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## SOME VIRGINIA INDIAN WORDS

BY WILLIAM R. GERARD

To the April-June, 1904, number of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST I contributed an article on "The Tappanek Dialect of Virginia," a subject which I had had under study for several years and which concerned a peculiar Virginia speech that, in its phonetics, was almost identical with the dialects of the Cree group or division of the Algonquian language. In a notice of that article, in the October-December, 1904, number of this journal, Mr William Wallace Tooker expresses, in regard to the meaning of a certain number of the words mentioned therein, opinions that differ very widely from those which I hold, and which I perhaps too briefly stated. It seems proper, therefore, that I should again go over as much of the ground as the space accorded me will permit, in order to explain more fully the reasons for the statements that I made and which have been called in question by Mr Tooker, whose ideas in regard to the manner in which Algonquian phrase-words are constructed are extremely novel and differ very materially from those which I have gained by a quarter of a century's study of the dialects of this linguistic family, radically, grammatically, comparatively, and especially from the view point of its laws of letter-change, and are certainly far removed from those of the ancient framers of the language. I shall state at the outset that after a careful examination of Mr Tooker's article, which is remarkable, among other things, for the positiveness of its assertions, unmodified by an occasional qualification of "perhaps" or "possibly," and which call to mind the Abnaki saying that *nekemat ghelusin*, I see no reason whatever for changing a single one of the views of a philological nature that were expressed in my former article.

*Winauk.* — Mr Tooker, following Dr Trumbull, believes that this name stands for *waen-ohke*, and means the 'going-around place.' There are three objections to this view, any one of which would be fatal. In the first place, the name was not that of a

promontory, but of a piece of land of which the southern extremity terminated in a low meadow point on James river<sup>1</sup> ("Careless Point," as Captain Archer named it). In the second, the preposition *wa'enu*, 'round about,' belongs to the dialects of Massachusetts, none of which was spoken on James river.<sup>2</sup> In the third, *wa'enu ohkeit* (that is, *ohke* with the postpositive preposition, as Algonquian grammar requires in such a case) means 'round about the land,' 'earth,' or 'country,' not 'going-around place,' and could not be used as a name for a locality. The place was doubtless named from the presence there of a conspicuous specimen of *winâk*, or sassafras, a tree which in favorable situations attains a great height.

*Appamatuck*. — By a slip of the pen, I stated that this name was given to several places situated in the vicinity of a river-bend. Although the name is applicable to any decided curve in a tidal river, there is no evidence that it was given to any other in Virginia than the very wide one which James river makes previous to the influx of the Appomattox at City Point. It was a locality on this bend that the first explorers of the river knew as the "Country of Apamatica." This word, spelled also *Apamatecoh*, stands for *Apämätëku*, or better, *Apämëtëku*, and means 'river-bend.' It was the designation of a tract of land on which stood an Indian village of the same name on the site (according to Jefferson) of Bermuda Hundred, in Chesterfield county. The word in a verbal form is *ápämëtëkwé*, meaning the 'river makes a bend,' 'turns about,' and is cognate with Ojibwe *ábämîtigwéia*, in which the suffix *ia* is that of an impersonal verb. The root *ápäm*, *ábäm*, 'to turn around,' is found in the dialects of Cree, Ojibwe, Abnaki, and Massachusetts, and probably in those of all other Algonquian groups. The suffix *-tëkwé* = Nipissing *-tëkwéia*, = Ojibwe *-tigwéia*, = Cree *-tëkwéiaw*, means '(tidal) river.'

Prof. Schele Devere (*Americanisms*, p. 63) tells his readers that the name is "from *Apomatox*, the Indian for Tobacco-plant Country"! Mr Tooker, inspired by a picture of a mulberry tree,

<sup>1</sup> ". . . a sharpe point, which is parte of *Winauk*:"—Archer.

<sup>2</sup> "The analysis of a geographical name must be sought in the language spoken by the name-givers."—Trumbull in *Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc.*, II, p. 50.

with an Indian "queen" sitting on a mat beneath it, derives the name from *appu*, 'he (or she) sits,' 'abides,' 'remains,' 'rests,' and *-metuc* or *-matuck*, 'a tree,' and imagines that, by hyphenating these two words, he converts the intransitive verb *apu* into a participial adjective and gives the compound the meaning of 'resting tree'! In support of his "etymology," he offers, as cognates, "Cree *apiw-mistick* (Lacombe), *appu-mistick* (Howse)." It is hardly necessary to say that these two scholarly men, Père Lacombe and Mr Howse, never hyphenated these two words, as might seem to be the case from the enumeration of Mr Tooker's so-called "cognates."

*Chickahominy*.—The fact that the three last syllables of this word constitute those that form the name of a well-known food product has led to the erroneous conclusion that the two words are in some way connected, and also to the delusion that the suffix in each of them stands for the inseparable substantival *-min*, meaning 'fruit,' 'seed,' or 'grain,' and sometimes used specifically to designate a grain of Indian corn. Such was the idea of Professor Devere, who derived the name from the impossible word *checahaminend*, to which he ascribed the meaning of 'land of much grain.' Mr Tooker also seeing in the word some reference to Indian corn, and laboring under the mistaken belief that it was the name of a people and not of a place, offers in explanation of it a word of so novel construction that I shall pause for a moment to analyze it. This word, to which he attributes the meaning of 'coarse-pounded corn people,' is *chick-aham-min-anough*. In his explanation of this compound,<sup>1</sup> he tells us that the element *-aham* is a "special affix or verb" (*sic*), which implies that he "beats or batters" the object *min* after the manner of the root-word or prefix *chick*. In the eastern Algonquian dialects the intransitive verbal suffix *-häm* and the corresponding transitive *-hämën*, denote forcible action, and, when combined with roots meaning 'to hit,' or 'strike,' form intransitive and transitive verbs that assert, respectively, that the subject 'pounds' or 'brays,' or 'pounds it' or 'brays it' (something inanimate). Since *-häm* is an intransitive suffix, and intransitive verbs do not govern objectives, it is difficult to see why Mr Tooker

<sup>1</sup> *Algonquian Series*, ix.

should select an object for his intransitive verb and why he should suffix it to the latter, for even had his verb a transitive form, the object could not be affixed to it, but would have to consist of a substantive standing apart. In order to indicate the *manner* in which the object is brayed, he selects the adjective *kitchi*, which he uses in the sense of 'coarse,' a meaning which it could not possibly have. This adjective denotes, primarily, superiority or preeminence, and, when employed in the sense of 'large,' or 'great,' signifies that the thing qualified is large or great as compared with some object of the same class or similar to it. From its peculiar meaning it could not be used as a root for a verb expressing forcible action. Having abbreviated this adjective to *chi*, Mr Tooker finds that he needs a *k* in his word and thereupon boldly affixes this letter to the adjective and thereby forms a root<sup>1</sup> of entirely different meaning. Of the suffix *anough*, of the meaning of which I have to confess my ignorance, Mr Tooker regards the terminal *y* in the word Chickahominy as a "softened" form. It will be seen from this brief analysis that the combination under consideration does not constitute a word, but is simply a collocation of vowels and consonants.

In the eastern Algonquian dialects, verbs having the inanimate active transitive form of the class ending in *-mën*<sup>2</sup> had the peculiarity that they could be used as passive participial adjectives,<sup>3</sup> and, from this sense, could pass to that of substantives.

The Indians of Virginia (like those of the three Americas, from Maine as far south as to Peru) made a very nutritious food preparation by parching Indian corn and reducing it to a fine powder, which they called *rokëhämën*, 'softened.' This word is cognate with Abnaki *nuk'hämën*, used as a designation for flour, and with Lenape *lok'hämën*, used as a name for bran or shorts. In Strachey's time (1610-13), this word had undergone no alteration; but later on, it became, in the pronunciation of English-speaking people, *rockahominie* (Beverly, 1705), *rockahomine* (Lawson, 1709), *rocka-*

<sup>1</sup> *Kitchik*, 'to be speckled,' 'spotted,' 'dappled.'

<sup>2</sup> This suffix has been spelled with all the short vowels of the alphabet: *-mån*, *mån*, *mën*, *mìn*, *mün*.

