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The Philological History of "Tobacco" in America.

by

Leo Wiener.

I.

The Montagnais are an Algonkian tribe roaming between the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Strait of Belle-Isle, the Atlantic Ocean and Hudson Bay, that is, they are the first Indian people navigators would meet in penetrating Canada by way of the St. Lawrence, hence the distribution of the »tobacco» words in the north must begin with a study among the Montagnais.

These people form intensifying compounds with *tšiš-* »great,» so that from *watuk* »hole» we get *tšištukan* »door,» from *-palu* »to walk» — *tšišēpalu* »to hurry,» from *eititākušit* »his voice» — *tšišetākušin* »bass voice,» from *piišum* »moon» — *tšišpeišum* »January.» From the root *temaw*, which appears south of the St. Lawrence, among the Micmacs as *tamarwā* »tobacco,» the Montagnais form *tšištemau* »tobacco *par excellence.*»

Among the Crees, who roam from Labrador almost to the Rocky Mountains, the corresponding »great» prefixes are *kiš-* and *kist-*. The first occurs in *kišipikiskwew* »he swears» from *pikiskwew* »he speaks,» etc., but Montagnais *tšiš-* corresponds more nearly to Cree *kist-* »something solid,» for we have the corresponding *kistokan* »door,» *kistapuskan* »a firmly standing rock,» *kisteyimew* »he considers him great,» *kistopek* »vast extent of water.» This relationship is brought out well in the words for »field,» where there is no reference to »great» at all. J. A. Cuoq¹⁾ gives both *kiš-* and *kit-* for »field, cultivated land,» *kitike* »to cultivate.» For this the Cree words are *kistikān* »cultivated field,» *kistikew* »he sows,» and Montagnais records the phonetically corresponding *tšištikān* »field, garden.» In Natick, where the »great» prefixes are *kehtše-*, *keht-*, the word for »to sow» is *ohkehteawnat*, from *ohke* »earth,» for which we have Cree *askiy*. Similarly, Otchipwe has *kiš-* »great, old, much,» *kiji-* »strong, fast,» but *kitigān* »field, garden,» *kitige* »I plant,» by the side of *aki*, *akki* »earth, soil.» In Cree this »earth» word has accommodated itself to the »great» root in *kistikān*, producing Montagnais *tšištikān* »garden, field,» while Cree *askiy* has become Montagnais *assi* »field,» hence *assikān-ūtseu* »to till the earth,» where we have a native doublet to *tšištikān*, which is directly borrowed from the Cree.

From the preceding discussion it follows that to Montagnais *tšištemau* »tobacco» there should be a corresponding Cree *kistemau*, whereas in reality we have *tšistemaw*, which is obviously a borrowing from the Montagnais. Thus we arrive at the important fact that tobacco proceeded from the mouth

¹⁾ *Lexique de la langue algonquine*, Montréal 1886.

of the St. Lawrence inland and reached the Crees from the Montagnais. This fully coincides with the fact that the French word for »to smoke,» namely *petuner*, from the Brazilian word, has led to Montagnais *pituan*, hence to Cree *pittwaw*, whereas Otchipwe, which does not possess the Montagnais word for »tobacco,» is also deprived of the French *petuner*. The neighboring Hurons, who became known as the Tobacco Nation, borrowed the »tobacco» word from the Montagnais, but as the Huron language lacks all the labial consonants, the word, as recorded by Sagard, became *testena*, *tistenda*, instead of Montagnais *tšištemau*.

Sagard distinctly refers to the close commercial relations of the Montagnais with the Hurons, who in his day met in the harbor of Cape Victory and L. St. Peter of St. Lawrence, and the Hurons were known to have carried wares, more especially tobacco, to their northwestern neighbors, hence the transformed Montagnais »tobacco» words are found still further transformed by the Assiniboines into *tšandi*, *tšavdi*, and the Dakotas into *tšandi*, *tšanli*. Before 1640 these Siouan tribes are supposed to have lived somewhere near Lake Superior, that is, in close proximity to the Hurons, but now they occupy a region which is separated from the Hurons by a »tobacco» enclave from the Gulf of Mexico, as will appear later. In this present habitat the Assiniboines are separated by a narrow Cree strip from the Athapascans, who apparently lived in closer communion with the northern Siouans, from whom they borrowed their »tobacco» words. Thus we find here Montagnais *tsetltwii*, Peaux de Lièvre *tseenttu*, *tseettwii*, *tsetetti*, Loucheux *tsetted*, where *tt* generally alternates with *nt*, so that the original Dakota *tšandi* is clearly observed.

