in view of the [š] which all have, and the position of stress in the Siouan words. The source of the aspirated stops in the Yankton, Santee, and Teton words is probably also the fortis [kk] of the second syllable in Ojibwa. This assumes that the lenis [k] of the first syllable in Ojibwa was borrowed lenis (i.e., un-aspirated), then aspirated by assimilation to the [k] of the second syllable. In Assiniboine, where the stops are both plain, the reverse must have occurred. We have already seen the action of assimilation in Winnebago, which is also a Siouan language.

Figure 4

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PLAINS



-TA13-

The phonemic nature of the vowels in the first two syllables of the Iowa and Osage terms is unknown. If they are phonemically [o], then possibly they are loans from Potawatomi rather than Ojibwa.

The different final vowels in the Siouan terms are an unsolved problem: their presence is a result of processes internal to the Siouan languages, and it is difficult to say whether their nature indicates anything about the direction of loaning.

As was the case with the Great Lakes Algonkians, the term was clearly passed along a chain of contiguous, mutually-intelligible Siouan languages, speakers of the receiving language making such substitutions as were necessary for the word to conform to the phonology of their particular language: Santee [š] : Omaha [s] : Iowa [θ].<sup>14</sup> The diffusion was halted when unintelligible languages and/or distance intervened: Biloxi and Crow, distant genetically, and Stoney, genetically close but geographically distant, do not have koš-derived terms.

Among the plains Algonkians, only Blackfoot has a trace of koš. This attestation is suspect, because Blackfoot now has no [š], because this term was recorded in only one early Blackfoot word list, and because there is no trace of the term in the modern language. It is possible, of course, that the term was current for a time during the early contact period, but it never gained general currency. It could have reached the Blackfeet only via the Upper Missouri fur trade, in which many Indians from the Great Lakes tribes were employed. The donor language would have been one of the Ojibwa group.

Two other plains languages have naturalized terms based on koš. These are Arikara and Pawnee. The differences between the Pawnee and Arikara forms are regular;<sup>15</sup> both point to a kúhkus prototype. Since neither Mandan nor Hidatsa (both unrelated to Arikara, but spoken in intimate contact with Arikara in villages on the upper Missouri) has a form of this word, it must have come into Arikara from Pawnee, rather than the reverse. The word must have come into Pawnee from one of the Great Lakes languages; the most plausible, both in terms of form and known contacts, is Potawatomi. Note that Pawnee also had a reflex of French cochon in the mid-19th century. Hayden himself attributed this to the French Canadian traders who were living among the Pawnee. The latter term

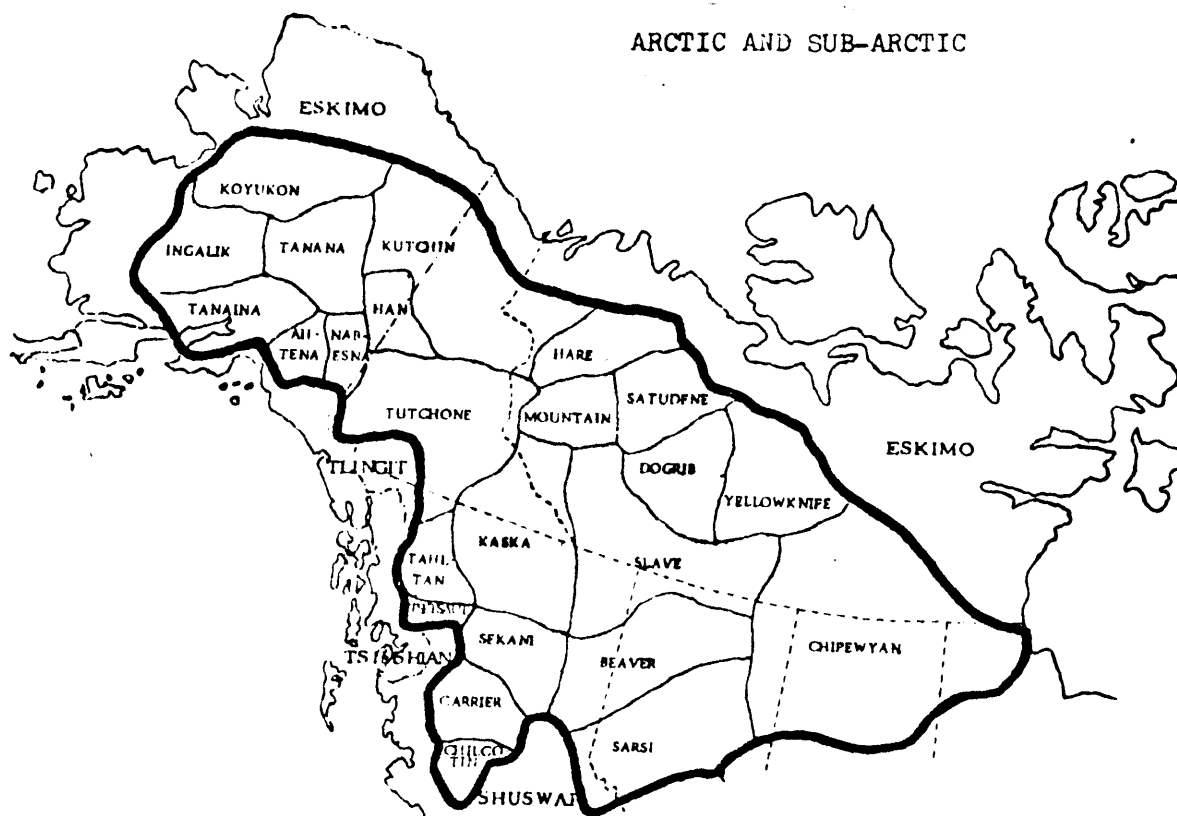
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The remaining plains languages, all on the fringes of the North/Central group, have native terms for pig, or else terms which are recognizable Spanish or English loan words. These mark the western boundary of the diffusion of koš from the east, and also show that the term is found almost exclusively among Indians who did not occupy the plains until the historical period.

