

*American Indian Studies
In the Extinct Languages of
Southeastern New England*



Dr. Frank Waabu O'Brien

Aquidneck Indian Council

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Southeastern New England*



Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program
A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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WUNNOHTEAONK



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS

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They want to dry the tears that drowned the sun

They want laughter to return to their hearts

They want to go home ∞ ∞ to Mother and Grandmother

They want to hear their ancestral voices 'round the fire





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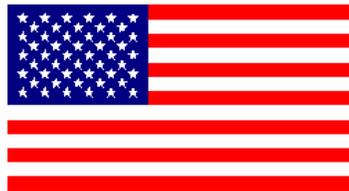


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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my daughter
Miss Lily-Rae O'Brien

FOREWORD

Indian Metanoia and Geistod

This monograph contains 13 self-contained brief treatises, listed in the Table of Contents. These chapters comprise material on linguistic, historical and cultural studies of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England. These Indian languages, and their dialects, were once spoken principally in the States of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. They are called “Massachusett” and “Narragansett”. These Indian tongues are a subset of a larger group of about three dozen Indian languages called the Algonquian language family.

The manuscript summarizes work over the past decade relating to the documentation, analysis and reconstruction of these lost and sleeping American Indian languages. The primary focus is comparative Algonquian vocabulary and elementary grammatical structures, derived from the scholarly linguistic and anthropological literature, oral tradition, and the authors own (hypothetical) reconstructive contributions.

Our objective is to reach a diverse audience interested in these old Indian languages. As such, my approach is quasi-historical, linguistic and phenomenological.

Each chapter contains vocabularies and extensive grammatical notes relating to individual topical areas. For example, the paper in Chapter III, “Animals & Insects,” shows translations and glossary notes for about 100 names for Animals & Insects taken from the extinct American Indian Algonquian languages of southeastern New England, Narragansett and Massachusett. Comparative linguistic data are selected from the Pequot language, Ojibway, Abenaki or Wampano for purposes of comparison, or when existing terms for biological species were not recorded by the missionaries documenting the Natick-Massachusett or Narragansett languages. Reconstruction of such words in Natick-Massachusett or Narragansett may be modeled on these terms from similar Algonquian languages. Occasionally the author suggests his own reconstructions for words never recorded by the Colonial missionaries.

Each chapter follows the paradigm just described. Some papers, such as in Chapters I, XI and XII, are more speculative, with regard to modern usage of old Indian words (“Squaw”) and language revival or reconstruction efforts, and the issues involved in regeneration of the Indian languages lost to time and human historical evolution on this land.



Published and unpublished authors and commentators, both Native and non-Native, disagree on the time period when these American Indian Algonquian languages became “extinct.” Estimates range from 1 to 2 centuries ago, depending on the definition of “extinct” used. What is believed to be certain is that no one living today has heard a speaker express themselves as a fluent speaker in those languages and dialects that once filled the Algonquian villages, wigwams, woods, fields and mountains in those parts of

America called “New-England”. No extinct American Indian language has ever been brought back to life, as was the case with the Hebrew language in Israel¹.

The major European names associated with the recording and documentation of the vocabulary, grammar and dialogue of mainland Narragansett and Massachusetts are the 17th and 18th century Rhode Island and Massachusetts missionaries; i.e., Roger Williams (Narragansett Language), John Eliot (“The Apostle to the Indians”, Massachusetts, Natick Dialect), Josiah Cotton (Massachusetts, Plymouth-Cape Cod dialect), and others listed in individual essays.

As would be expected, the extant Colonial records and documents from this period leave much to be desired from a modern perspective. The data and information are scanty, ambiguous, inconsistent, and prevalent with “noise”. However, the heroic efforts of the Christian missionaries who attempted to translate the Bible, record the vocabulary, grammar and dialogue of a people who spoke a language vastly different from the European Romance tongues, must be respected. And their works are what must be used as significant inputs into any extinct language revival efforts.

Figure 1, below, shows the historic ancestral homelands of the major Indian nations and tribes in southern New England (the gray-shaded region)[⊗]. Here we see what are believed to be the Indian Nations who spoke fluently some dialect of the Narragansett and Massachusetts languages (Pokanoket² Nation, Massachusetts Nation, Nipmuck Nation, Pawtucket Nation).

Figure 2 displays a reconstructed map of Colonial Rhode Island, from Rider (1903); see full reference citation in Chapter XIII (“At the Powwow”). This map is interesting because it documents a substantial number of Rhode Island Indian place names no longer in existence in contemporary government data bases. Approximately 2/3 of Indian place names on this map have been lost to time³.

¹ See Burkhard Bilger (1994). “Keeping our Words”. *The Sciences*. (Sept./Oct.).

[⊗] Note that the Pawtuckets (or Pennacooks) lived above the Massachusetts Indians, one of the major tribes/nations speaking the language Massachusetts.

² “Wampanoag” in modern terms.

³ Two other recent and related online public Internet publications are:

- *American Indian Place Names in Rhode Island: Past & Present*. © 2003, Dr. Francis Joseph O'Brien, Jr., <http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianPlaceNames.html>
- *Bibliography for Studies of American Indians in and Around Rhode Island, 16th -21 Centuries*. © 2004, Dr. Francis Joseph O'Brien, Jr. <http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianBibliography.html>.



Fig. 1. The broad white lines show tribal territories (ancestral homelands). A black square indicates a modern non Indian town. A large bold-type name refers to an Indian Nation (e.g., **Massachusetts**), the smaller bold-type names indicate tribal subdivisions (e.g., **Neponset**), present day State boundaries are indicated by dashed lines — and State names are capitalized (e.g., MASSACHUSETTS), and geographical features are italicized (e.g., *Atlantic Ocean*). Source: Bruce G. Trigger (Volume Editor), *Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 15 (Northeast)*, © 1978. Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution (Page 160). Used with permission.