The Alongkian Arapaho live to the west of the Crees, and here Cree *tšistemaw* phonetically changes to *šisaⁿwaⁿ*, *sisawa*, for in the Arapaho dialects *š* and *s*,¹⁾ and *m* and *w*²⁾ are confused. Apparently there is somewhere an intermediate *tsitsawa*, for we actually have Blackfoot *satsiwa* »to smoke.» In the Salishan dialects *sman* »tobacco» is apparently derived from the same Cree *tšistemaw*. In the Siouan dialects Dakota *tš* often changes into *n*, as in Ponka *nethe*, Dakota *tšeti* »to make a fire,» Ponka *neghe*, Dakota *tšegha* »kettle,»³⁾ hence Ponka, Omaha *nini*, Iowa *nanye*, Kansas *nahui* »tobacco» represent an older *tšits-* or *tšiš-*, either directly from Cree *tšistemaw* or from Dakota *tšandi* from an older *tšitšandi*.

We thus arrive at a great trade route which proceeded progressively from the Montagnais at the mouth of the St. Lawrence and extended westward into Athapaskan territory, with a southern branch in Siouan territory, and the successive deteriorations of the »tobacco» words show that the borrowing of the word, hence of the article itself, was not directly from the mouth

¹⁾ A. L. KROEBER, *Arapaho Dialects* (Univ. of Cal. publications in Am. Arch. and Eth., vol. XII, No. 3), p. 84.

²⁾ Ibid., p. 79.

³⁾ J. O. DORSEY, *On the Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan Languages*, in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institute for the Year 1883*, p. 926.

of the St. Lawrence, but successively from some eastern neighbor. The original Montagnais form *išištemau*, on the other hand, proves that the article was foreign to the country, since it had to be denominated »*temau* par excellence,» which like the word for »to smoke» in the same language clearly points to a custom originally unknown in the native territory.

To the south of the St. Lawrence the Micmacs adopted the uncompounded *tamawā* »tobacco» of the sailors, and *tūmākun* »pipe» shows that the original form was nearer to *tamak*. For »to smoke tobacco» we have *kwedūmei*, in which we have the same »tobacco» root. From the St. Lawrence south we can trace the Micmac word a considerable distance. We have Abnaki *ūdaman* »tobacco,» *nūdamo* »I smoke,» *ūdamangan* »pipe,» Natick *wuttamāuog* »tobacco,» *wuttamagon* »pipe,» thus once more proving the progressive deteriorations from the source of distribution at the shores of the St. Lawrence. The southernmost form of this root is found in Virginia, where we find *uttamankoih* »tobacco bag.»¹⁾ The forms *ūdaman*, etc., found in Abnaki and to the south, have appropriated the Micmac *ū* »his» prefix and thus betray their borrowed origin from the same source of distribution at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

II.

In an article entitled *Words for Tobacco in American Indian Languages*, and published in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. XXIII, p. 19ff., Professor Dixon makes the following pronouncement (p. 25):

»The languages of the Muskogean stock make use of two different stems for their words for tobacco. All except the Muskogee have a stem *hak* or *ak*, viz., Hitchiti, *ak-icomi*; Natchez, *hag(au)*; Alibamu, *haksoma*; Choctaw, *hak-icuma* from which the Muskogee form *hitci* seems to be quite different. With the words for tobacco in use by neighboring stocks, this general stem, *hak*, *ak*, seems to show no resemblance, although its similarity to the more remote Coahuiltecan, *ah*, Karankawan, *ak-anum*, and Tonkawan, *ne-baxcan* has already been pointed out. Professor Wiener in his search for evidences of borrowing of Negro words, found comfort in the Choctaw *hak-icuma*, whose latter portion he identified as the stem for tobacco, and thought to be derived from the Mande *tama*, while the *hak-* he assumed to be the article. In so doing he has 'emptied out the baby with the bath,' since what he thought to be the article is in reality the stem.' That *hak-* was not the article a moment's reference to any Choctaw grammar would have shown, since the article follows and does not precede the noun.»

Even assuming that Natchez is a Muskogean language, the word *hag(au)* is, if at all recorded anywhere, based on a typographical error. The earliest reference to it is in A. Gallatin's *A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America*,²⁾ where we have the form *hakahoo*, and we are informed

¹⁾ W. STRACHEY, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* (The Hakluyt Society), London 1849, p. 195.

²⁾ *Archaeologia americana*, vol. II, p. 325.

that it was taken from his own manuscript collection, which is now deposited in the Library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.¹⁾ In 1873 D. G. Brinton read a paper, *On the Language of the Natchez*, before the American Philosophical Society, where he gave the modern word for *tobacco* from the mouth of a pure-blood Natchez as *hakvu*²⁾ and added Gallatin's older reading as *hakshoo*,³⁾ thus correcting the typographical error, no doubt, from an inspection of the MS. itself.

This Natchez *hakšu* is clearly a reduction of *hakšum*, that is, of Choctaw *haktšuma*, Hitchiti *aktšomi*, Alibamu *haksoma*, hence Muskogee *hišši* can only be a similar reduction for a longer *hišsim*, and we get once more back to the original form. That *šuma*, and not *hak*, is the root for »tobacco« follows from Chickasaw *šomok*, which Gallatin spells *chummuk*,⁴⁾ and which Professor Dixon has failed to mention.