<sup>3</sup> For example: Natick, *ûsowitãmûn*, 'he names it,' *ûsowitãmûn* (pass. adj.) 'named'; *wûsâk'hâmûn*, 'he writes it,' *wûsâk'hâmûn* (pass. adj.) 'written.'

*hominy* (Byrd, 1728). Again, the natives of Virginia, by boiling the acorns of the basket and live oaks (*Quercus michauxii* and *Q. virens*) in water, extracted therefrom an oil which they called *mānā-hāmēn*, 'removed from,' 'skimmed from.' In the pronunciation of the settlers this word soon became *monohominy*. The Virginians also made a food product by coarsely cracking Indian corn, winnowing away the chaff, and sifting out the flour, and, to it, as well as to the porridge prepared from it, applied the name of *ūsēkute-hēmēn*, meaning 'crushed by pounding' (from *û*, prosthetic vowel; *sēku*, a root meaning 'to crush'; *te*, a particle denoting that the action expressed in the root is done with a blow or stroke; and *hemēn*, a verbal suffix denoting, in the transitive form of the verb, instrumental action upon an inanimate object). Strachey appears to have been acquainted with this word only in such corrupted forms as *usketehamun*, *uskatahomen*, and *usketehamun*. The English colonists soon became very familiar with this Indian food product, but, finding its aboriginal name altogether too cumbersome for current use, contracted the already corrupted word to its verbal suffix, *homen*, *hamun*, *homin*, etc., and, rounding off this *disjunctum membrum* with a vowel, formed such terms as *homeni*, *hamuni*, *homini*, etc. The very first mention, in print, of this abbreviated word is found in the form of *homini* in Smith's *True Travels, Adventures and Observations*, p. 43 (1630). Thus originated a term concerning the source and meaning of which there has been, up to the very present (the writing of these lines), more speculation than about any other Indian word that has entered the English language.

A few miles above the mouth of a tributary of James river was situated the town<sup>1</sup> of a "lustie and daring people" (independent of Powhatan) on a tract of land called *Tshikēhāmēn*<sup>2</sup> (or, in the spelling of the period, *Chicohomin*, *Chickahaman*, *Chickahamin*), meaning 'scraped,' 'swept,' and implying a clearing. Smith, who was the first to visit this town (on the morning of November 10, 1607),

<sup>1</sup> The exact location of this town, which must have been of some importance, is not known, since it does not appear on Smith's map; but we know from the *True Relation* that it was situated between the mouth of the river and the town of Manascosick, which lay at a point 10 or 12 miles upstream.

<sup>2</sup> This verb is found in every Algonquian dialect from Maine to Virginia. It is from the root *tshik* (1) 'to scrape'; (2) 'to sweep.'

made its name known in the form of *Chickahamania*, a spelling in which the Latin toponymic suffix *-ia* was an addition of his own, just as was the same suffix in such Indian names as Tanxitania and Shakaconia. The various writers of the period changed Smith's expletive syllables to *e*, *a*, *ie*, and *y*, the latter of which prevailed.<sup>1</sup> Thus originated the name *Chickahominy*, a word which, like *rockahominy* and *monohominy*, has preserved its root and taken on a paragogic syllable, while *hominy*, with its expletive syllable, is simply the corrupted suffix of a verb which has suffered the apheresis of its root (*sēku*, 'to crush').

*Pamaunkee*. — This was the general name for a tract of land in what is now King William county, beginning at the confluence of what are called the Pamunkey and Mattapony rivers, and, according to Smith's description, was characterized by numerous high hills composed of sand — probably drift-sand and hence sloping. Speaking of the religious observances of the Powhatans, Smith says that "their principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Vttamussack*<sup>2</sup> at [that is, in] *Pamavunke*." Mr Tooker, jumping at the conclusion that these words form a compound, hyphenates them and, in a former essay,<sup>3</sup> thus proceeds to analyze them: *Ut*, he tells us, means 'at,' or 'in.' It really did have that meaning in some of the dialects of Massachusetts, to which the use of it was confined, and none of which was ever spoken on the Pamunkey. *Mussa*, he says, means 'woods.' The Virginia word *mūssi* designated a 'log' or 'billet of wood,' not wood or woods in the sense of a collection of trees. To the terminal *-ack* Mr Tooker ascribes the meaning of 'place,' probably having in view the word *aki*, 'land,' 'country,' 'earth.' The second element of his compound, *Pamaunkee*, Mr Tooker states to be a "form of a verb to hide (*pamukque*, Eliot)."

*Uttamussack* (= *tāmēsack*, with prosthetic *û*), which Mr Tooker

<sup>1</sup> The practice of adding a syllable to the suffix of passive adjectives of this class was not confined to the people of the South, for we find an example of it in the North. The Lenape Indians of New Jersey called the thin-shelled nut of the shag-bark hickory (*Carya alba*), *sēkuskandāmēn*, meaning 'crushed with the teeth.' Among the many corruptions which this word underwent in the vicinity of New York City was that of *cuskatominy*.

<sup>2</sup> *Uttamussac* was at the head of the second northerly bend of the Pamunkey, west of the fork, and was the site of a place put down on Jefferson's map as *Quinlan*.

<sup>3</sup> *Algonquian Series*, IX.

has so carefully analyzed, was the Virginia name for a knife,<sup>1</sup> a sharp edged piece of flint or quartzite, generally of triangular shape. The word is an apocopated form of *tämēsâkân*, meaning, literally, a 'sharp-edged cutting utensil.' Uttamasack was probably the name of an Indian "workshop," where these implements were manufactured. The word may be an abbreviation of *tämēsâkânîkân*, meaning 'place where knives are made.'

Never having seen in Eliot's translation of the Bible, or in any of his writings, such a word as *pamukque*, meaning 'to hide,' my curiosity led me to look it up. Upon examining the *Natick Dictionary*, I found therein the inanimate passive verbal adjective *assompamukquodt*, which Eliot uses in the sense of 'hiding place,' although the meaning of the word is almost directly the reverse, viz., 'it is seen in a certain manner,' 'it appears so.'<sup>2</sup> The word is formed from the adverb of manner, *äs*, 'so,' 'in such a way,' and the inanimate passive adjective (*w*)*ompamukquodt*, 'it is seen.' Eliot (as well as Cotton) was in the habit of irregularly and unnecessarily<sup>3</sup> forming another adjective from this class by rejecting the termination *-at* and substituting *e* (= *i*) therefor. His new word in the present case was *assompamukque*. Here, then, we find the origin of Mr Tooker's *pamukque*, which, as will be observed, consists of *p*, the characteristic of the root *womp*, 'to see' or 'be seen,' and the formative syllables *amukque*. To the above-mentioned remarkable compound its author ascribes the meaning of 'a place of secrecy in the woods'!

As I have already stated, *pamaunkee* (= *päma<sup>n</sup>ki*) means 'sloping hill,' or 'rising upland,' from *päm* (*pēm*, *pīm*, *pūm*, according to dialect), 'sloping,' 'slanting,' 'oblique,' and *-a<sup>n</sup>ki*, 'hill,' 'mountain,' or 'highland'; = Ojibwe *-âki*, 'hill' or 'mountain,' in such words as *nissâki*, 'at the bottom of a hill,' *ogidâki*, 'on a hill,' *awassâki*, 'beyond the hill.' The particle *âk*, *a<sup>n</sup>k*, *a<sup>n</sup>g*, denot-

<sup>1</sup> In Smith's vocabulary we find "*Pamesacks*. Knives," where the terminal *s* is a sign of the English plural, and the initial *P* an error of the press for *T*. Strachey writes the word *damassac*.

<sup>2</sup> Blunders of this kind are not infrequent in Eliot's writings.