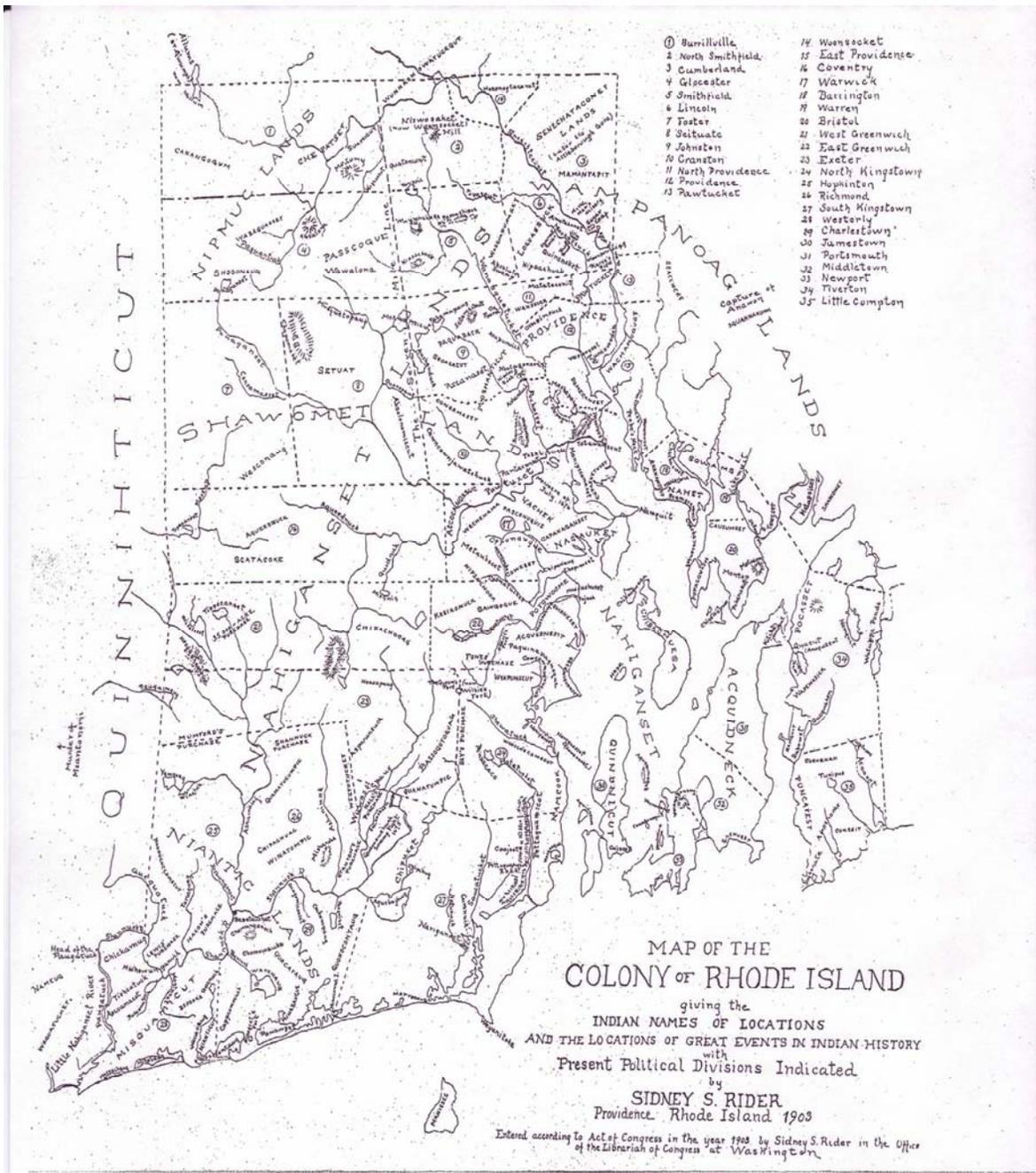


Fig. 2. Old Colonial Map of Rhode Island. Courtesy of The Rhode Island Historical Society Library.

The following figure, Figure 3, summarizes the major historical and contemporary inputs to the process of language revitalization, recovery or reconstruction of Massachusett and Narragansett. More detailed historical and other technical information may be found in

Vol. 17 of *The Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by Dr. Ives Goddard, Senior Linguist, Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

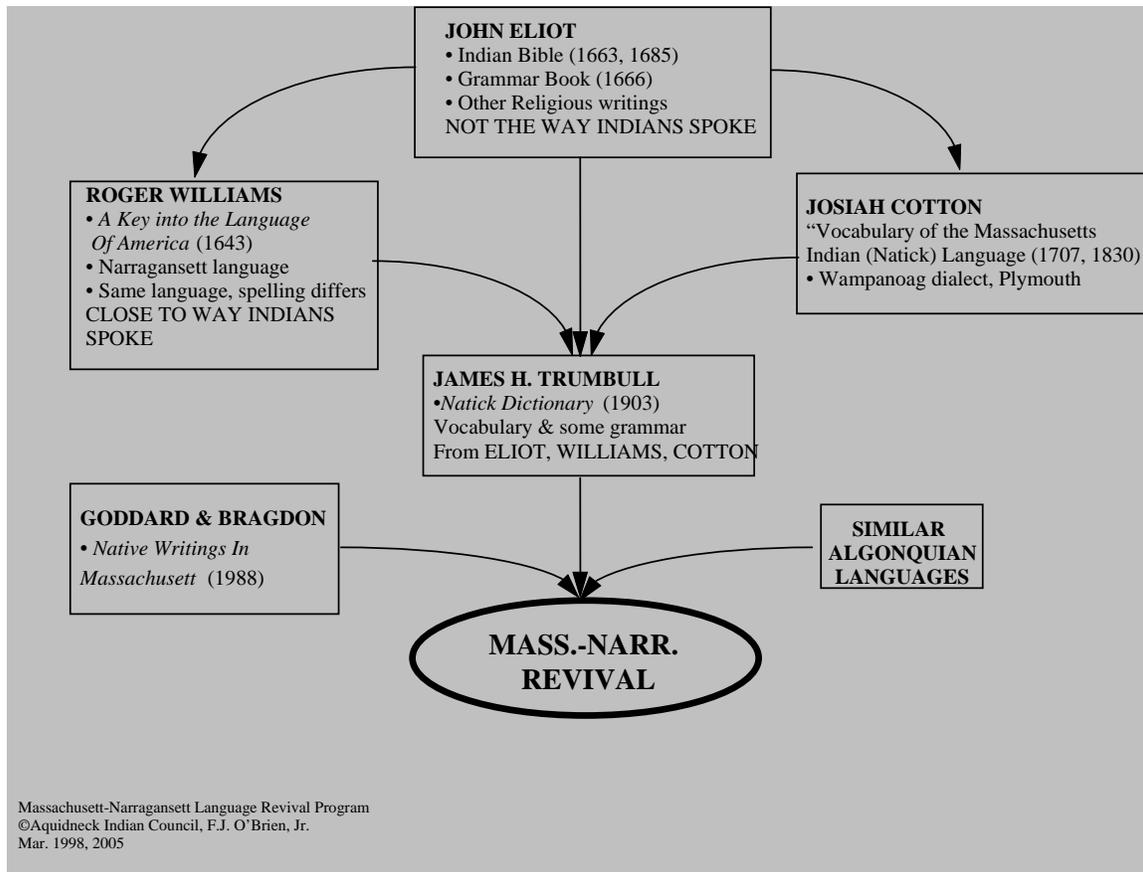


Fig. 3. Historical and Modern Sources for Language Revival of the Massachusett-Narragansett Language of Southeastern New England. References for sources may be found in Chapter XII, “Bringing Back our Lost Language.”



The Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc.

The Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc., in Newport, RI, was formed in 1996 in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations as a 501(c) 3 nonprofit corporation. The Council was founded, formed, and governed by aboriginal peoples of North America. It dissolved legally in 2002 due to financial pressures and personal considerations. The organization still operates as a scholarly research repository, under the designation, “The Aquidneck Indian Council”. The following photograph shows the founding leaders of the Council.



Aquidneck Indian Council Co-founders.
Front: Strong Woman (L), Healing Woman (R);
Rear (author), West Greenwich, RI.
Photo, 1995 or 1996; Steven Baker, Council photographer.

One of the major objectives of the Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc. was working on aspects of bringing back “the language”⁴. The Council very early on realized and agreed that no American Indian language annihilated by the harsh lessons of American History could possibly be regenerated *in toto* no matter how much IQ from the natural realm descended on this bloodless ghost. We felt the preternatural and supernatural metaphysical realms could once again speak, or that one could turn up the volume of the voices always there.

⁴ The website <http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianBibliography.html> contains a listing of the Council’s major publications, under authors “Moondancer [Francis J. O’Brien, Jr.],” “Frank Waabu O’Brien,” and “Strong Woman [Julianne Jennings].” “O’Brien” and “Moondancer” is the same person. Virtually all of the publications, documents and records produced by the Council have been donated to the Rhode Island Historical Society, The Research Library, 121 Hope Street Providence RI 02906 Phone: (401) 273.8107 Fax: (401) 751.7930 [<http://www.rihs.org/>]. Other repositories holding some of the Council’s works include the United States Library of Congress [<http://catalog.loc.gov/>], University of Rhode Island, Rhode Island College [<http://helin.uri.edu/>], The Rhode Island Public Library System [<http://www.publiclibraries.com/rhodeisland.htm>], Dartmouth College, Harvard University, University of Pittsburgh, University of California, Newport Historical Society, Connecticut Historical Society, Indian and Colonial Research Center (Mystic, CT), The Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology at Brown University, and others. All of the material in the present volume will soon be made available online from the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), a digital library of education-related resources, sponsored by the Institute of Education Sciences of the U.S. Department of Education [<http://www.eric.ed.gov/>].

A language gives the ability of human beings to do anything within possibility. The capability to Pray, Sing, Name and Speak forms the multidimensional quartrad of all audible and inaudible human communication within and between the natural, preternatural and supernatural realms of Being and Doing. To say it another way— Praying, Singing, Naming and Speaking are the gifts of the Creator available to men, women and children of this land. The essays in this volume echo this philosophy.



The Author Frank Waabu (with illustrations)

The author Waabu was born Francis Joseph O'Brien, Jr., on December 7, 1946 in The City Providence of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in the neighborhood known as Olneyville Square. His deceased parents, Francis Joseph O'Brien, Sr. and Lillian Mary O'Brien (nee Fortier), were poor, uneducated, Roman Catholic, peasants. His mother is known to be Métis, descended from the French-Canadian First North American peoples⁵. His father was born in Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1903, it is said, of French (Métis?) prostitute, who was later adopted by one Mr. O'Brien. Their lives were completely undistinguished. Waabu's parents admitted a lifelong defeat in the eternal Peasant Wars.

Poverty is like a noose that strangles humility and breeds disrespect for the Laws of Man and God.

As a young child⁶, Waabu was raised in Rhode Island Catholic and State orphanages, foster homes and penal detention centers⁷. Waabu suffered from several childhood disabilities and diseases, including a severe head injury resulting in periodic epileptic seizures. Until the age of 13 he was reared in Olneyville Square as an "Irish Roman Catholic," despite looks to the contrary.

At the age of 13, while under Rhode Island Family Court sentence to the Dr. Patrick I. O'Rourke Children's Center ("State Orphanage"⁸) in Providence, RI, he experienced a religious-motivated Crime Against Humanity at the hands of the State which profoundly changed his life forever.

⁵ According to my friend Red Wing (Bob. C., former sub chief, Dighton Intertribal Indian Council), believed to be Hurons, through the marriage of Antoine Fortier and Marie-Magdeleine Cadieu(x), (daug. of Charles Cadieu(x), Sieur de Courville, and Magdeleine Macard, inhabitants of the Seigniorie of Beauport on 21 Nov. 1677).

⁶ "Abult", as defined in the authors' *Neologisms*...

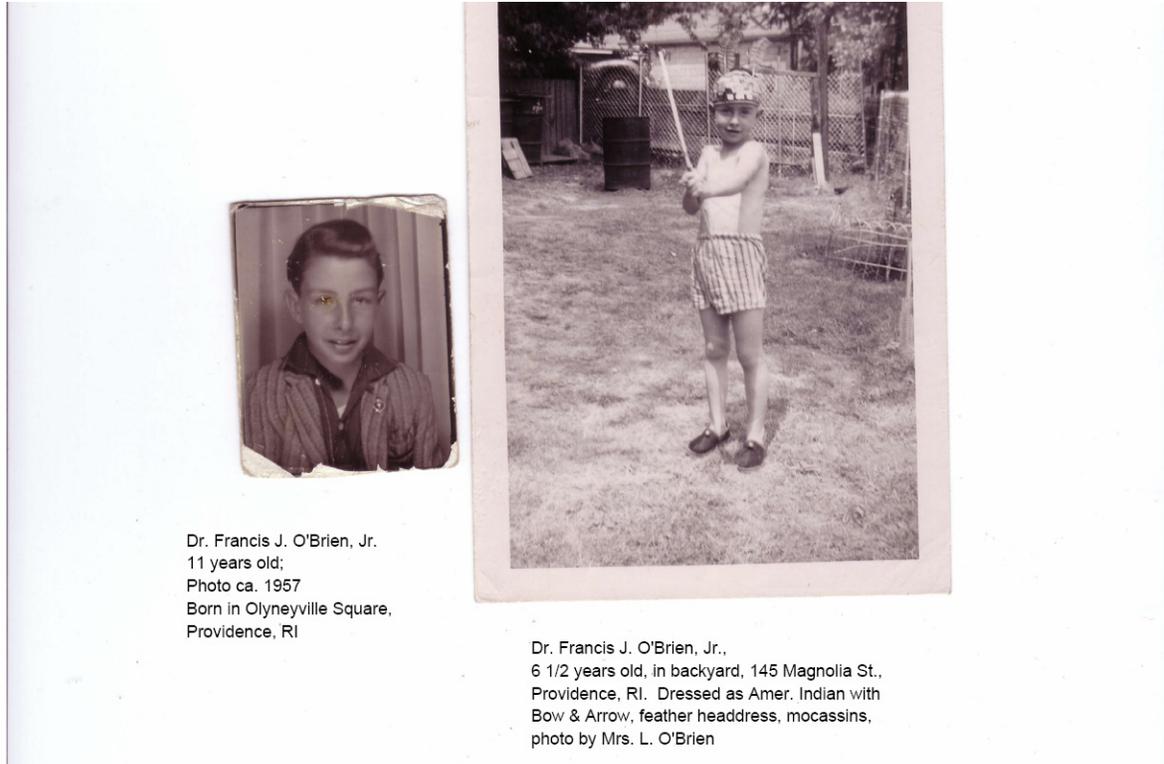
⁷ Selected data abstracted from a chronological Record Summary (dated Nov. 14, 2003), provided by Mr. Richard B. Hillman, Supervisor, State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Rhode Island Department of Children, Youth and Families (DCYF—the "Welfare Department").