The attachment of *hak-* to »tobacco« is of great interest from a philological as well as an archaeological standpoint. The Muskogean stock, specifically Choctaw, for which we have an elaborate dictionary,⁵⁾ gives all the appearance of being a foreign language that has suddenly been plunged into Algonkian surroundings, from which it has borrowed a large vocabulary, frequently associating the foreign term with the Algonkian into one compound. Whether this is really so or the relationship between the two stocks is inherent only a patient investigation will determine, but meanwhile the process just mentioned may be observed in a number of examples. The Algonkian »white, see« stem *wab-*, *wap-*, *womp-*, *omp-*, in Natick *wompi*, *wompesu*, Otchipwe *wābiška* »it is white« is found in Choctaw *apisa*, *pisa* »to see.« The Algonkian stem *wap-*, *womp-* is, however, not original, but a *-pe* derivative from a root *wan-*, as appears clearly from the Sioux (Dakota) *anpa*, *anpe* »day, daylight,« from *wan* »look, see,« hence *wanyaka*, *tonwan* »to see.«⁶⁾ Hence we have also Choctaw *onna* »daylight,« which shorter form appears in Algonkian *ne-* »to see.« The Algonkian (Natick) *wompi* appears, with an initial prefix, in Choctaw as *tombi*, *tommi*, *tomi*, *tobbi*, *tohmbi* »to shine,« *šohbi* »all day.« At the same time, while we have Choctaw *mala-ta* »bright,« *pula* »to shine,« *hoyo* »to look after,« we also get *šohmalali*, *šumpalali* »bright,« *tohmal* »to flash,« *hoponkoyo*, *hopunayo*, *holhponayo* »to see,« the first parts of which are corruptions, respectively, of *šohbi*, *tombi*, and an Algonkian *wompum* or *wapum*, forms for »to see.« A similar prefixation is found in Choctaw *miškin*, Chickasaw *soškin* »eye,« from *skiž-*, Natick *muskisuk*, Otchipwe *oškinjigoma* »(my, etc.) eye,« while the similar

¹⁾ J. C. PILLING, *Bibliography of the Muskogean Languages* (Smithsonian Institution, Bulletin 9), Washington 1889, p. 36.

²⁾ *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. XIII, p. 490.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, and p. 497.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 325.

⁵⁾ C. BYINGTON, *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 46), Washington 1915.

⁶⁾ The enormous ramifications of this root, from Patagonia to Alaska, will be treated in a forthcoming volume.

Algonkian root for »face» appears in Chickasaw as *isoku*, but in Choctaw as *našuka*.

The original meaning of Choctaw *hak*, *ak-* in Algonkian is »body.» It is recorded as *hog*, *hogk* in Natick, and is found in Narragansett *hok*, Abnaki *hage*, Delaware *hake* »body.» In other Algonkian languages the prefix *ak-* means »to be such, of a certain (height),» as in Otchipwe *akwab* »I can see from such a distance,» *akosin*, *okwā* »it is of a certain length,» hence Cuoq says,¹⁾ »*ak-* has sometimes the meaning of *in-*,» that is, »thus.» This extremely important prefix is found over an enormous linguistic territory. Here I will only refer to Iroquois *-ka* »to be of a certain size, dimension.»²⁾

We can study the change of »body» to a demonstrative prefix and article in Choctaw. Here *hak-*, *ak-* means anything directly related to the outer skin of the body, or bark of a tree, hence, by the side of *nipi* »meat, flesh,» we have *haknip*, *aknip* »the body, trunk, chest, frame.» Similarly we have *aktšūlhpi*, *haktšūlhpi* »the coarse outside bark of a tree,» for which the Choctaws of Mississippi say *tšūlhpi*. For the same reason the Choctaw says *hakšup* »skin, hide, shell, bark, integument, coat,» *haksobiš* »ear, skirts of a saddle,» *haktampi* »the armpit, and the spot or place just behind the forelegs of animals or the chest,» *hakšiš* »vein, artery.» In the latter case, *išiš* »blood» shows that the meaning of *hakšiš* is »blood of the skin.» A similar derivation is found in *hakl'opiš*, *hakl'obiš* »chaff, bran, fish scales,» from *l'opiš* »dust,» hence *hakl'opiš* literally means »skinlike dust.»