<sup>3</sup> Unnecessarily, because the new adjective had precisely the same meaning (that of a passive participial adjective) for the reason that the *kw* (*ku*) of the suffix is a particle characteristic of the passive voice.



ing 'height' or 'elevation,' is used in several Algonquian dialects ; e. g. : Abnaki *pěma<sup>n</sup>kké*, the 'high land slopes,' *pněka<sup>n</sup>ku*, 'sandy hill,' *a<sup>n</sup>bagwa<sup>n</sup>ki*, 'under shelter of a hill,' *něssa<sup>n</sup>ki<sup>í</sup>ré*, 'he goes to the bottom of a hill,' *usa<sup>n</sup>kuk*, 'on a hill'; Natick *sóka<sup>n</sup>kwät*, a height (lit. 'it is very high'); Lenape *māna<sup>n</sup>gihleu* (corrupt. to Monongahela), 'it (earth) separates from (*mān*) the hill (*a<sup>n</sup>g*) and slides quickly (*-ihleu*), an impersonal adjective verb used substantively as a designation for a landslide. But why multiply examples, when the meaning of the word under consideration is so clear ?

*Wirowokomäko*. — Mr Tooker says that this word is "easy of identification" (interpretation), and yet, instead of at once interpreting it for himself, goes back nearly three hundred years (after stopping for a moment with Trumbull in order to get the latter's opinion) and consults Strachey, who gives him the information, which, without examination, he unhesitatingly accepts, that the word "by interpretacion signifies Kinge's house." What little Strachey knew about the language of the Indians with whom he came into contact was merely that which he gained by ear. He knew that the first two syllables of the word under consideration were found in the name for "king," and jumped to the conclusion that the shorter word was incorporated in the longer, whereas the only thing that the two vocables have in common is the root. The name *Wirowokomäko* was applied to a tract of land "vpon salt water, in bredth two myles" (Smith), and not to Powhatan's house, the breadth of which must have fallen short of that figure by 10,540 feet at the very least estimate. As I have before stated, *wirowokomäko* means "fertile land." It is cognate with Natick *winuó komük*, which Cotton interprets 'fat ground,' and is from the root *wiro*, = Natick *winu*, = Naskapi *welu*, = Montagnais *weru*, = Prairie Cree *weyo* (and, in Old and Modern Lenape, by change of characteristic, *wirä*, *wilä*, = Old and Modern Abnaki *wila*), 'to be rich,' 'fecund,' 'prolific,'<sup>1</sup> and (of land) 'fertile' or 'productive.'

The name for a native ruler among the Virginians, variously written *wiróans*, *weroance*, *werowance*, and *wyroaunce*, means 'he

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<sup>1</sup> It is in this sense that it is found in the Natick and Lenape name for the grape, *winomín* and *wilam*, 'prolific fruit.'

is rich,' or, more accurately, 'he lives (or exists) in affluence.'<sup>1</sup> The suffix *-ans*, *-ance*, *-aunce*, is a contraction (due to the shifting of the accent forward to *o*, the characteristic of the root) of *-a<sup>n</sup>t's*, for *-a<sup>n</sup>tšs*, for *-a<sup>n</sup>tšsu*,<sup>2</sup> = Ojibwe *-âtšsi*, = Cree *-âtšsiu*, an animate verbal adjective suffix denoting a manner of being, of existence, or of behavior, and also character.

*Aitowh*, a 'ball.'—Mr Tooker thinks that I deserve great credit "in a measure," for my remarks on this word, but that I did "not go far enough into the subject to show the exact status of the radical. The word did not signify 'a ball,' 'a round thing':" Had I gone a little farther into the subject, I might have stated that the Nas-kapi (Cree) form of the root is *tuu*, whence the substantive *tuwän*, defined in that dialect as a 'ball,' 'globe,' or 'any round object.' Still, I did not say, or even intimate, that the root means 'to be round.'

My statement that the root is found in the formative of words relating to the game of lacrosse started Mr Tooker on a line of profound philological inquiry that led to a remarkable result. Finding that, in Ojibwe, the name for 'ball-play' is *pagaadowewin*, he at once came to the conclusion, on the doctrine of resemblances, that the "equivalent of the Powhatan term is more fully displayed in the [Narragansett] word *pauochäutowwin*, 'a Bable [= a bauble] to play with.'" Erroneously dividing this word, he confidently states that the latter is from *päuochäu* 'to play,' and *autow*, 'a bauble.' *Päuochäu*, however, does not mean 'to play,' but 'he (or she) plays,' or 'dances.' Now, it is quite evident that if *autow* were a substantive, it could not be suffixed to a verb, either intransitive or transitive. The fact of the matter is simply this: in Narragansett, *-towwin* (written also by Roger Williams *-touwin*, *-teouwin*, and *-teouin*) is an inanimate active transitive verbal suffix. The intransitive verb

<sup>1</sup> The Pequot-Mohegan name, also, for a chief was *wâyäwa'ghu*, 'he is rich' (lives in affluence; = Caniba *wirawighu*).

<sup>2</sup> In the writing of Indian words, the failure to note the sound of *t* or *d* when preceded by a long or nasalized vowel was a common practice in colonial times. Thus, Eliot writes *aunchemukau* for *a<sup>n</sup>tššimukeu*; *püthonchu* for *pütä<sup>n</sup>tšhu*, etc. A similar elision of *t* sometimes occurred in English words as written by some of the early visitors to this country. Thus, Hariot, who wrote *wiroans*, Smith, *werowance*, and Strachey, *weroance*, respectively, wrote *inhabitans*, *inhabitaunce*, and *inhabitance* for the English word *inhabitants*.

*pauocháu* means, as above stated, 'he (or she) plays,' or 'dances,' and the transitive verb *pauocháutowwin* means 'he (or she) plays (or dances) with it'; hence, passively (according to Narragansett grammar), 'what is played with,' say a bauble, or 'what is danced with,' say some object held in the hand. In like manner we have *monaskunem* (intransitive) 'he weeds,' and *monaskunemáutowwin* (transitive) 'he weeds with it'; hence, passively, 'what is weeded with,' i. e., a hoe (not a bauble!).

It will be seen from this that there is the same etymological connection between the Ojibwe and Narragansett words above cited as there is between the English word *ball*, a 'sphere,' and *ball*, a 'dance,' that is to say, none whatever.

*Attaangwassuwk* (Strachey) = *äta<sup>n</sup>kwûsäk*, a 'star.'—In commenting on this word, Mr Tooker observes that Mr Gerard believes it "to be a plural form, but his mistake is evident when we compare the name with its cognates, for the long (*sic*) form is seemingly *attaang*, 'a star,' + *wassuwk* (= Natick *wohsumuk*, 'bright' or 'shining,' Lenape *waseleu*, 'bright'), hence 'a shining star' or 'he appears shining'!" It would require but the most elementary knowledge of Algonquian grammar to know that an adjective used attributively cannot be suffixed to the noun which it qualifies. To express the idea that a 'star shines' or 'is bright,' 'shining,' 'brilliant,' or 'sparkling,' requires the use of a predicative verbal adjective that affirms or predicates of the star that it has the property of brilliancy, brightness, or luminosity; as, for example, Cree *wâsisuw atakw*, 'the star shines' (lit. 'is brilliant' or 'shining'); Ojibwe *wâssenagoshka anâng*, 'the star shines' (lit. 'is brilliant,' 'bright,' 'shining').

The Algonquian names for star (that is to say, those that are cognates of the one under consideration) are divided into two classes, one embracing primitive and the other diminutive terms—diminutive in form, but not necessarily so in sense, since the Algonquian diminutive suffix sometimes denotes regard, endearment, or affection. The characteristic *k* or *g* of these names is always accompanied with *w*, or, in dialects in which that letter is not pronounced, *o*. This letter may be lost in the pronunciation of the simple form of the word, but always makes its appearance when the latter takes a suffix

beginning with a vowel. In fact, it is a part of the characteristic. In the word under consideration the primitive form is *äta<sup>n</sup>kw*; *üs* is a diminutive; and *-äk* is an animate plural suffix.