⁸ Waabu refers to this heinous institution as the SPT, ("sah-pah-tay") = *Staatliche Psychologische Totenlager* (German for "State Sanctioned Psychological & Spiritual Death Camp"). Waabu, as Inmate Number 8759 at SPT, gained notoriety as the leader in a Slave Revolt against a notorious brutal and racist "House Father" who had a penchant for physical brutality, and referring to us colored people as "niggers" and "Geronimo."

During his teenage years, Waabu was reared as a Negro in South Providence⁹. At the age of 17 he was sentenced to jail by The Family Court under a life sentence at The Rhode Island Training School for Boys as “incorrigible,” “dangerous to the community,” and lacking “any value system or guilt”.

The United States Air Force accepted Waabu as an E-1 Airman in 1964, an experience which allowed him to experience a transfer function, “decay curve” → “growth curve”.

Firewater and violence ruled Waabu’s soul. *Mattand mesh auntau.*



The author as a child in Olneyville Square, Providence, Rhode Island.

Waabu’s experiences as a Métis peasant *matwaii* in “abulthood” laid the solid groundwork for his “interulthood” and adulthood. He desires to do the Will of God as my mother *Peeyaúntam* and one Father Rene Guertin¹⁰ (St. Aloysius Home, Catholic orphanage in Greenville, R.I.) showed me.

As for as my life’s calling, I can say it only in the following way, in broken reconstructed Algonquian:

⁹ May love be expressed to my late Uncle Mr. Victor Taber of Providence and Uncle Mr. Willie Powell of Boston, who showed me by example, how to live in a racially charged society as a colored man. *Nwomonoog.*

¹⁰ See <http://www.ourladyofgoodhelp.org/ParishHistory.htm>.

Waabu netup agweitch manitowese newutche Mastagoitch wutche nânumiyeu—Montagnais. Waabu auntau wutche m'tah—michéme kah michéme.

Waabu's brief work, *Analects of Moondancer*, v. 1 (1996), Aquidneck Indian Council, summarizes his philosophical autobiography.



Strong Woman with the couple's newborn-daughter *Wompashawese* (Lily-Rae O'Brien) in cradleboard; 1996



Seaconke Wampanoag Tribe, Massachusetts State Tribal Recognition Ceremony, 1997, St. Francis Farm, Rehoboth, Massachusetts. [<http://www.inphone.com/seahome.html>;<http://www.inphone.com/seahome/renewal.html>], “Chief Eagle Heart and Blue Dove greet the elders before the tobacco ceremony.” [Copyright 2003, Seaconke Wampanoag Tribe]; author, 3rd from left in Indian red ribbon-shirt & sunglasses.



Seaconke Wampanoag Tribe, Massachusetts State Tribal Recognition Ceremony, 1997, St. Francis Farm, Rehoboth, Massachusetts. The author dancing with rattle, wearing the Indian red ribbon-shirt. [Copyright 2003, Seaconke Wampanoag Tribe]



Reciting reconstructed Prayer Keihtanit-oom (O Spirit) in extinct Narragansett Language. International Day, US Naval Station, June 2004. (L) Chief Blue Eagle (Blackfoot, Abenaki), (R) Author. Courtesy, Naval Undersea Warfare Center, Newport, RI.



Snow blizzard of Jan, 23, 2005, Newport, RI. Author wearing Abenaki Trading Coat at the Aquidneck Indian Council in Newport [Photo, courtesy of friend & neighbor, Mr. William Serth, US Naval Station Engineer]

Outline of Book

The book contains 13 individual chapters, in the following chronological order:

- ❖ The Word 'Squaw' in Historical and Modern Sources
- ❖ Spirits and Family Relations
- ❖ Animals & Insects
- ❖ Birds & Fowl
- ❖ Muhhog: the Human Body
- ❖ Fish and Aquatic Animals
- ❖ Corn & Fruits & Berries & Trees &c
- ❖ The Heavens, Weather, Winds, Time &c
- ❖ Algonquian Prayers And Other Miscellaneous Algonquian Indian Texts
- ❖ Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittówock in that Part of America Called New-England
- ❖ Guide to Historical Spelling and Sounds in the Extinct New England American Indian Languages, Massachusetts-Narragansett
- ❖ Bringing Back our Lost Language
- ❖ At the Powwow

The individual chapters are located in the book by selecting the side-tab labeled with the chapter number. As such, the tab labeled "CHAPTER IV" contains the essay on "Birds and Fowl."



—Acknowledgements—



The Algonquian Studies Project of the Extinct American Languages of Southeastern New England was made possible with the generous support of many people, organizations and institutions. Many research and records facilities throughout the country and world contributed to the data, information and supporting documentation. I list below those individuals, organizations and institutions that have helped me in one way or another to complete this decade-long project. Individual chapters contain additional acknowledgments, as do the major other publications of the Aquidneck Indian Council. The author's free online WWW websites on Indian Place names and Indian Studies bibliography, <http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianPlaceNames.html>, provides information on those major projects.

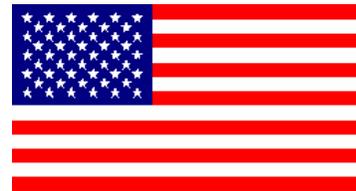
The *Native Journeys* project, a congressionally earmarked grant funded by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, National Archives and Records Administration (2001-2002) [<http://www.archives.gov/>], was strongly supported by Senators Ben Nighthorse Campbell (CO), Jack Reed (RI) and Lincoln D. Chaffee (RI) of the United States Senate. Dr. Albert T. Klyberg, former Director of Museum Programs, Heritage Harbor Museum, created the original source grant for the collaboration between Heritage Harbor Museum and the Rhode Island Indian Council.