In many cases *hak-* is merely an intensifier, and »body» is lost sight of. From *sipi* »to be old,» *sipokni* »obsolete, old, uncouth, worn-out» is formed *haksipi* »rascality,» *haksi* »unprincipled, old, vicious, besotted, drunk, deaf,» *haksuba* »harsh, deafening,» *haksulba* »somewhat deaf, foolish,» *haksitši* »fraud, knavery.» From *alapali* »to stick to the side» we get *akalūpi*, *akalampi*, *kalampi* »to freeze.» From *sinti* »a snake» is derived *haksint*, *haksintšit* »by surprise, suddenly.» From *mitši* »to do,» found only in the compound *yummitši* »to do,» comes *yakmitši*, *yakohmi* »to do thus.» Thus we arrive at the article *ak*, *hak*, *yak*, which, like all defining words and adjectives, is placed after the noun when it is distinctly an article and not an intensifier. From all the preceding discussion it follows that Choctaw *hak-tšuma* is composed of the intensifier, or article, *hak*, and *tšuma* »tobacco,» that is, Chickasaw *tšomok* »tobacco.»

Here we have an extraordinary phenomenon. At both the sources of penetration of North America, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico, »tobacco» has the specific form »the tobacco,» »tobacco *par excellence*,» *tšištemau* and *haktšuma*. The Nipissing, who were settled in the Huron country and, on the one hand, traded with the Crees far to the west, are also recorded as trading down the river, apparently in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the region of the Moundbuilders, whether among Algonkians or not, we find various deteriorations of Choctaw *haktšuma*. We have Fox *asämawa*,

¹⁾ J. A. CUOQ, *Lexique de la langue algonquine*, Montréal 1886, p. 27.

²⁾ J. A. CUOQ, *Lexique de la langue iroquoise*, Montréal 1882, p. 8.

Menomini *nāvimau*, *nainhnaymowe*, Kickapoo *nessāmau*, Otchipwe *asema*, while Shawnee *kthaimah*, *lthema*, geographically and phonetically nearest to Choctaw *hakšuma* and Chickasaw *tšomok*, clearly point to the various successive deteriorations *k l > n > a*, in their geographical sequence. When we dissociate from *hakšuma* the Choctaw prefix *hak*, we are brought to *tšuma*, which does not materially differ from *temaw* of the north.

III.

Las Casas quotes a law of the Indians of Vera Cruz: »If a married man sinned with a widow or married woman, he was chastized once or twice, and if they saw him persevere in his sin, they tied the hands of both behind their backs, and so high that they could not reach the ground, and burned beneath them an herb which they called *tabakoyay*, which must have been stinking, and put the smoke through their nostrils for a good while, and then let them go, advising them to mend their ways.¹⁾ The law may be apocryphal, but the reference to tobacco as stinking and as being used in punishment can belong only to a time when it had not yet been employed in smoking. At the same time the word *tabak* was employed in reference to the liver, for Hernandez speaks of a mineral *tabakpatl* »liver medicine,» because of its resemblance to the liver.²⁾ The usual Nahuatl designation for »liver» is *eltapaštli*, but we have also Pipil *tāpatš* »liver.» In Nahuatl proper *tapaštli* means »fish scales, conch,» where the relation to »liver» is not directly apparent. Since *eltapaštli* is a word borrowed from abroad, both parts *el*, in *elli*, and *tapaštli* have assumed the same meanings. For *elli* we have »liver, breast, stomach,» the last two meanings arising from »liver» as the representative of the breast or stomach. In a similar way *tapaštli* has assumed the meaning of »breast,» but in the specialized sense of »outer covering», hence »scales, conch.» We also have the meaning »tobacco,» as in *tabakoyay* of Vera Cruz, in Chorotega *yapokete*, which presupposes a Nahuatl *yapoketl*, and from which, by metathesis apparently, we get Nahuatl *pokyettl* and *pikyettl*, as generally recorded for »tobacco.» These apocopated forms are unquestionably due to older *topokyettl*, *topikyettl*, in which *to-* was taken to be the usual Nahuatl prefix.

The connection of »tobacco» with the liver is taken out of the Arabic pharmacopoeia. We already find in Assyrian *tabāqu* »powdered incense,» which is recorded in a corrupted form in Hebrew *abaqah* »powdered perfume,» and we also have Sanskrit *dhūpa*, *dhūpaka* »incense,» while at the Somali coast, whence most incense of antiquity came, we learn that from the incense-tree *beyo* an inferior incense, called *dabaq*, in Arabic *tabaq*, is obtained. In Arabic the word is applied to a large number of pungent plants from which incense was derived. We have the Arabic definition for *tubbāq* »a

¹⁾ M. SERRANO Y SANZ, *Historiadores de Indias, Apologética historia de las Indias, de Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas*, in *Nueva Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Madrid 1909, vol. I, p. 627.