*Atemus*, 'dog.'—Mr Tooker says that he agrees with Trumbull, who considered the forms *atim*, *anum*, *arum*, *alum*, *ayim*, etc., as derivatives from distinct elements, i. e., "those words which have the *t* in 'certain positions,' like the Powhatan *attemous*, Cree *atim*, Abn. *atié*, Pequot *ahteah*, indicate that the word is related to the Natick verb *adchu*, 'he hunts,' while those with the form *anum*, *alum*, or *arum* are from the verb *annumaü*, 'he holds [it] with his mouth.'" It is evident from these remarks and others of like character made elsewhere in Mr Tooker's article, that phonetics play no part with him in the study of linguistics. A very slight acquaintance with the laws of Algonquian letter-changes, most of which are invariable, would show that the names for dog given in my study of the subject are cognate words; and, moreover, are radical. Dr Trumbull never made the remarkable statement that Cree *atim* (dim. *atimus*) and Abnaki *atié* were related words; but what he did say was that *atié* and its Pequot cognate were related to *adchu*, 'he hunts.' There is no more etymological connection between *atim* and *atié* than there is between the English words *hound* and *hunt*, or *ear* and *hear*, or between Cree *atim*, = Ojibwe *anim* = Caniba *arem* (primitive form), 'dog,' and Cree *atim*, = Ojibwe *anim*, = Caniba *arem*, 'to turn the back upon.' In explanation of the Massachusetts word *anum*, Dr Trumbull suggested the transitive verb *annumaü*, to which he ascribed the meaning of 'he holds it (some animate object) with the mouth.' There are several objections to this view: (1) the word used by Trumbull in this sense really means, as Eliot employs it, 'he helps him'; (2) active transitive verbs are never used by the Algonquians in the nomenclature of animals; (3) Natick *anum* and its cognates are radical words, the characteristic of which is accompanied with *w* (or *o* in some western and northern dialects) which, although it may be lost in pronunciation, always makes its appearance when the word takes a suffix beginning with a vowel (a diminutive or plural).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the sound of this letter, which, when it accompanies the characteristic of a root, often distinguishes from each other roots and radical words of an otherwise

Mr Tooker remarks that Mr Gerard writes : " Another Lenape word for dog . . . is *mowekaneu*,<sup>1</sup> ' he eats bones.' " " On the contrary," confidently asserts the commentator, " the word signifies ' he cries or howls in the dark ' " ! In support of this extraordinary etymology, the only explanation that he offers is the mere mention of the Natick verb *mai*, ' he cries,' ' weeps.' As to how such a verb could take a suffix *kaneu* to give it the meaning of ' he cries in the dark,' we, like the dog during his weeping, are all " in the dark." I do not think it probable that it ever occurred to an Algonquian to speak of the weeping of a dog. The Algonquian verb meaning ' he howls ' is onomatopoeitic, and, in one of its forms, resembles the English word : Naskapi (Cree) *ulu*, = Natick *unu*, = Ojibwe *ono*, = Prairie Cree *oyuw*, etc. (compare Latin *ululat*, ' he howls,' Greek *υλαω*, ' he howls,' and German *er heult*, ' he howls ').

It is perhaps known to every student of Algonquian (if it is not, it ought to be) that one of the commonest methods of forming verbs is by the incorporation of substantives or of semi-radicals representing substantives. *Moweu* means ' he (or she) eats animate food,' or food which is classed among animate objects. In Lenape, by incorporating *kan*, ' bone,' we have *mowekaneu*, ' he eats bones'; in Caniba, by incorporating the semi-radical *-a<sup>n</sup>riaghw*, meaning ' snow,' we have *mowa<sup>n</sup>riaghwé*, ' he eats snow'; in Cree, by incorporating *kun*, ' snow,' taken as animate, we have *mowâkuneu*, ' he eats snow'; in Narragansett, by incorporating the word *ättókw*, ' deer,' we have *moättókweu*, ' he eats deer,' and, by changing the intransitive to a verbal adjective suffix, we have *moättókweus*, ' deer-eater,' a name for the black wolf, called also deer-wolf.<sup>2</sup> All this is simple, and of so very elementary a character that it did not occur to me to furnish an analysis of the word *mowekaneu* in my article.<sup>3</sup>

identical form, but of very different meaning, Dr A. S. Gatschet, in speaking of the Abnakis, says : " The Indians who are in daily intercourse with white people are apt to lose this queer sound [something like *hu* in the French word *huit*] altogether from their colloquial language, but the more aboriginal an Indian remains the more frequently it will be heard when he converses in his vernacular."

<sup>1</sup> This word is written phonetically *moëkaneu* by Zeisberger, but more correctly as above by Cummings, in Schoolcraft's " Indian Tribes."

<sup>2</sup> " These . . . are called *Deer Wolfs*, because they are accustomed to prey upon *Deer*." — Josselyn, *New England's Rarities*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> To those who are entering on the study of Algonquian, or to those who have

*Cuttoundj* = *kûtu<sup>n</sup>ju*. — This, positively states Mr Tooker, “like many of the sounds uttered by animals . . . is of onomatopoeic origin; hence to attribute its derivation to a verb signifying ‘to make a noise,’ or ‘to speak,’ is a mistake, and to make *cawcawwas-sough*, ‘a captain,’ . . . a derivative from ‘bark of a dog’ is equally erroneous.” It is equally erroneous to impute to me any such puerile statements as those just mentioned. All that I said was that *kûtu<sup>n</sup>ju* was a doublet of *kârusu*, a statement which would be as incomprehensible to a person who was not thoroughly familiar with the primitive and derivative meaning of Algonquian roots,<sup>1</sup> and with the regular letter changes which they undergo in passing from one group of dialects to another, as would be, for example, to a person ignorant of “Grimm’s law,” the statement that the two English words *glory* and *slave*, of so dissimilar appearance, are cognates. *Kûtu<sup>n</sup>ju* is not an onomatopoeic word for the simple reason that it is not from an onomatopoeic root. Its root is *kûtu*, = Cree *kitu* or *kitto*, and this, by regular letter change, = the roots: Virginia *kâru*, = Peoria *kâro*, = Ojibwe *gâno*, = Natick *kênu*, = Caniba *kêru*, = Penobscot *kelu*, etc. In order to make it plain how it comes about that *kûtu<sup>n</sup>ju* and *kârusu* are precisely the same word in a different dialectic dress would require the use of more space

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never been able to grasp the principles of Algonquian word-building, which are invariable, very simple, and easily understood, I would recommend the study of a very scholarly paper on *Some Principles of Algonquian Word-formation* contributed by Dr William Jones to No. 3, vol. VI, of this journal.

<sup>1</sup> Had Mr Tooker a more accurate acquaintance with this very important subject, he would have refrained from making the rash statement (p. 685) that there is no Abnaki root *kal*, ‘fine,’ ‘beautiful,’ ‘good.’ He will find it in Passamaquoddy and Penobscot if he looks for it. I am somewhat doubtful (on account of the vowel) as to whether the Lenape root *kor*, *kol*, ‘fine’ (as in *korapeêchen*, ‘fine stream’) has any connection except that of sense. But we find *kalawil*, ‘beautiful head,’ in the *Walum Olum*. Again, for the same reason, Mr Tooker would not have been quite so positive in his assertion (p. 686) about the Cree root *tâp*. There are just four Algonquian roots of this form, differing in their initial letter according to dialect. One means ‘to alternate,’ ‘reciprocate,’ etc.; another ‘to suspend’ or ‘be suspended from’; a third ‘to string’ or ‘to thread’; and a fourth ‘to fix one thing to the end of another.’ To each of these roots corresponds a Cree root *tâp*. The Ojibwe and Cree adverbs *néiâb* and *eyâbitch*, ‘again,’ mentioned by Mr Tooker, have, of course, no connection whatever with these roots. The “fictitious root”! (p. 686), Niantic and Pequot-Mohegan *ya<sup>n</sup>p* is found in the word *ya<sup>n</sup>pêhânêk*. Dr Trumbull was the first to call attention to the fact that *y* consonant in these dialects corresponds (as in Prairie Cree) to the *r* and *l* of other dialects.

than I could reasonably ask for, since questions of grammar as well as of phonetics are involved.

Captain Smith, in his *True Relation*, states that the Chickahomines were governed by their priests assisted by their *cawcaw-wassoughes*. This word is an error of the press for *cawcawwrrussough*, = *kákärúsu* ("cockarouse"), 'he speaks at some length,' 'he expatiates,' iterative form of *kärúsu*, 'he speaks,' 'talks.' This was originally the name of an adviser—one who gave his views (usually in the form of a harangue, among the Indians), when, at a council held by the *wiróance*, affairs of "state" were under discussion. In course of time, the name lost its connotive character and became simply denotive of a good hunter or of a man who was noted for performing brave or daring deeds.<sup>1</sup> In the early history of Virginia (18th century), the name "cockarouse" was adopted in English as a term for a person of consequence.<sup>2</sup>

It was upon the above-mentioned misspelled word that Dr Trumbull (who curiously did not observe the typographical blunder) based his word *caucauásu*, to which he ascribed the meaning of 'he incites,' 'encourages,' etc., and which he offered as the origin of the English word "caucus." The root from which Trumbull's word was formed, I have never been able to find.