#### 4.4 Arctic and Sub-Arctic Group.

The fourth subgroup is found in the far north, from the Athabascans of the Mackenzie to the Eskimos on both sides of James Bay (see Figure 5).

Figure 5



Father Petitot indicated<sup>16</sup> that the Hare and Chipewyan terms are Cree loans, evidently Moose Cree. Father Morice made the same claim regarding the Carrier term<sup>17</sup>, but the loaning dialect in this case is probably Plains Cree. Beaver, too, appears to have borrowed its term for pig from Moose Cree. Eskimo has also borrowed from Cree or from Chipewyan. The loss of

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the final sibilant of the prototype in Dogrib and Slave must be due to rules within these languages,<sup>18</sup> and the final -i of Eskimo must be of internal origin also.

Kutchin, spoken in the Alaskan interior, marks the boundary of the subgroup and of the North/Central group. The terms found in Kutchin are a native descriptive locution and a loan based on one of the Chinook Jargon variants of French le cochon. In this form, koš was loaned widely in a separate wave in the 18th and 19th centuries.

##### 5. Introduction and spread of the pig in America.

We have seen the evidence of the diffusion of a European term for pig throughout much of North America, let us now consider some of the reasons why this might have happened.

Domestic animals were an indispensable part of European civilization, and an important part of the provisions of every early voyage from Europe, whether for exploration, trade, or settlement, were live domestic animals, which were slaughtered for food as they were needed.

Of all the imported domestic animals, the pig was by far the most successful in the centuries of colonization. The deciduous forest of the temperate zone of eastern North America was an almost exact duplicate of the habitat in which the pig had evolved. The forest environment afforded the shade without which pigs can not survive, and provided an abundance of the kinds of foods preferred by pigs: acorns, beech and hazel nuts, wild fruits and berries, mushrooms, as well as such small rodents as mice and voles. Moreover there were almost no competitors in the ecological niche natural to the animal. In such a favorable environment pigs could easily live without help from man, and within a few years of their introduction into North America, escaped pigs had bred a wild hog population which extended throughout the forest zone. As early as 1663, large numbers of wild hogs were reported in the Shawnee country, far inland.<sup>19</sup>

The initial response of the Indians to the domestic animals of the Europeans was to kill them for food. This was one of the major sources of friction between Indians and Europeans from the very beginning of settlement. Feral animals, chiefly pigs, were simply added to the list of animals

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which were hunted for food. Feral pigs--"not as large as tame pigs, but otherwise the same in appearance"--were "much eaten" by the Indians, according to a Moravian historian of the Delawares,<sup>20</sup> and as early as the 17th century, pigs replaced the fattened dogs and bears which were used for feasts by Indians of the upper Great Lakes.<sup>21</sup>

As the Indians' familiarity with European ways increased, they adopted domestic animals. Due to their lack of experience in animal husbandry, their success was greatest where the least care was required. The pig, for the reasons mentioned above, was at the top of the list, followed by chickens. Horses were also adopted, but with less success, both because of their somewhat limited usefulness in the forests and because the Indians abused them. As early as 1712 the Illinois are reported as raising chickens and pigs "in imitation of the Frenchmen who have settled here,"<sup>22</sup> while a letter from Montreal<sup>23</sup> dated 1735 reports that Christianized Iroquois were raising "horses, pigs, poultry, and other domestic animals, as do our own people."