²⁾ F. HERNANDEZ, *Nova plantarum, animalium et mineralium mexicanorum historia*, Romae 1651, p. 243.

species of tree growing upon the mountains of Mekkah, having long, slender, green leaves, which slip between the fingers when squeezed, applied as a dressing to a fracture, which, remaining upon it, they consolidate; it is beneficial as an antidote against poisons, taken internally and applied as a dressing, and as a remedy for the mange, or scab, and the itch, and fevers of long continuance, and colic, and jaundice, and obstructions of the liver, and is very healing.» It has been identified with the «*ocimum agreste, eupatorium, conyza,*» that is, with some strongly aromatic flea-bane,¹⁾ while Ibn-al-Baitâr, an Arabic physician of Malaga, in Spain, wrote: «Al-Gafeki. In Spain the people call it *tobbāqah*, while the Berbers call it *tarhelān* or *tarhela*. Our physicians used to employ it, thinking that it was the *Eupatorium*, before they knew the true *Eupatorium*. I learn that the Eastern people made the same use of it, then by mistake applying to it the definitions of Galen and Dioscorides. Abu Hanīfa. The *tobbāq* is a plant which attains the size of a man. It lives in groups, and one never finds one alone. It has long, narrow, green, viscous leaves. Soaked in water it is applied to fractures where they cause agglutination and consolidation. Its flowers are conglomerate and are visited by the bees.» The same author adds: «This plant heats in an obvious manner. It is of advantage in cold affections of the liver: it dilates the obstructions, lowers the inflammation and oedema, which follow from its weakening, and bring it back to its functions. Hence, I think, proceeds the error of the ancient physicians who have taken the *tobbāq* for the *Eupatorium*. Razes says, in regard to the *Eupatorium*, that it is an emmenagogue, but this is the action of *tobbāq*, and not of *Eupatorium*. It is good against poisoning by animals, especially against scorpion poisoning, both internally and externally, and against shooting pains. It gently evacuates the burnt humors, and on that account it is good for refractory fevers, the mange and the itch, taken as a decoction or as an extract. As to the stinking *tobbāq*, *almantan*, which in Greek is called *qūnīzā*, it is more active and hotter, but less efficacious, in the affections of the liver. It is recognized by the fetidness of its odor. The *tobbaqah* properly called has an agreeable, though somewhat strong odor. Its savor is sweet. As to the *qūnīzā*, it has an acidity and evident bitterness. Many physicians use it as a substitute for *tobbāqah* and *Eupatorium*, but they are deceived by the resemblance of the *qūnīzā*, which the people call 'flea-bane.'» Ibn-al-Baitâr confuses two distinct plants. The *tarhelan* of the Berbers is given in Avicenna as *tarifilon*, which is the Latin *Trifolium*, and which is, like *Conyza*, used against snake bites. The *tobbāqah* of Spain is still found in Andalusia as *altabaca*, and is the *Inula viscosa* of the botanists. The Spanish and Arabic name of the plant is due to its viscosity. Since *Eupatorium* was also used against snake bites, *tobbāq* was occasionally applied to this plant as well. From all these botanical names it follows that *tobbāq* was subsequently applied to any viscous plant, which was supposed to be good in fumigations and as a styptic or poison-killer. Ibn-al-Baitâr specifically informs

¹⁾ See my *Africa and the Discovery of America*, Philadelphia 1920, vol. I, p. 102f.

us that in Persia, Syria, and Egypt »they employed another plant, of an extreme bitterness, with blue flowers, slightly elongated, with roundish branches, as thin as the stem, with leaves and stems of a yellowish color in all its parts; it is of an extreme bitterness, more bitter than aloe, more active and efficacious in obstructions of the liver and the other organs than the medicine considered by the interpreters to be the gafets of Dioscorides and Galen.» The name of the plant is not given, but it is apparently different from Abu Hanifa's *tubbāq* of the IX. century.¹⁾