*Cutsenepo* = *crenepo*, 'woman.'—Had Mr Tooker more carefully read what I had to say about these words, and had taken the pains to study them, and had adopted the caution of Trumbull, who was never too proud to say "I do not know," it would have saved him much trouble and prevented him from putting into print some very remarkable crudities. I stated very plainly that the two words above cited were nicknames, which is quite a different thing from saying that they were names for woman (*mulier*). We know very well that the Virginians, like all other Algonquians, had a name for woman, properly so called, and that it was apparently *iskweu* or *äskweu*, and, when suffixed to the personal name of a female, was apocopated to *-iske*. Proceeding upon the assumption that *crenepo* was really the

<sup>1</sup> "Thus a Fish finding it self intangled, wou'd flounce and often pull him under Water, and then that Man was counted a Cockarouse, or brave fellow that wou'd not let go."—Beverly, *Hist. of Virginia*, Book II, p. 33 (1705).

<sup>2</sup> "Cockerouse is a Man of Quality."—Cooke, *The Sot-weed Factor*, p. 15 (1708).

Virginia name for woman (*mulier*), Mr Tooker is led into some very curious speculations as to the meaning of the word, which becomes so obvious after the root is known, as to need not a particle of guesswork; and, in fact, to use Mr Tooker's words, "is comparatively simple." Oblivious to the fact that the word has an initial *c*, and that in the analysis of an Algonquian word it is absolutely necessary that every letter and every syllable shall be accounted for, Mr Tooker says that *crenepo* "is surely [!] the Lenape (New Sweden, Campanius) *renappi* [= *rĕnâpe*] 'man'; Abnaki *arenanbe* [= *ârĕnâ<sup>n</sup>be*] 'homme.'" "Strachey's *cuchenepe* or *cutsenepe*," he proceeds to state, "has the same suffix, *nepo* (= Natick *neepoh*, 'he stands erect'), a generic for man occurring in all Algonquian dialects"! This is astounding. In what Algonquian dialect or dialects, I would ask, does *neepo*, either disjunctively or as a suffix, mean 'man.' Is it possible that Mr Tooker supposes that, in the Lenape and Abnaki words which he cites, there is a *nappi* and *nanbe* meaning 'man'? The suffix *-âpĕ* and *-a<sup>n</sup>bĕ* in these words is generic for 'man,' but the prefix *rĕn* and *ârĕn* means 'true,' 'genuine,' 'natural.'

Coming back to *crenepo*, the word is, as I have already explained, from the dissyllabic root *kĕrĕ'n* (contracted to *krĕn*, owing to the short vowel of the first syllable and the accentuation of the second), 'to carry,' = Lenape *gĕlĕ'n* (old Lenape *gĕrĕ'n*), = Penobscot *ghĕlĕ'n*, = Natick *kĕnû'n*, = Pequot-Mohegan *kĕnû'n*; with the intransitive verbal suffix *-peu*, denoting, in this form, in nearly all Algonquian dialects, action with, by, in, or upon water. The contraction of the suffix to *po* was doubtless due to the Indians themselves, and not to the whites, since Rev. Mr Anthony (a full-blood Delaware Indian) states that the Minsis also pronounce the syllables *-eu* of verbal suffixes as long *o*. To repeat my former statement, which no one with an accurate knowledge of the principles of Algonquian word-formation, and the elements of the word before him, would, for a moment, venture to question, the word means 'she carries water.' Such a word, as a nickname, was not ill-chosen, since in a warm climate like that of Virginia, where a considerable quantity of water must have been needed to allay the thirst induced by heat, in addition to that required for culinary and



other domestic purposes, and where gourds were employed in lieu of pails and pitchers, the woman must have been observed many times during the day going to and coming from the water source.

This was one of the things that attracted the attention of John White (artist of Raleigh's second expedition to Virginia in 1585), who devotes one of the plates illustrating de Bry's edition of Hariot's *New found land of Virginia* to a woman in her rôle of water-carrier, and who is represented in the act of coming from a body of water in the background and carrying in her left hand a gourd which the artist states is "filled with sweet liquid," that is, fresh water.

The word *cutsenepo* (= *kûtè' nēpo*, with an assibilated *t*) is a cognate of *crenepo*, although Mr Tooker prefers to go north and derive it from the Narragansett *kutchinnu*, a 'middle-aged man,'<sup>1</sup> + *neepoh*, 'he stands'! Aside from the fact that no Algonquian dialect is so poverty-stricken as to necessitate the transfer of the name for a middle-aged man to a woman,<sup>2</sup> and to the fact that the Virginians knew nothing about the Narragansett dialect, no compound word can be formed in Algonquian by combining a substantive with the verb with which it agrees. The two words must stand separate and apart as in English.<sup>3</sup> That is a question of grammar of so elementary a character that it ought not to be necessary for me to direct attention to it.

*Hickory*.—Mr Tooker states that the derivation of this word "has long been known." "Long" is not precisely the correct word to use, since it was but nine years ago that I made the history and meaning of the word known, for the first time, in a journal now out of print.<sup>4</sup> Since this publication was not devoted to linguistics, I simply gave the etymology of the word, which I now embrace the

<sup>1</sup> *Kutchinnu*, 'superior man,' i. e., superior by reason of age.

<sup>2</sup> The name for an elderly or old woman, corresponding to *kutchinnu*, was *kut-chisqua*, 'superior woman.'

<sup>3</sup> Mr Tooker need not have gone outside of Strachey's vocabulary for a word resembling *cutsenepo*, since he might have found therein the word *cushenepo*, 'he (or she) has finished sleeping.' It is found in the phrase *mummascushenepo* (= *nē mäs cush-enepe*), 'I have been asleep.'

<sup>4</sup> *Garden and Forest*, ix, p. 263 (1896). See also the *Athenæum*, No. 3591 (1896), in which the article is quoted by Prof. Walter W. Skeat of Cambridge University.

opportunity of explaining from the view point of grammar. *Pākūhikârê*, meaning 'it is brayed,' is an inanimate passive adjective (which, like all Algonquian impersonal verbal adjectives, can be used substantively, as it is in the present case) of which the animate or personal form is *pākāhikâsu*. Adjectives of this class are formed from the inanimate indefinite of active verbs (in the present case *pākāhikeu*, 'he (or she) brays,' something inanimate understood) by the addition of the suffix *-ârê* (Powhatan),<sup>1</sup> *-âdê* (Ojibwe), *-âte* (Nipissing), *-âteu* (Cree), for the inanimate passive adjective, and of *-âsu*, = *-âso* (Ojibwe and Nipissing), *-âsurw* (Cree) for the animate or personal form.

It is probably due to the fact that I did not enter into the above grammatical details that Mr Tooker thought that there might be some "conjecture," something "quite erroneous" about it, and so, after making a philological foray upon Massachusetts and Lenape dictionaries, obtains material for two different combinations in explanation of the Virginia word, which is practically self-explanatory. These are "Natick *poqua-hogkšnie* [and] Lenape *poqui-hackeney*," to which are ascribed the meaning of '(that which is) made from broken or pounded shells'! These two productions are perhaps offered merely tentatively with the privilege of withdrawal in the future, should they not strike the fancy of philologists. The first of these remarkable vocables is composed of the root *pokw*, 'to break,' and *hogkšnie*, 'made of skins' (see *Natick Dictionary*, p. 103) and the second of the same root and the Lenape word *hakey* (with an epenthetic *n*), the human or animal 'body.'