Outside of the temperate forest zone the pig was always only a domestic animal, deliberately transported and propagated by man, and unable to live without human protection.

#### 6. Introduction and spread of the reflexes of koš in America.

Several conclusions can be drawn from our study of American Indian reflexes of koš.

1. The territory covered by koš-derived terms is so enormous that it is certainly the most widespread European loan word in North America. (See Figure 6) The unprecedented success of this loan word must be due to its phonetic simplicity, its recognizable onomatopoeic character, and the ease with which the referent naturalized in North America.

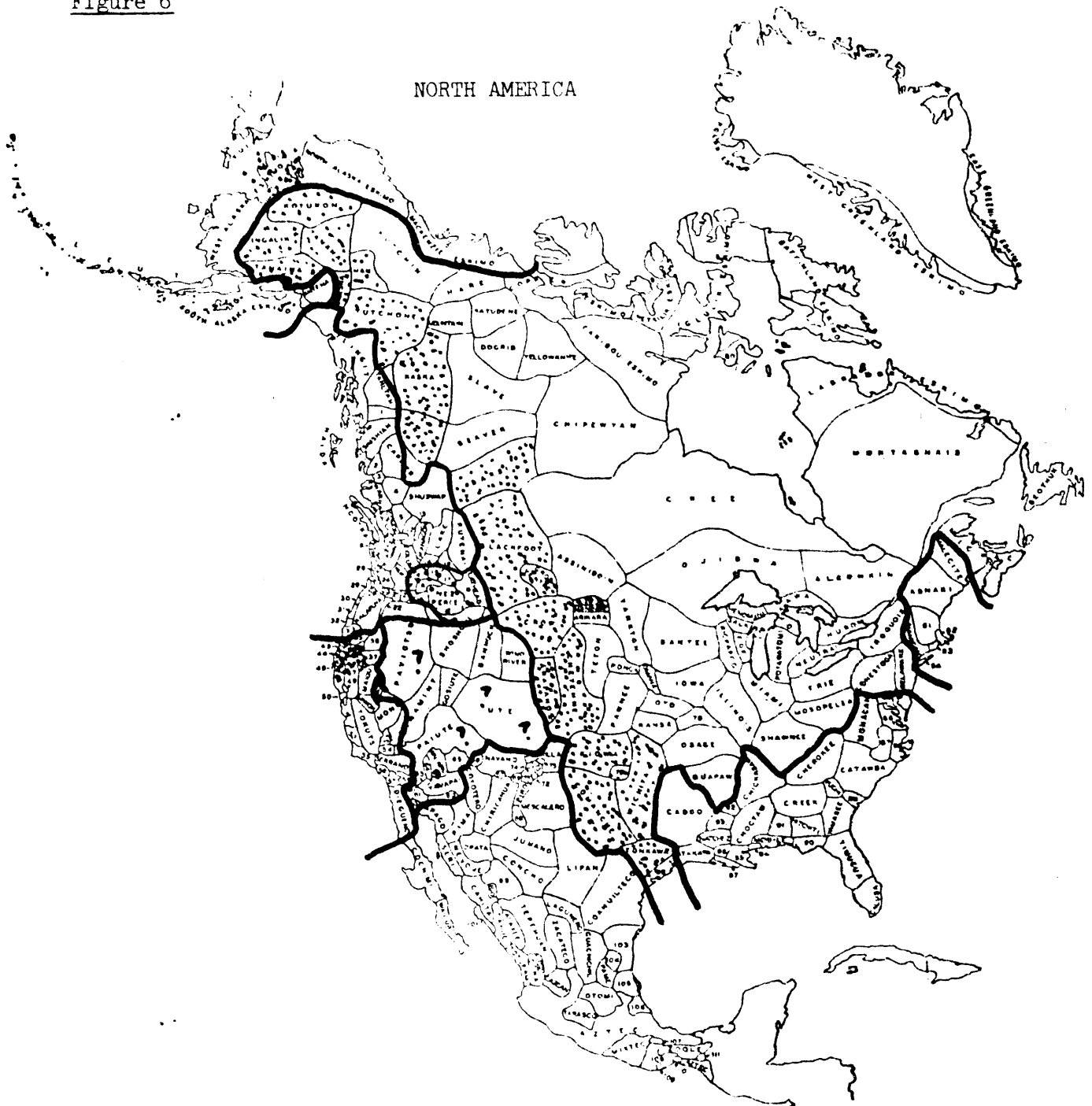
2. Evidence of full reduplication in all the Indian terms suggests that the term may have been borrowed in reduplicated form. If so, the European prototype was probably a hog call rather than a generic term for pig.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, many designations for European animals in Iroquoian languages and Delaware are reduplicated, so a simplex prototype is also very possible.<sup>25</sup>