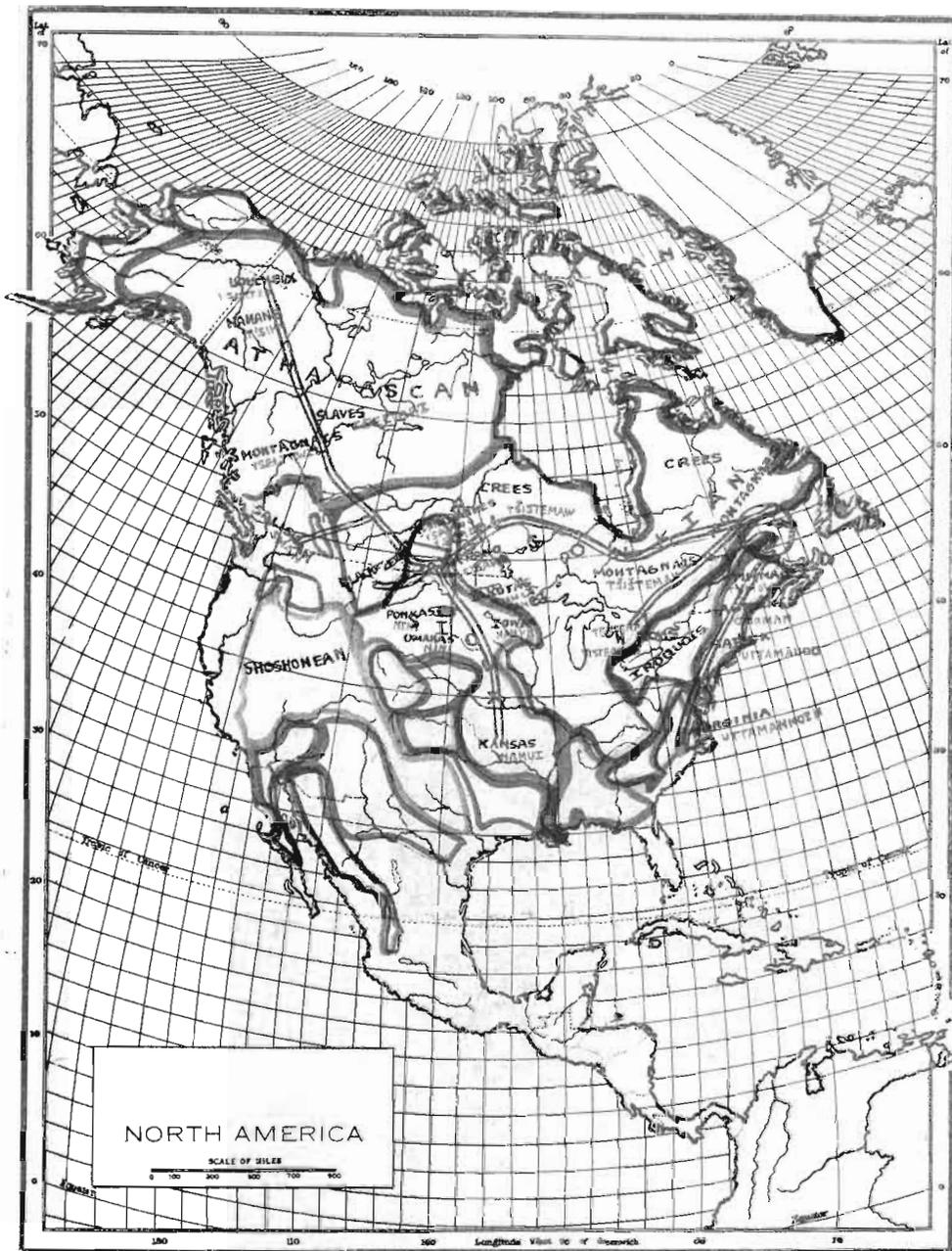
It is clear that the Nahuatl *eltapaštli* arises from the Arabic *altubbāq* »the liver medicine *par excellence*.» The Tarascan word for »tobacco» is *andumukwa*, which also means »gall.» That the original meaning was »bitterness» is clear from the two meanings, and also from the fact that *andumukwareni* means »to do penance,» hence »to gain indulgence,» and so *andumunstani* means »to be deserving,» *andumunskwa* »deserts,» which leads to *andumuni* »to gain honor or wealth.» The development of the various meanings from »bitterness» shows that when tobacco was introduced among the Tarascans it was considered as bad as »gall» and to be used in religious penance. This is borne out by the other neighboring languages where the »tobacco» word has produced only the »gall» and »liver» words. Tarascan lacks the letter *l*, and *andumuqua* represents the Nahuatl *eltapaštli* »liver.» But we also have Tarascan *tavas* »liver.» The Tarascan word *andumuqua* shows that a form *tam-* must also have existed for the same. Indeed, we have Mixe-Zoque *tam* »bitter,» Mixe *tamnöö* »bile,» Maya *taman*, *tammel*, Pokonchi *tamat* »liver.» Mixe *tam*, in the form *tamts*, means also »salted,» hence »to throw away liquids.» In this meaning we find the root in various languages. We have Tarascan *tamatzendeni* »damp, salty place,» hence *tamrahpeni* »to make others dirty,» *tamandurani* »to have dirty feet,» *tamari* »dirty,» Huasteca *atem*, Pokonchi, Kekchi, Uspanteca, etc. *ats'am* »salt.» Maya *tammel* has like Nahuatl *eltapaštli* split up into *tam* »stomach (of a bird)» and *nel* »liver,» for which no roots exist.