In the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, we must mention the Office of the Governor of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (and Governor Donald L. Carcieri), The Rhode Island Office of the Secretary of State, Division of State Archives and Public Records Administration, The Newport Historical Society, The Rhode Island Historical Society Library, The Rhode Island Historical Preservation and Heritage Commission, Heritage Harbor Museum, The Black Heritage Society, The John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Middletown Public Library Interlibrary Loan Program, Maine State Library (Augusta, Maine), the Making Of America Digital Library ([University of Michigan](#) and [Cornell University](#), funded by the [Andrew W. Mellon Foundation](#)), Rhode Island Committee (Council) on the Humanities, Rhode Island Foundation, Expansion Arts, Rhode Island State Council on the Arts, West Warwick Public Library, Rhode Island College Adams Library, University of Rhode Island Special Collections Library, The Rhode Island Department of Education, Mark Patinkin of The Providence Journal, Newport (RI) Daily News, Newport This Week and many other regional newspapers and presses, the Town Councils of Aquidneck Island (Portsmouth, Middletown and Newport) , Dr. David Shonting, Narragansett Indian News, Providence Public Library, the Rhode Island Indian Council, and The Narragansett Indian Tribal Nation. In nearby Massachusetts we were assisted by the Boston Public Library and Harvard University. We thank the Bureau of Indian Affairs (US Department of the Interior), and all the tribes and Councils of Southern New England. We thank the Mashantucket Pequot Library and Research Center, and Connecticut Historical Society in Connecticut. Other academic libraries providing information and records include Princeton University, University of Pennsylvania and Yale University, The Naval War College and

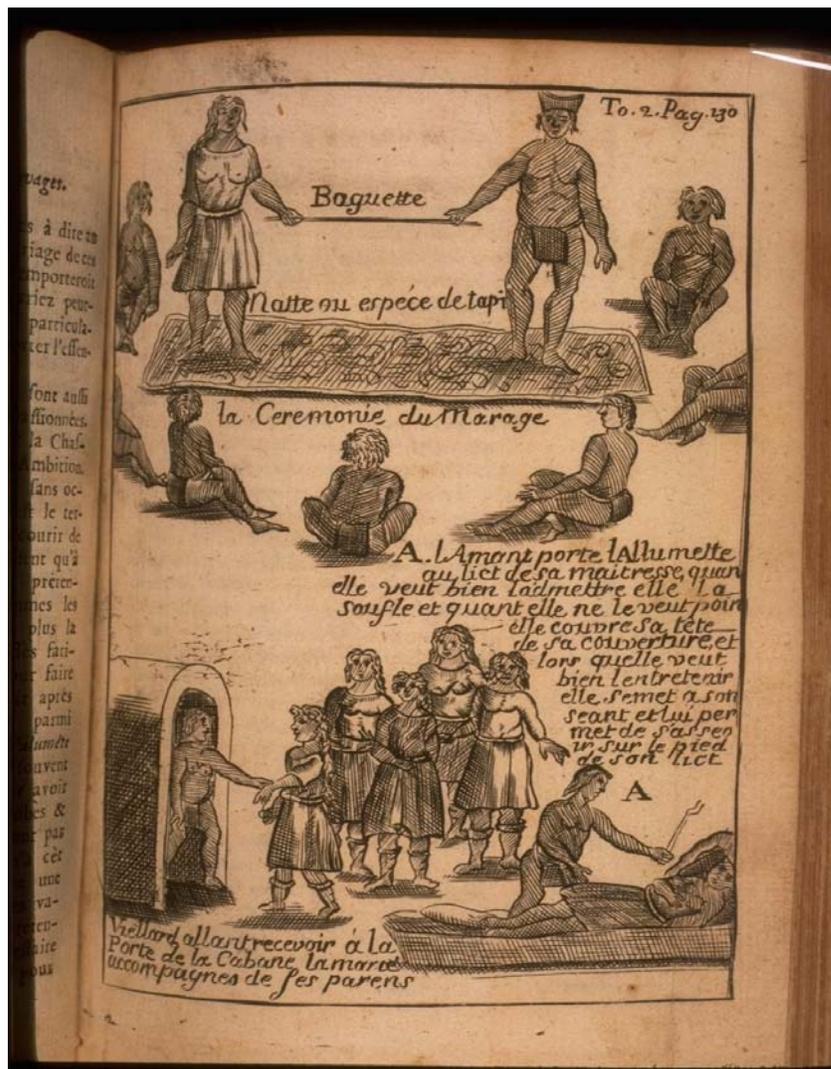
Naval Undersea Warfare Center of Newport, RI. The United States Library of Congress allowed electronic access to numerous American, Canadian and European scholarly research libraries. We also acknowledge Mr. Roger L. Payne, Executive Secretary, and Julie Pastore, of the U.S. Geological Survey & U.S. Board on Geographic Names, Geographic Names Information System (GNIS), and The Library of Virginia.

Finally, the author extends special gratitude to three people. Many thanks are extended to Dr. Ives Goddard, Senior Linguist of the Smithsonian Institution, and Professor George Aubin, Assumption College, our most eminent American Algonquian linguists, whose dedicated and scholarly works of the past two-and-one-half score-years have keep alive the words and spirits of the American Indian tongues of the Aboriginal Peoples of the Great State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Professor Emeritus Karl V. Teeter, Harvard University, teacher and mentor of Drs. Goddard and Aubin, allowed us to initiate our studies at the Aquidneck Indian Council. Professor Teeter's mother, the late Professor Lara Teeter, was the author's philosophy professor at Southeastern Massachusett University in the early 1970s. Her teachings, especially in logic and epistemology, were very helpful in my own intellectual development.

As always, my daughter, Miss Lily Rae-O'Brien (Wompashawese =“Little White Flower”), is the guiding light in all my earthly works. Our English, French, Irish, African American and Indian heritage serves this great land of ours. God Bless the United States of America. May she live forever!



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The Word “Squaw” in Historical and Modern Sources

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The Word “Squaw” in Historical and Modern Sources
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This painting by Thomas Cole is an excellent example of sentimentalizing and racializing. The American Indian woman is presented as the sexual racial "Other." Naked from the waist up, her sexuality is open to the viewer's perusal. Furthermore, carefree swinging characterizes her as the metaphoric innocent savage, childlike in her wonder before civilization's advance. [\[http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/HNS/Indians/intro2.html\]](http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/HNS/Indians/intro2.html)

INTRODUCTION

In the following sections we present about two dozen recorded examples describing the use and meaning of the American Indian word "squaw". The historical sources include the earliest known recordings from the 17th century written by White European Colonists in that part of the "New World" called "New-England". The translations represent the European's understanding of the word "squaw" used in different linguistic contexts by the Native American speakers. These works exemplify different Algonquian (Massachusetts-Narragansett) dialects from North Boston to Plymouth, MA, over to Western RI. A modern reference and guide to 17th documents is also included. In the Algonquian translations, the word "sachim (sachem)" means "village leader" or "Chief". An alternative derivation proposed for the word "squaw" (from the Iroquoian language Mohawk) is also provided. A recent discovery of the proposed interpretation and meaning of "squaw" from a 1904 Mohegan-Pequot text adds a new dimension to the debate of denotation-connotation of this old regional American Indian word.