*Tapahanocke* = *Rapahanocke* (Smith). — Before attempting to interpret these names, Mr Tooker favors us with the admission that they are dialectic forms of the same word. Precisely, and it was this very fact, which had never before been suspected, that it was one of the objects of my former article to point out and prove by a presentation of the few remaining fragments of the speech of a Virginia

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<sup>1</sup> While making a copy of my former article for the press, I accidentally omitted a couple of lines of the foot-note on page 317, which stated that the *t* in a few suffixes ending in the letters *-de*, *te*, *teu*, did not undergo the change of that letter to *r*, but that a curious exception to this rule (not rule 5 of the text) was found in the word *pākāhikârê*. The "exception" in this case really "proves the rule" (rule 5 of the text).

people who could not pronounce the letter *r*; but, in his attempt to explain the origin and meaning of these words, Mr Tooker is obliged to take considerable liberty with historical facts in order to adapt them to his etymologies. To explain the name *Rapahanock*, a Lenape word of which the meaning is obvious, and which was duplicated in the name of a river on the east side of Chesapeake bay, Mr Tooker prefers to relegate this to the background for the moment and to devote his entire attention to its doublet. This, he told us in a former essay,<sup>1</sup> stood for *Toppahanough*, meaning, as he said, 'encampment people.' Such a view was, of course, untenable, for the simple reason that there is no Algonquian root *top* meaning 'to encamp,' and no word *anough*, meaning 'people,' and even if there were such a word, it could not be suffixed directly to a verbal root. Since putting this etymology on record, its author has changed his opinion, and would now account for the name by the syllabic combination *toppa-án-ock*, meaning, as he thinks, 'the country of exceeding plenty,' and which he analyzes thus: *toppa*, 'enough' 'sufficient,' 'plenty,' + the verbal root *an*, 'more than,' 'exceeding,' 'surpassing,' + *ock*, 'country,' 'land.' To such a "word," were it permissible so to call it, several serious objections may be urged, any one of which would prove its undoing. In the first place, the Algonquian root meaning 'enough,' 'plenty,' is *tép*, *téb*, *déb* (French close *é*),<sup>2</sup> and not *top*,<sup>3</sup> which is a radical of very different meaning. In the second place, there is no Algonquian root *an*, meaning 'to exceed,' 'surpass,' or 'excel,' and, even if there were, it could not occupy the secondary position accorded to it by Mr Tooker in the combination which he offers, since Algonquian words are not constructed through an assemblage of primordial radicals. The root meaning 'to excel,' 'surpass,' 'exceed,' 'go beyond,' is a dissyllabic one having the form of: Natick, Mohegan, and Ojibwe *äniu* = Lenape *älou*, = Quiripi *arou*, = Prairie Cree *äyiu*, = Wood Cree *äthiu*, etc. No dissyllabic radical, of course, can be split in two. The root: Natick and Narragansett *än* = old

<sup>1</sup> *Algonquian Series*, IX.

<sup>2</sup> *Täb* in Narragansett, and *táp* in Mohegan, which changes *é*, *ä*, and *ü* to *ä*; but these two dialects were foreign to Virginia.

<sup>3</sup> *Top*, 'to be immature'; (of corn) 'to be in the milk.'

and modern Lenape, and old and modern Abnaki *är, äł*, = Cree *ät*, means 'to be or to become rotten,' 'putrescent,' 'corrupt.' In the *Natick Dictionary* (p. 9), this monosyllabic root is confounded with the dissyllabic one above mentioned. The termination *-ock*, 'country,' 'land,' in Mr Tooker's combination presumably stands for *-aki*, and this would have given the original word the form of *Tapahanaki*. The root *tép* under no circumstances (except through a typographical blunder in print) could become *rép*, and so, of course, there could be no such word as *répahanock*; and *tapahanock* and *rapahanock* could not be cognates, as Mr Tooker admits that they are.

Since I have discussed this subject with sufficient thoroughness and given the meaning of the words in my former article, I shall not occupy space with a reiteration of the statements contained therein. Under the same root with these two stream-names, I placed *tapantäm*, the Tapahanek name for deer, and its doublet *rapantäm*, meaning 'he chews again,' 'once more.' Mr Tooker confidently asserts that "these two words have quite a different meaning, for the termination *-antam* . . . is a characteristic formative expressing a disposition of the mind [!] and was of common use both in Powhatan and Natick." "In the Powhatan it occurs also in *tsepaantamen*, 'to kiss,' i. e., 'to be separately-minded' [!]; . . . *naantam*, 'a wolf,' . . . i. e., 'he grieves,' 'he is sorrow-minded,' referring to his 'mournful howling'; hence *uttapaantam* and *rapaantum*, when applied to deer and to venison, indicated food that 'enough-minded,' i. e., 'satisfied' or 'contented them,' and not that which 'he chews once again'!" To use one of Mr Tooker's phrases, all this "presents some curious ideas in speculative analysis."

In the dialects of the Algonquian language, the action of the mind is expressed in verbs by a particle placed before an animate and an inanimate suffix, which has precisely the same form as that which denotes the action of the mouth, but which, of course, has a different meaning. In the N-dialects this particle is *én*,<sup>1</sup> in the R-dialects *ér*, in the L-dialects *él*, in Prairie Cree *éy*, and in Wood

<sup>1</sup> Eliot writes this particle *án*, the acute accent denoting that the vowel has its long English sound. In Narragansett and Mohegan it is *-ân*, and in Fox *-ân*.

Cree *éth.* Since what is called "Powhatan" was an R-dialect, it is obvious that a word meaning 'he is enough-minded,' 'satisfied,' would have had the form of *tepérëndäm*, not that of *tepántäm*, in which the suffix *-antäm* denotes the action of the mouth on an inanimate object (understood, since the suffix is intransitive). As there could be no root *rép* corresponding to *tép*, it follows that there could be no word *repérëndäm*, and, according to Mr Tooker's fanciful etymology, there could, therefore, have been but one name for the deer, whereas we know that there were two, and that these were doublets.

The same confusion of ideas in regard to verbal suffixes leads Mr Tooker to assign to the word *tsepaantamen*, 'to kiss,' the meaning of 'to be separately-minded,' although it is supposable that two persons who indulge in the act of osculation have one mind in common, and, for the time being, at least, "two hearts that beat as one." Algonquian verbs expressing the act of kissing are formed with suffixes denoting the action of the mouth, not of the mind. The Virginia word cited above means 'he (or she) parts the mouth on it' (some inanimate object). The animate transitive form would have been *tsepamawär*, 'she parts the mouth on him,' or 'he parts the mouth on her.' In *naantam*, the name for wolf, we have still another suffix,<sup>1</sup> which denotes this time the action of the ear. *Nántäm* = Ojibwe *nóndäm*, = Natick *nútäm*, 'he hears' (any kind of noise); the name referring to the animal's well known acuteness of ear, which is found also in other members of the dog family.

*Coiacohanauke* = *Kaiákuhänék*. — In his remarks on this word, Mr Tooker is pleased to say that my interpretation of it is an example of "curious speculation," and then proceeds to substitute some guesswork of the wildest sort for a statement which has at least in its favor the merit of plausibility. If the name is correctly spelled by Strachey, the word can have no meaning except the one that I assigned to it, i. e., 'gull creek.' There would have been nothing strange about such a name, since we find in our own geographical nomenclature the name of this natatorial bird, which seeks its food (mollusks and fishes) in streams and lakes often far inland. The

<sup>1</sup> *-awew* in the animate transitive form, *-tämén* in the inanimate transitive, and *-täm* in the intransitive.