In the regions in North America where unmistakable evidences of Aztec art, represented in gorgets and other artifacts, have been found, we also get the abbreviated Nahuatl *yapok-*, *pok* for »tobacco.» In the beginning of the XVII. century Strachey²⁾ recorded in Virginia *uhpook* »tobacco,» *uhpookan* »tobacco pipe,» while Hariot, in 1587, gave *uppowok*, *apooke* »tobacco.»³⁾ We also have the derived nasalized *kekepemgwah* »to smoke.» It is obvious that Virginian *uhpookan* is derived from *uhpook*, but this Virginian word can be traced in ever worse deteriorations over a large territory. In Otchipwe it becomes *opwāgan*, to become Cree *ospwāgan*, Montagnais *ušpwagan*. In Delaware we have *hopoakan*, in Natick *uhpuonk*, in Narragansett *hopuonk*. All these show that the pipe at one time proceeded from a region near to Virginia, independently of the tobacco trade routes. From these

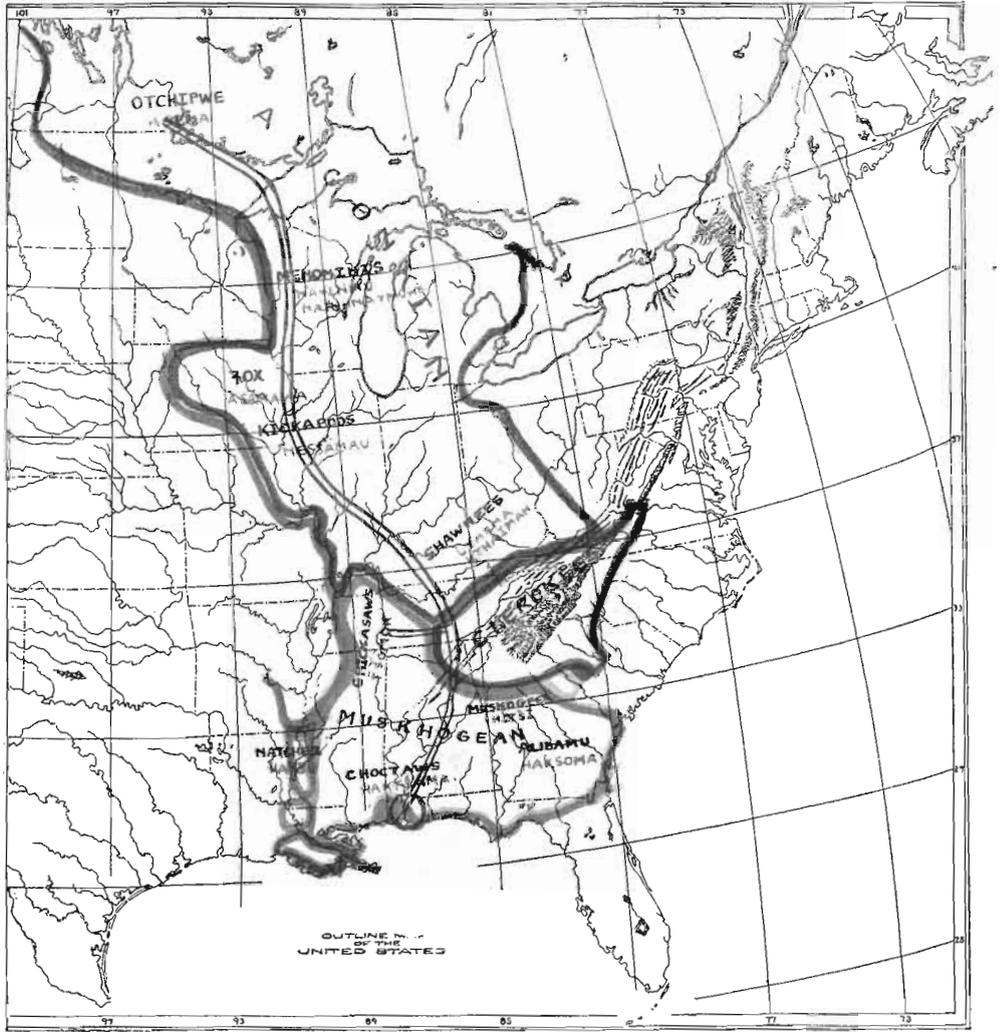
¹⁾ Ibid., vol. II, p. 123 ff.

²⁾ Op. cit., p. 195.

³⁾ See my *Africa and the Discovery of America*, vol. I, p. 141 ff.



Map. 1. Distribution of «Tobacco» Words from the Mouth of St. Lawrence.



Map. 2. Distribution of «Tobacco» Words from the gulf of Mexico.

we get the »smoke» words over an enormous territory. In Virginia we have the nasalized *kekepemgwah* »smoke,» while to the north a root form *puk-*, *pek-* prevails, as in Natick *pukit*, but this root does not reach either Montagnais or Cree. To the south, where, as we have seen, a form *uhpook* indicates the loss of an initial consonant, we actually have in Choctaw *šoboli* »smoke,» *šoboha* »steam,» *šubbukli* »to smoke up quickly as burnt powder, to flash,» *hobeči* »to steam; to make a steam; to sweat in order to cure disease as was often done by the Choctaw doctors after this manner: herbs and roots were collected and boiled in an iron pot, a hole was dug in the ground large and deep enough to admit the pot, which having been done, a cover of wicker work was laid over it. The patient lay down over this pot, covered himself with blankets, and took the steam,» *hoponti* »to blow smoke through the nose,» *hoponi* »to cook,» which give us the root *hop*, *šob*, which in *šobukli* apparently leads back to our »tobacco» root *tabak*, even as *haktšuma* represents a form *tamak*. In Algonkian we have, instead of Virginian *kekepemgwah*, the form *pakwene* »there is smoke,» *pakwenesadjige* »to burn incense,» but also *pentakoe* »I smoke, I smoke tobacco.»¹⁾