3. Certain identification of the European source language is difficult. Spanish, French, Flemish, and Basque all have koš-derived generic terms or hog-calls which are very close to the supposed prototypes for



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Figure 6



The territory covered by reduplicated forms of koš is the large pie-shaped area in the center of the continent. (Greenland is not included). The dots along the left hand edge of the area mark the transitional zone: languages spoken in the transitional zone do not have forms of koš even though the speakers of the languages belong to the same general culture area as neighboring tribes which do have koš loans.

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the Indian words. 16th century Spanish exploration and colonial ventures in the Southeast are well known, beginning with the Narvaez and De Soto expeditions of the 1530's and 1540's. Less well known are Spanish contacts along the coast as far north as Maine, part of the evidence for which is a scattering of Spanish loanwords in Northeastern native languages such as Abenaki, Penobscot, and Delaware.<sup>26</sup> Basque and Breton fishermen began to frequent the area of the Grand Banks and the St. Lawrence Estuary late in the 15th century, and trade with the Indians for furs began in the early part of the 16th century. Dutch colonists and traders were in the Hudson Valley, on Long Island, and southward on the coast by the mid 1620's.

4. Since pigs were introduced from Europe, it is certain that Indians first observed them on or near the Atlantic coast. The distribution of koš-derived terms suggests that the borrowing occurred either north of New England, in the area of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, or south of New England, between Long Island and the Chesapeake Bay. In the former case the donor language would have been either Basque or French, in the latter, Flemish or Dutch. The first actual recording of a koš-derived Indian term was at New Sweden sometime between 1643 and 1648. The term appears in a Delaware trade jargon vocabulary taken by the Lutheran chaplain of New Sweden, John Holm, later called Campanius. Terms for pig may actually have been borrowed independently in both areas at roughly the same period, although the possibility of deriving virtually all the Indian terms from a single prototype--ko·ško·š--points to a single loaning, or to a few loanings from the same source language. If the original borrowing or borrowings occurred outside of these two areas, then secondary developments have destroyed all traces: either the borrowing group moved elsewhere, or koš-derived terms were subsequently replaced by other terms.

5. After the initial borrowing(s) on the Atlantic coast, the koš-derived terms were transmitted by relay diffusion throughout the temperate forest zone, probably in the absence of Europeans, and probably coincident with the spread of feral pigs. Cree dialects played a major role in the diffusion into the interior. The shift of Proto-Algonquian -sk- to -hk- was complete in Cree by this time, but very recent, since

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the term certainly entered Cree in the form ko·sko·š̃. The Cree-derived word reached the Great Lakes region after the separation of the Dakota dialects, but before some of their speakers had left the woodlands and prairies for the plains. The plains Algonkians--Arapaho, Blackfoot, and Cheyenne--, and the Missouri River Siouans--Hidatsa, Crow, and Mandan-- had already separated from their eastern relatives. The Stonies were also already out of contact with other Assiniboines. Koš̃-derived terms for pig reached the Canadian North via the fur trade, and well within the historic period. The transmitting language was again mainly Cree, and the principal reference of the term in the subarctic and arctic was probably to pork products rather than to live pigs.<sup>27</sup>