same name in common was formerly (as at present) applied to two streams at some distance apart, which Smith calls the "two rivers of *Quiyoughcohanocke*." Strachey seems to intimate that this spelling is incorrect; and that is probably the case, since no meaning can be extracted from the prefix *Quiyoughco*, unless we suppose that Smith used such spelling in the belief that the first part of the word, as he heard it, was a corruption of the root found in the name for a priest. This is possible, since he relates a story, a mixture of fact and fiction, to the effect that the Tapehaneks annually held a sacrifice of children which was presided over by a *quiyoughcosu*, or priest, appointed for the purpose. Fifteen children, between the ages of 10 and 15, after having been painted white, were passed between two files of men armed with bastinadoes, each child being led by a guard who protected it from the blows aimed at it by receiving them upon his own naked body. After this, some of the children were killed in a wild revelry of the would-be bastinadoers in which the latter "tore down trees [!], branches and boughs with such violence that they rent the [children's] body." The cadavers were then thrown in a heap in a valley, while the survivors were kept in the wilderness nine months and were finally made priests and conjurors. The practice on which this story was based was one that was observed also by the Indians on the north side of the James (and also by those of Massachusetts), and was a species of "hazing" to which young men were submitted in order to prepare them for entrance into public life. This practice, which came to be known to the inhabitants of Virginia as "huskanawing,"<sup>1</sup> consisted in selecting a certain number of promising young men who had reached the age of virility, sending them into the woods under guard, enclosing them in a hut, withholding food from them, and dosing them with *wisakan* (= 'it is bitter'), an infusion of the roots of the spreading dogbane (*Apocynum androsæmifolium*), a drug having emetic properties

<sup>1</sup>This word which is now admitted into our dictionaries as a verb and substantive, is from Powhatan *uskinaweu*, 'he has a new body' (from *uski*, 'new,' *naw*, 'body,' and *eu*, 'has he'), said of a youth who had reached the age of puberty. The same idea is expressed in the Natick word *woskitomp*, 'man' (*vir*), from *woskitu*, 'new-born,' and *-omp*, 'male'; the idea of the Massachusetts Indians having been that after a youth (*nunkomp*, 'agile male') had reached the age of virility he had been created anew.

of about two-thirds the strength of the officinal ipecac. The effect of this treatment was to make the subjects of it delirious and to cause them temporarily to forget everything that had passed in their life. Thus; says Beverly, they unlied their former life and began as men (prepared to perform the function of priest, cockarouse, etc.), by forgetting that they had ever been boys.

Mr Tooker, after deriving the name of a priest from a supposed word *quiyoughqu*, having the imaginary meaning of 'boy,' + the adjective *suck*, 'black' or 'dark-colored,' which, of course, could not be suffixed to the substantive which it qualifies, proceeds to say that "the *quiyoughqu-osucks*, to use the best notation, were therefore 'the lesser priests,' or 'black-boys,'<sup>1</sup> who were taught or chosen to be such; hence *Quiyoughqu-ohan-ock*, 'the place or country where the lesser priests or boys were beaten or initiated into the mysteries of the cult [!], a compound of *quiyoughqu* + the verb [*sic*] *-ohan*, 'to beat,' or 'to strike,' together with the locative *ock*, 'place' or 'country.'" From this it appears that the suffix *-hanock* in another stream-name does not, after all, really mean, as we were told, 'exceeding' or 'surpassing country,' but 'beating country,' and that *-ock* does not stand for *aki*, 'land,' 'country,' but is a locative suffix, which would, in that event, mean 'at,' 'in,' or 'on.' Here we have, indeed, "speculation" run wild.<sup>2</sup> In what Algonquian dialect, I would ask, is there any semi-radical *-han*,<sup>3</sup> capable of entering into composition with the meaning of 'beating'? In what Algonquian dialect is there to be found any word *quiyoughqu*, or any term resembling it, meaning 'boy'?

As to the meaning of the Powhatan name for a priest, variously

<sup>1</sup> Mr Tooker, in a footnote, says that "Smith (p. 373) on the margin has: 'Their solemn Sacrifices of Children which they call Black-boys.' This I regard as a free translation of the word *Quiyoughquosuk*." Smith's word "black," however, is merely a misprint for *blaek*; modern *bleak* (Anglo-Saxon *blaec*, *blac*), meaning 'pale,' 'wan,' 'pallid.' The "boys" were so called by Smith, of course, because they were painted white.

<sup>2</sup> Since there were two *Quiyoughcohanocks*, there must, therefore, have been two "beating places." This was certainly pretty hard on the Tapehanek "black boys."

<sup>3</sup> In answer to this question, Mr Tooker, in a footnote, explains it as "a verb [*sic*] that appears in several Powhatan names in varying forms, such as '*Rok-oha-min*, parched corn ground small.'" Of this word I have given the meaning under the name Chickahominy.

spelled *quiyoughcosough*, *quiyoughcosuck*, *quiyoughquosicke*, *quiquascake*, I shall offer a suggestion, which may be taken for what it is worth. The first vowel *i* of the root doubtless had its long English sound, and we should therefore write it *ai*; the *ough*<sup>1</sup> = *u*, and this, in one spelling, is replaced by *o*; the characteristic, *k*, of the root is accompanied with *w* or *o*. From these data we have the root *kwaiukw*, or *kwaiokw*, which is possibly the Powhatan form of the Ojibwe root *gwaiükw* or *gwaiäk*w (= Prairie Cree *kwaiäskw*, = Wood Cree *kwaiüskw*), 'straight,' 'straight-forward,' 'upright,' 'just,' 'true,' etc. From this root we should have the animate verbal adjective *kwaiukosu* or *kwaiokosu*, 'he is straight,' 'just,' 'true,' 'perfect,' 'without guile,' etc. The name was applied also by the Powhatans to any one of the petty gods whom they worshipped. In Natick the root *sampw*, 'straight,' was used by Eliot with similar derivative meanings: 'upright,' 'right,' 'righteous,' 'just.' In Lenape, also, the root *schachachg*, 'straight,' is employed in the senses of 'upright,' 'right,' 'righteous,' 'true,' 'just,' 'correct,' etc. If my surmise in regard to the meaning of the root whence the name of a Virginia priest was derived is correct, Smith's *Quiyoughcohanok* would mean 'straight stream'; but, inasmuch as neither of the creeks so called is straight, the probability is that the name given by Strachey is the correct one.

*Massawomek*. — My intimation that this word was a mispronunciation by the English settlers of *Mächewomik* was unfortunate, since the two names are merely dialectic forms of the same term.

A picturesque valley of the Susquehanna, in Luzerne county, Pa., is bordered on each side by a broad plain or flat, about twenty miles in length, which was formerly the domain of several Lenape clans, by whom it was called by a name meaning 'great flat' or 'plain,' which in the guttural Minsi dialect was *M'chewomi*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The combination *ough* was an orthoepic device used by Smith and other early English writers in Virginia to represent the peculiar pronunciation of *u* in Algonquian.

<sup>2</sup> This word with the addition of the postpositive preposition, making *M'chewomink*, 'at (or on) the great plain,' gave rise, through corruption, to the name Wyoming, which was rendered famous by Campbell (1809) in his once widely read poem entitled *Gertrude of Wyoming*, whence the application of the name to so many places (and finally to a state) in the United States. The Iroquois name for this flat was *Skahentowane*, 'great meadow (or plain),' a term which was applied also to extensive meadows in other localities, and became corrupted to "Shenandoah."



These Algonquians were conquered and "put in petticoats" by the Minquas, a powerful and warlike Iroquoian people, who settled upon the land of the vanquished and lived there previous to and at the advent of the Europeans. It was certainly these belligerent Minquas, and not people of the same linguistic stock from the Great Lakes (as Smith supposed) that occasionally organized war parties and paddled down the Susquehanna into Chesapeake bay in their bark canoes (with which all the Iroquois were provided), and struck terror into the hearts of the natives of the tidewater region of Virginia. The word *Mäsëwomik* means 'people of the great plain'; from *mäs*, 'great,' *womi*, 'plain' or 'flat,' and *k*, the characteristic of the animate plural suffix.

Mr Tooker says he translates "it 'those who travel by boat,' *massow-omeke*." There could be no such Algonquian word formed to have that meaning. The Powhatan word to render the English phrase 'those who travel by boat,' would have been *mëshurhänkik*. It was nothing surprising to the Virginians that their enemies should travel by boat, since that was precisely the way in which they themselves traveled when they went by water.