I had tentatively proposed that the Iroquois root *yen* »to smoke» is ultimately the Mandingo word for »to smoke.»²⁾ Of all the American stocks the Iroquoian is the most perplexing and misguiding, since its philology, indeed, considers vowels as of no value and consonants as of very little value. I am only now beginning to unravel its mysteries, and I am able to show that the root is the Mandingo »tobacco» word, but indirectly borrowed from the Algonkians of their nearest surroundings. There are recorded for »tobacco»³⁾ Mohawk, Cayuga *oyeangwa*, Onondaga *oyekwa*, Seneca *oyangwa*. Cartier gave in 1545 Huron *quiecta*, while Sagard wrote *ayentaque*. Strange as it may appear, the two are the same. Iroquois *oyengwa* is derived from Algonkian *keke-pemgwah*, as recorded in Virginia, since Iroquoian has no *p*, which is changed to *y*. That this is really the case is proved by Huron *ayentake* by the side of Algonkian *pentakoe* »I smoke tobacco.» But the Iroquoian words generally get an initial *k-*, wherefore the root *oienkwa*⁴⁾ gives *kaienwiio* »good tobacco,» *kienkwakasta* »a great smoker,» hence Cartier's *quiecta* represents Iroquois *kientakwa* in a shorter form. Cartier's *quea* »smoke», that is, *kieya*, is preserved in *ataïen* »to smoke,» in which *-en* is the infinitive ending and *ata-* a prefix meaning »to accomplish.» Such is the maddening root formation in Iroquoian, as may be seen from P. Potier's *Radices Huronicae*, p. 359. All that there is left from the Algonkian *pemgwah* is the letter *i*, although in Sagard's vocabulary we generally have a lengthened *ye* or *yen*. While we have from the root *atāi* Sagard's *etaya*, *tayehon tise* »give me to smoke,» neither *ayentaque* »tobacco,» nor *yeinhoc* »I am going to smoke,» *tseinhoque* »hold the tobacco,» *tayehose* »I smoke» have any-

¹⁾ Baron DE LAHONTAN, *New Voyages to North-America*, Chicago 1905, vol. II, p. 742.

²⁾ Op. cit., vol. I, p. 184.

³⁾ H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT, *Notes on the Iroquois*, Albany 1847, p. 395.

⁴⁾ CUOQ, *Lexique de la langue iroquoise*, p. 129.

thing but *yen* or *yein* for a root, if it is at all permissible to speak of roots in a linguistic stock where nibbled and chewed-up holophrastic expressions are used as the basis of new derivatives in a manner surpassing anything of the sort in American languages.

Further deteriorations from the Virginian form may be traced into Dakota *unpa*, Crow *pue* »to smoke,» Minitares *ope* »tobacco,» and, no doubt, over much more extended territory. In any case it is clear that we have in this new group transformations of the original *tubbaq*, beginning somewhere on the Atlantic Coast and progressively advancing to the north and north-west, to merge with the *tama-* words from the Gulf of Mexico and the St. Lawrence.

Conclusions.

1. Forms of the word *tabaq*, *tubaq* for a large variety of incense are recorded from most remote times in Assyrian, Hebrew, and Sanskrit, and more recently in Somali and Arabic. The classical ground for incense is the Somali coast, where the word must have been known since dimmest antiquity, hence the African *taba*, *tama* forms for »tobacco» are of African origin.

2. The Arabic *altubbāq* as a sovereign liver medicine is responsible for Nahuatl *altapatštli* and the Tarascan words, as well as the Atlantic words for »tobacco» and »pipe,» which proceeded from the south to the north and northwest.

3. Choctaw *haktšuma*, a precise rendering of Arabic *altubbāq*, may be traced from the Gulf of Mexico into a northerly direction, ending in the region of the Algonkian Otchipwe.

4. In a similar manner the corresponding Algonkian Montagnais *išište-man* proceeds into a westerly direction, ending in the Athapascan of the extreme northwest. The Micmac *tamawā*, to the south of the St. Lawrence, in a like manner advances to the south, as far as Virginia.

5. In every case the »tobacco» words start at the Atlantic periphery and work their way to the interior, hence tobacco was imported from without, either directly from Mexico or by the same agency which brought it to Central America.