EXAMPLES OF USE OF ALGONQUIAN WORD "SQUAW" FROM 17th CENTURY SOUTHEASTERN NEW ENGLAND

↻ Edward Winslow—*Good Newes from New England*....1624 ↻
<Plymouth Colony region, Plymouth, Massachusetts>

<i>ALGONQUIAN</i> (<i>MASSACHUSETT</i>) WITH " <u>SQUAW</u> " (underlined)	<i>ENGLISH</i> <i>TRANSLATION</i>
Squasachem	the sachem's wife

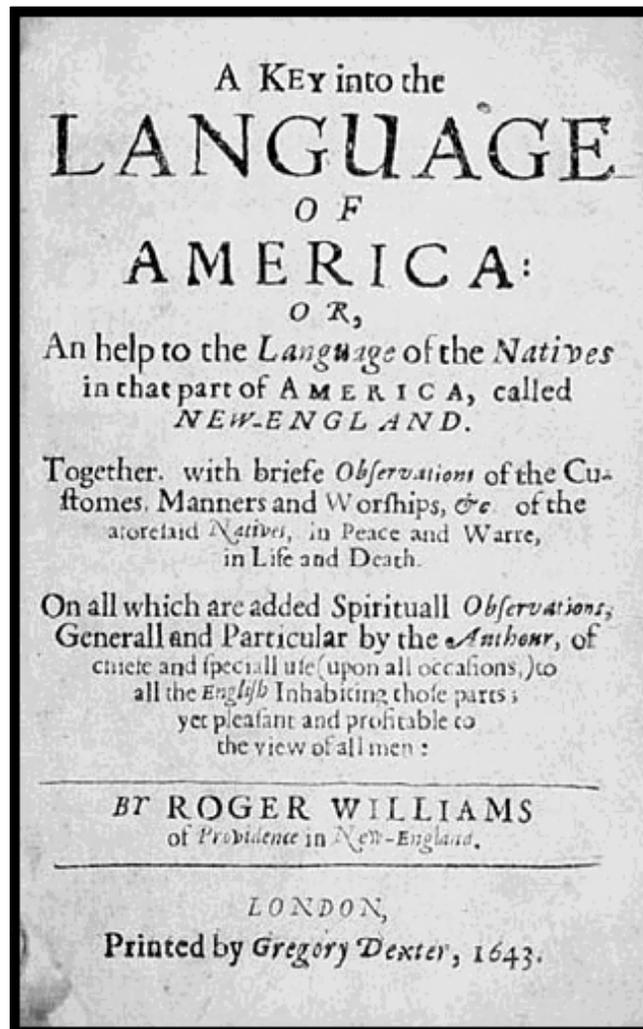
↻ William Wood—*New Englands Prospect*1634 ↻
<North Boston shore-region>

New Englands Prospect. A true, lively, and experimentall description of that part of America, commonly called New England; discovering the state of that Countrie, both as it stands to our new-come English Planters; and to the old Native Inhabitants. Laying downe that which may both enrich the knowledge of the mind-travelling Reader, or benefit the future Voyager. London: Tho. Cotes. [Reprinted *New Englands Prospect*; Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977].

<i>ALGONQUIAN</i> WITH " <u>SQUAW</u> " (underlined)	<i>ENGLISH</i> <i>TRANSLATION</i>
<u>Squaw</u>	a woman
Nickes <u>quaw</u>	a maid (maiden)

↻ Roger Williams — *A Key Into The Language Of America....* 1643 ↻
<Rhode Island region>

[FACSIMILE TITLE PAGE WITH FULL TITLE]



The following table contains information from the fifth edition (1936) of *A Key into the Language of America*; page numbers, then the Narragansett language word as spelled by Roger Williams, and in the last column, a modernized spelling/translation (with annotations) of Narragansett.

PAGE N^o.	ALGONQUIAN (NARRAGANSETT) WITH "<u>SQUAW</u>" (underlined)	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
27	<u>Squàws</u>	a woman ("female")
27	<u>Squawssuck</u>	women
28	<u>Squàsesse</u>	a little girl
105	<u>Squàshim</u>	a female (4-legged animal)
120	<u>Squàus</u> aúhaqut	a woman's mantle
124	<u>Squàuanit</u>	the woman's god ("Spirit of Women")
134	Kà wuché peeteaûgon wuckéésitînes paûsuck <u>squàw</u>	... and of that rib he made one woman, (a Christian sermon by R. Williams to Narragansetts)
141	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saunks(<u>qua</u>) • Saun<u>squâ</u>aog 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Queen , or Sachim's Wife (includes "squaw sachem") • Queens
146	<u>Keegsquaw</u>	a virgin or maiden
146	<u>Segoûsquaw</u>	a widower
202	<u>Chepasquâw</u>	a dead woman

 Other Sources 
 <Regional dialects>

Moondancer ð Strong Woman—*Understanding Algonquian Indian Words (New England)*....1996, 2001.

A project funded [in part] by the Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities (National Endowment for the Humanities) and Aquidneck Indian Council.
Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc.

PAGE N^o.	ALGONQUIAN (NARRAGANSETT-MASSACHUSETT) WITH "<u>SQUAW</u>" (underlined)	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
12	<u>Kechissquaog</u>	female elders
29	Nninuoh kah <u>squa</u>	man and woman
46 & 48	Sauncks <u>squa</u> , Sonks <u>sq</u>	Sachem's wife, woman who rules ("Squaw Sachem")
48	<u>Squa</u> (<u>squaw</u>)	a woman, female, human female

54	Ussqua	little (young) woman
106	Nunksqua	young girl (perhaps “teenager”)

ALTERNATIVE IROQUOIAN ORIGIN OF “SQUAW” FROM 18th AND 19th CENTURIES

An alternative derivation of “squaw” has become controversial. Professor Henrietta Mann of Montana traced the alternative origin of “squaw” to the Iroquoian Indian language, Mohawk. Professor Mann states that “squaw” is a shortened form of the original Mohawk word “otsikwaw” which can be translated “female genitalia” or “vagina”. It identifies an American Indian woman by that part of her body alone. Professor Mann asserts that the fur traders of the 1700s and 1800s corrupted “otsikwaw” to “squaw” to denote a woman who provides sexual satisfaction to White men. Professor Mann postulates that this use of “squaw” emphasized sexual desires when the term was used. Henrietta Mann is a full-blood Cheyenne enrolled with the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. She teaches Native American studies at the University of Montana. Earlier, she taught at Haskell Indian Nations University. She has a Ph.D. in American Studies from the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, in 1982.

If the thesis of the Iroquoian origin of “squaw” is correct, then it is plain that the term acquired a connotation of extreme vulgarity. Its use and meaning would have originated from an entirely different linguistic source than the bona fide Algonquian word “squaw”. That is, “squaw” in the southeastern New England Algonquian dialects could be translated as a complete word by an American Indian of the 17th century to mean “woman, human female”. To a Mohawk Indian, presumably “squaw” would not have been understood as a Mohawk word. It could only be comprehended as a bastardized word from the original word “otsikwaw” as used by non-Indians as a vulgar reference to females of his tribe.