*Vttasantasough* = *Utäsantäsu*. — I deeply regret that I made any reference to this word, since I have never been able to work out its meaning. The origin of the terminal *-antäsu* is plain enough; that is simply an adjective suffix derived from the intransitive verbal suffix *-antäm*, which, according to the root used with it, might denote the action of wearing clothing, eating, accompanying, etc. The meaning of the root *täs* (Pamptico *tosh*) is problematical. A root used in one dialect often dies out in others and is replaced therein by one of a different form having practically the same meaning. No root *täs* that would form a verb with the suffix *-anätm* can now be found in any other dialect. Mr Tooker, taking as his model the Narragansett word *eenantowash* (miswritten for *ininantowash*, imp. 2d sing. of *ininantoweu*) 'speak thou Indian!' forms a combination *k'uttass-antowash*, to which he ascribes the meaning of 'he speaks a strange language.' Such a word, if I may so call it, would have seemed fully as strange to the Powhatans as did the foreigners who suddenly appeared among them. In the first place, there is no Algonquian root *kuttass*, meaning 'to be strange'; and, in the

second, if the suffix represents *-antoweu* denoting the action of speaking in the manner designated by the root, it would have here, as in the Narragansett word just cited, the form of the 2d pers. sing. of the imperative mood. The meaning of the word *ûtäsantäsu* will never be known, and it is therefore useless to make frivolous guesses in regard to it.

Mr Tooker's etymons of the names for "paint" and "bark dish" may be disposed of in a few words. The idea that the first syllable in the name for paint is an adjective root meaning 'fine,' 'pretty,' 'handsome,' is very absurd, as well as quite antiquated. If such were the case, the root vowel, when the word takes an adjective prefix or enters into composition, would be preserved; but, instead of this, the first vowel of the word disappears under such circumstances, thus showing that it is merely expletive. Again, the cognate Lenape names, in addition to *wulämän*, are *älämän* and *wälämän*, and the Prairie Cree name is *wiyämän* — words in which, in Lenape, neither *äl* nor *wäl*, and, in Cree, neither *wi* nor *wiy* means 'fine,' 'pretty,' 'handsome.' Finally, the comparative study and analysis of the word which I presented in my former article, and in which I stripped it of its expletive prefix and its formative and laid bare its root, gives all that we can ever expect to know in regard to a term the actual meaning of which, like that of the name of the kettle, spoon, bark dish, and some other primitive utensils, has long been lost to the Indians themselves.

The fact that the names for a bark dish are, as I have already fully explained (*Amer. Anthropologist*, VI, p. 328, f. n.), derived from a verb would suffice to show to any one having even but a slight acquaintance with Algonquian grammar that *-ägän* is the formative of a verbal noun, and not a generic substantival suffix which can be used to form a word in combination with an adjective or with a substantive used attributively. Verbs in *-âkeu* or *-âgeu*, and, consequently, substantives in *-ägän* can be formed only from intransitive verbs or animate adjectives, and never directly from a root. The Algonquian root meaning 'to be concave' or 'hollow' is not, as Mr Tooker seems to imagine, *wur*, *wun*, *ol*, *on*, etc., but: Caniba *wa<sup>n</sup>r*, Penobscot and Lenape *wäl*, Natick *wón* (*wân*), Ojibwe *wân*, Prairie Cree *wây*, Wood Cree *wâth*, etc. From this

root is formed the Caniba name for a plate, *wa<sup>n</sup>radé*, meaning 'it is concave.' In the same dialect, the name for a bark dish is *ura<sup>n</sup>gän*, a word which, like all its cognates, is derived from an intransitive verb formed from a root of which the meaning is lost.

"From the same element" [*i. e.*, the supposed root found in the name for a bark dish], says Mr Tooker, is derived the "Narragansett *wunnauanounuck*, a 'shallop,' . . . from *wunnau*, 'a shallow vessel,' and *-anounau*, 'to carry,' + *-uk*, 'that which.'"

In this Narragansett word, the generic substantival suffix *-ounuck* (= *unük*, written also *-onük*, = Natick *onag-*, = Caniba *-uräk*, = Lenape *-oläk*, = Ojibwe *-onäg*, = Cree *-otäk*) means 'boat' or 'canoe.' The signification of the substantive prefix *wünnauan*, used attributively, has not been ascertained; but what may be stated as absolutely certain is that *wünnau* does not mean 'hollow (*wän*) vessel,' and that *anounau* does not mean 'to carry.'

*Paqwantewun* = *päkwa<sup>n</sup>tehun*. — In this word Mr Tooker sees lurking the Narragansett name for an 'apron,' viz., *äutawhun*, "Hence," he says, "*paqwantewun* = Narr. *pähk-äutawhun*, 'a clean apron'!" To use Mr Tooker's language, the Narragansett word shows simply one of those accidental similarities that sometimes occur in words belonging to remote dialects, "for there is no etymological connection between the two names,"—none whatever. The root and grammatical structure of the words differ *in toto*. Mr Tooker's grammatical explanation of the structure of the Narragansett name for "apron," I am sorry to say, I cannot grasp: "The particle *un* is the nominative of the impersonal verb, when the object for which it stands is expressed by the verb, *i. e.*, *autawhun*, 'it hides.'"

*Bagwanchybasson* (= *päkwa<sup>n</sup>tshüpisun*), says Mr Tooker, is the same name as Natick *puttukwobbesin* (= *pütükwäbisun*), = Abnaki *pëtëgwäbisun*, "from *puttuckqui-au*, 'it girdles,' and *mobee*, 'hip'!" It would certainly be difficult (except, perhaps, to a myope) to see any resemblance between the roots *päkwa* and *pütükwa* or *pëtëgw*, the first meaning to 'wind about' or 'be wound about,' and the second 'to be round.' The meaning of the Natick and Abnaki words above cited is simply 'round tie' or 'band' (*-bisun*). The semi-radical '*mobee*, 'hip,' does not enter into the composition of

the word. The *bb* in the Natick word simply represents a gemination of the consonant *b* belonging to the suffix. Girdles are worn around the waist, not around the hips. The Nipissings call the waist by the same name as the sash or girdle that encircles it.

Finally, Mr Tooker directs his attention to the word *wintuc*, *wintuccum* (= *wintúk*, *wintúkuv*), ghou, regarding which he positively asserts that "neither Strachey nor the copyist made a mistake, for this word means a 'fool,' and not a 'ghoul.'" Was it no mistake of a copyist, then, that in Strachey's vocabulary the pronomial adjective *cuttak*, 'another,' is given as the name for an 'otter,' that *pussequembun* (= *púsikwibún*), 'he rose,' is given as the name for a 'rose,' that *meisutterask*, a 'cove,' is given as the name for an 'owl'? In support of his assertion that the Virginia word means 'fool,' Mr Tooker offers "*wintuccum* = Mass. *ween-tuhkekun*, 'he is head-heavy,' 'he is a fool.'"

Inasmuch as the Natick word *ween* is the name for 'marrow,' not 'head,' and as *tuhkekun* is a verbal adjective meaning 'it is heavy,' Mr Tooker's "cognate" would be written in two separate words, *ween tuhkekun*, and assert that 'marrow is heavy.' As another "cognate," he gives Lenape *wil-tak*, 'head-heavy,' 'a fool,' 'a sot,' 'a drunkard'; a combination entirely original with him, in which *wil* means 'head,' and *tak* is simply a product of the imagination, since there is no Lenape adjective root *tak*<sup>1</sup> meaning 'heavy.' A compound consisting of a substantive connected by a hyphen with a mere root, and a suppositional root at that, is certainly a philological curiosity.

In closing this article, I cannot refrain from warmly commending Mr Tooker for the able, conscientious, and fearless manner in which he performed the task (doubtless painful and onerous) of pointing out and correcting the mistakes which he found skulking "in nearly every paragraph" of my former communication. In dragging forth some of these mistakes to the light and submitting

<sup>1</sup> The Lenape name for "lead," given in Brinton and Anthony's *Lenape-English Dictionary* as *takachsun*, and quoted in the *Natick Dictionary* (p. 163) and there interpreted 'heavy stone,' is miswritten for *wtakachsun*, 'soft stone' (i. e., metal). The Natick root *tú'kikw*, = Abnaki *té'kikw* (not on record in Lenape), meaning 'to be heavy,' is dissyllabic.

them to so intelligent an examination, I think he has done but right; for I hold it to be the bounden duty of every person who has the interest of the reading public sincerely at heart, and who feels himself sufficiently well equipped to assume the functions of critic, promptly to call attention to and correct any glaring errors that he may observe in print, to the end that the evils resulting from the dissemination of false teachings may, in a measure at least, be attenuated.