6. The following are the sources utilized in the preparation of this paper:

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N O T E S

1. Although the names of introduced animals would appear to be natural candidates for loan word studies, this semantic area has received little systematic attention. Bright 1960 is the only work of this kind that I know of, and it treats only languages native to California.
2. Wartburg 1946, p. 1254.
3. Wartburg, op. cit., p. 1256.
4. Strictly speaking, "koš-territory" should also include most of the northwest coast, from southern Alaska to southern Oregon, as well as the northern plateau culture area as far south as the northern edge of the Great Basin, since terms for pig in languages of these areas are from French cochon or le cochon through the Chinook Jargon. The borrowings in that part of North America are the result of a different wave originating in French Canada during the 18th and 19th centuries.
5. Wallace L. Chafe, personal communication.
6. Wallace L. Chafe, personal communication.
7. According to Truman Michelson, many of the consonant clusters of Micmac which have no analogue in other Algonkian languages are the result of vowel syncope. When the first member of the cluster is /l/, the preceding vowel "takes an o (u) tinge: dagAmulkwa 'he strikes us, inclusive', corresponds to Fox -menAgwe. . ." The vowel of the first syllable in the Micmac word could thus have been [i] also, which would point even more strongly to an Iroquoian origin. The /l/ is the more baffling since Michelson expressly states that "clusters consisting of a sibilant plus k or p are kept exactly as in Cree" (Michelson 1912, page 283).
8. Miller 1959.
9. Parks 1971, a paper read at the 1971 meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society meeting; page 9.
10. The morphophonemic form of the singular is ko·ško·a, of the plural, ko·ško·aki. The operation of regular rules yields these forms.

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These rules are: 1) the shortening of long vowels before clusters, a diachronic rule; 2) the elision of -a after a vowel, a synchronic rule; and 3) the shortening of final long vowels, a synchronic rule. See both the Miller and Parks articles.

11. Bloomfield 1946, paragraph 10. The internal reconstruction proposed here would be at the level of Proto-Cree.

12. The term relay diffusion is taken from Harold E. Driver, "Ethnological interpretations", in Swanson 1970, page 226. Driver used the term with reference to items of material culture.

13. Bloomfield posited an ultimate French origin for Menomini ko.sko.s (Bloomfield 1962, page 23), including the fact that it probably reached Menomini through other Indian languages. Hockett indicates that the donor language is "presumably Ojibwa" (Hockett 1957, page 266). This is no doubt true. One of the most interesting revelations of this study is that linguistic loans are not always imported as is from a related language, but instead are sometimes filtered through an intuitive correspondence matrix, so that the borrowing looks like an inherited form. It is this fact which would permit one to reconstruct a Proto-Algonkian term for pig, or for gun, or whiskey, etc.

14. See Wolff 1950 and 1951, especially 16.63-5 and 16.117-18.

15. See Taylor 1963, especially pp. 126-27.

16. Petitot 1877, entry cochon.

17. Morice 1932, entry number 2809.

18. A letter from Mr. Herbert Zimmerman indicates that this statement is valid for Dogrib. Vowel length is not phonemic in Dogrib, and [h] is the only nonvocoid which can occur in word-final position.

19. Jesuit Relations, volume 47, page 147; letter from Hieronymus Lalement at Quebec, August 18, 1663 to Oliva, at Rome.

20. Loskiel 1794, Part I, page 83.

21. Quimby 1960, page 112.

22. Jesuit Relations, volume 66, page 255. Letter from Father Gabriel Marest, at Cascaskias, November 9, 1712, to Father Germon.



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23. Jesuit Relations, volume 68, page 275. Letter from Father Nau at Sault St. Louis, near Montreal, October 2, 1735, to Father Bonin.

24. I have been unable to learn whether hog-calls based on koš are used in France. kuš-kuš-kuš is used in the Flemish dialect of Hasselt, Belgium, see J. Grauls, Bulletin de la Commission royale de Toponymie et Dialectologie, vol. 5 (1932), page 149. (I am indebted to Ives Goddard for this reference, which I have not seen.) The same vocables were heard in 1952 by an acquaintance of mine on a farm near Nijmegen, Holland. kuč-kuč is used in Basque, see López-Mendizabal, page 261 and Löpelmann 1968, page 258. Vocables similar to the Basque are used elsewhere in the Iberian peninsula and in Spanish America.

25. See, for example Huot 1948, 151.

26. See Siebert 1971. The paper was read at the 1971 Algonquian Conference at Moose Lake, New York.

27. An instance which is certain is Yupik Eskimo piikinaq, from English bacon. The Yupik word means 'bacon, pork, pig'. The importance of salt pork in the diet of the French and Métis voyageurs who carried on the trade is indicated by the contemptuous sobriquet "mangeur de lard" by which the engagés were known, see Chittenden 1902, Vol. 1, p. 58.