EXAMPLE OF USE OF WORD “SQUAW” IN 20th CENTURY

A dictionary, by definition, is a statistical summary of the commonly accepted usage of spelling, pronunciation, and meaning among a population of speakers of a given language in a given culture. A dictionary tells us what most people mean when they use a certain word. The following typical definition of “squaw” comes from the *Webster's New World Dictionary*, Third College Edition, 1988, Simon & Schuster, Inc. [4th printing, with corrections], page 1301—

Isquaw (skwô) **n.** [[Massachusetts *squa*, younger woman]] **1** [Now Rare] a North American Indian woman or wife; this term is now considered offensive **2** a woman; esp. one's wife: a mild term of contempt

I = Americanism

CONCLUSION

The word "squaw" has undergone significant changes in meaning and usage in the United States since it was first recorded 376 years ago in the "New World" by White Colonists. Originally, as used by the Algonquian-speaking Native or First Americans of southeastern New England, the word "squaw" was understood and documented by Europeans as having primarily a denotative function—describing the supernatural world of "Woman Spirit," or describing female members of the human race in the natural world as being "young," "old," "widowed," "virgin," of "ruling status and rank," "deceased", or describing female animals¹.

An alternative proposed etymology of "squaw", as a shortened version of the word "otsikwaw" > "vagina" in the Mohawk language, clearly classifies the word as extremely vulgar.

Today, as reported by dictionaries, the American people view "squaw" as an offensive and contemptuous term. Thus, we believe that the word "squaw" has acquired a pejorative connotation over the years, regardless of its correct linguistic history. The present-day vulgar, derogatory, degrading, belittling, demeaning, insulting connotation of the word "squaw" has been documented by lexical studies, and reported in publicly available dictionaries.

Those to whom the word "squaw" refers (directly or indirectly, historically or contemporaneously) are most apt to take offense at the word. That is the American Indian. Not because of the way it might have been used in the 1600s (when none of us were alive), but today when we do live, and know it is insulting when used by non-Native Americans. Sometimes people are not even aware they are insulting someone by use of certain language. They must be educated.

Our opinion is that the vulgar connotations which attach to the word "squaw" today are derived in part from the racist perceptions and stereotypes of Native American women as lascivious and wanton creatures of a low moral character, who belong to a noble but savage and uncivilized race. These stereotypes and prejudices were most likely acquired from the cinematic and television portrayals of American Indians. Such a set of perceptions is not far from the notions of "strumpet" or "prostitute", although "squaw" seems to carry with it the further notion of a non-monetary obligation in exchange for "sexual favors". Such perceptions and stereotypes apparently support the allegations of significant sexual abuse of Native American women, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, outside of New England, during the popularized years of "The Indian Wars".

Thus, for many reasons, we believe strongly that the word "squaw" (or variant spellings) should be eradicated throughout the United States. The word should be officially expunged from all references to objects in the animal, plant, and mineral kingdoms; descriptions of natural phenomena like mountains, hills, valleys, lakes, and the like; names for places of business, entertainment and education; used as a descriptive reference in any and all printed matter, residing on any medium, such as maps, street signs or other geographical references; and any and

¹ See alternative derivation of "squaw" in J. Prince and F. G. Speck (1904), "Glossary of the Mohegan-Pequot Language," *American Anthropologist*, N.S., Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 18-45. The authors claim the "meaning of the stem [SHQUAAW] was the prepuce" (p. 40). This was related in an e-mail to Dr. Ives Goddard, Senior Linguist, Smithsonian Institution, and he forwarded a rejoinder; also an e-mail to Prof. Costa was transmitted concerning the theoretical process of language learning and semantic derivation in a beginner language learner used by R. Williams and other missionaries, to which a response was never received. Dr. Goddard was skeptical of Prince and Speck's interpretation, and cited a lack of evidence for the Prince and Speck thesis; however, their unique interpretation must be added to the list of possible other translations.

all references not alluded to above, but for which mention or reference to the word "squaw" is substantially likely to evoke the generally held understanding of the derogatory meaning of the word "squaw" as an American-English word. Finally, we believe that standard American-English and British-English dictionaries should incorporate the alternative etymology of "squaw" as a corruption of the Mohawk word "otsikwaw", meaning "female genitalia".

Aquie kekuttokaûnta squaw!
Wunnétu ntá

I am Moondancer. I have spoken.

About the author—



Author: Dr. Frank Waabu. Courtesy of the author at The Naval Undersea Warfare Center, Division Newport (Newport, RI)

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NEW ENGLAND INDIAN FAMILY



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SPIRITS
&
FAMILY RELATIONS

Dr. Frank Waabu O'Brien

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Spirits & Family Relations
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Page Number in PDF Document	Now Reads	Correct To
p. 4, 3 rd line from top	Massachausett	Massachusett
p. 4, 2 nd line from bottom of 2 nd paragraph	16 th	17 th
p. 12, item 5, GRAMMAR NOTES under "ABSENTATIVE NOUNS"	(2 nd person, plural)	(ist person plural), for exclusive or inclusive
p. 12, GRAMMAR NOTES under "ABSENTATIVE NOUNS"; add a new item 6 under item 5.	--	For "our late (deceased) _____", add -uk to noun (ist person plural) for inclusive
p. 12, GRAMMAR NOTES under PERSONAL PRONOUNS	My, our = n _____	My, our = n _____, for inclusive
p. 12, GRAMMAR NOTES under PERSONAL PRONOUNS, add rule	--	our (exclusive) = n _____ our (exclusive) = k _____
p. 22, "the sister of him or her", last column	SA	A
p. 27, 7 th entry	Our firnd, kins,am	Our friend, kinsman
P. 39, entry for "a man (see HUSBAND)", 3 rd column	genera	general
p. 33, entry "Great Old Woman Sachem", last column	rukes	rules

For additional information, see Goddard, Ives and Kathleen J. Bragdon (1988). *Native Writings in Massachusetts (Parts 1 & 2)*. American Philosophical Society Memoir 185. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society.



SPIRITS
&
FAMILY RELATIONS

Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program
A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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Wunnohteaonk



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS

Reprinted and revised from —Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer. (1998). *A Massachusetts Language Book, Vol. 1* Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council.

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—NOTES—

The main text shows translations for about 300 names for Spirits, relations and kinships taken from the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England, Narragansett and Massachusett. References are given below. A table of contents is also provided below.

Each section contains tables of three columns. On the left is the term being defined, as defined in the middle column, and any useful comments on the right side. "Reconstructed" refers to my own "guess" as to meaning, etc. The abbreviation Narr. refers to the Narragansett language as recorded by Roger Williams (1643). The citation "Mayhew" refers to his unique letter of 1722—probably the only written description of the language given by a fluent speaker. We use the special digraph (infinity symbol) ∞ to refer to the sound oo as in "food"; "oo" or ∞ probably refers to the same sound. "Native Spelling" this means we quote old, original writings of a Native speaker (collected in Goddard & Bragdon, 1988). These native writings have given us names not previously recorded or understood by 16th century missionaries and grammarians such as John Eliot ("The Apostle to the Indians").

The words in these languages for relations and relationships are very complex, not well documented and not well understood. For example, "sister" may refer to many relations: a blood-related sister, a half sister, step sister, foster sister (through adoption), companions of same wigwam, longhouse or clan, or other relationships. Also "my sister" is said differently if the speaker is a male or female. This brief treatise has some question marks since we are not sure at this time.

Pronunciation of words is not attempted owing to the scanty knowledge of this language. For technical guidelines, see Goddard & Bragdon (1988). Strong & Woman Moondancer (1998b) provide a long guide to interpretation of vowel sounds and consonant-vowel clusters.



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SPIRITS

First they branch their God-head into many branches ... First, many Gods: they have given me Names of 37 which I have, all which in their solemn worships invoke...

– Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America*, 1643, page 121
(most names are lost)

<>

Great Spirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kautántowit (Narr.) • Keihtánit • Keihtán 	"Kautántowit the great South-West, to whose House all souls goe, and from whom came the Corne, Beanes, as they say". (Roger Williams, 1643). Keihtánit wunniyeu = "The Grerat Spirit smiles"
Spirit	Manitoo	Spirit in general. wunniyeu manit = "God is happy". Manit anawat = "God commands". Mannitoo oo = "God exists". ("The first two syllabils stand for God the Latter asserhts his existence", Mayhew, 1722)
Spirits (plural)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manittooog • Manittowock (Narr.) 	wutche cummanittówock manaüog ("your many Gods", (Roger Williams, 1643)
Sun Spirit	Keesuckquánd	
God of Day	kêsukanit	
Moon Spirit	Nanepaûshat	
West Spirit	Chekesuwánd	
East Spirit	Wompanànd	
North Spirit	Wunnamèanit	
South Spirit	Sowwanànd	
House (wetu) Spirit	Wetuómanit	
Woman's Spirit	Squàuanit	
Children's Spirit	Muckquachuckquand	
Sea Spirit	Paumpágussit	pum, pummoh = "the sea (ocean)"
Good Spirit (?)	Tisquantum (squantum)	See Wunnand
The Healing Spirit The Spirit of Death	Abbomocho (Hobbomock, Chepi)	The Spirit of Death, night, northeast wind, the dark and the underworld.

		To the English Hobbomock meant "the Devil", "Evil Spirit"
Fire Spirit	Yotáanit	"When I argued with them about their Fire-God [Yotáanit]: can it, say they, be but this fire must be a God, or Divine power, that out of a stone will arise in a Sparke, and when a poore naked <i>Indian</i> is ready to starve with cold in the House, and especially in the Woods, often saves his life, doth dresse all our Food for us, and if he be angry will burne the House about us, yea if a spark fall into the drie wood, burnes up the Country ? (though this burning of the Wood to them they count a Benefit, both for destroying of vermin, and keeping down the Weeds and thickets)". (Roger Williams, 1643)
The Spirit of the Creator	Nashauanit	
The Spirit of Goodness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • woonand • wunnand • woonanit 	wunni = "good"
The Spirit of Evil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mattand • mattanit 	matta = "bad, evil"
The Spirit of Mercy	Nisquanem	
Evil Spirit	Matche Manitoo	
My Spirit	nammanittoom	

**CONJECTURED
Reconstructed Words**

Bear Spirit	Mosquand	
Deer Spirit	Ahtuquánd	
Turtle Spirit	Tunnúppaquand	
Wolf Spirit	Muckquand (Pequot-based)	
Stone Spirit	Hussúnand	
Spirit of Food	Meechanit	
Corn Spirit	Eweatchimánit	
Black Corn Spirit	Suckaweatchimánit	
Red Corn Spirit	Musqueweatchimánit	
Yellow Corn Spirit	Wesaueweatchimánit	
Blue Corn Spirit	Peshauweatchimánit	
Spotted Corn Spirit	Choganweatchimánit	
Snow Spirit	Konnánd	
Water Spirit	Nippe-Anit	
Wind Spirit	Wabanand	
Earth Spirit	• Auke-Anit • Aukéquand	
Tree Spirit	Mehtuquánd	
Rain Spirit	Sokennánd	
Bird Spirit	Psúkanit	
Eagle Spirit	Wompissácukanit	
Owl Spirit	Ohomousanit	
Hawk Spirit	Wushowunaneanit	
God of War	Matwaúquand	
God of Peace	Wunnohqquand	
Heart Spirit	Metahnand	
Man's Spirit	Skeetompanit	

MOTHER¹

my mother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nókás • nookás • nókace (Narr.) • nítchwhaw (Narr.) 	literally, "I come from her". The different spellings show different ways it was said in different places ("dialect" difference).
my late (deceased) mother	nókasi	reconstructed
your mother (singular)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kókás • kookás 	different spellings show different ways it was said in different places ("dialect" difference)
the mother of him or her	ókasoḥ	Obviative form .
her mother ?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wútcḥḥwau • wítchwhaw (Narr.) 	
his late (deceased) mother	oohkassuk	Native spelling
our mother	nokasun	reconstructed

¹GRAMMAR NOTES

❖ **ABSENTATIVE NOUNS**

This concept refers to rules for nouns of "absent" or deceased persons:

1. For "my late (deceased) ___", add -i to the noun (1st person); e.g. nókasi adds -i to nókás ("my mother")
2. Same rule as above for "your late (deceased) ___", add -i to noun (2nd person)
3. For "his/her late (deceased) ___", add -uk (or) -oh (obviative) to noun (3rd person)
4. Same rule as #3 for "your late (deceased) ___", add -uk (or) -oh to noun (2nd person, plural)
5. For "our late (deceased) ___", add -on (or) -an to noun (2nd person, plural)

❖ **OBVIATION**

Relations ending in -oh, -ah, -uh are "Obviative case" nouns and mean "the ___ of" (e.g., ókasoḥ= "the mother of him or her"); it doesn't translate "his/her mother". Verbs also follow obviation rules. See Goddard and Bragdon, 1988 or Moondancer, Strong Woman, 2000

❖ **PERSONAL PRONOUNS**

The rules for forming "my ___", "your ___", "His/her ___", etc. are:

My, our = n__

Your = k__

His/her, their = w__ (or) oo__ (or) ∞__

To pluralize a relation. add -og (and sometimes "reduced vowels" or "glides" are required before inserting -og)

See Goddard & Bragdon (1988) for more information.

Using the above three sets of rules, one can reconstruct certain kinship relations not given in the available sources of information. We have occasionally suggested these reconstructed forms.

mother	ókas	"giver of life on earth". The word <u>ohke</u> meaning "earth, homeland, Mother Earth" comes from the root for "mother".
a mother	• ókasu	
all mothers, motherhood	ókasinneunk	-unk = plural ending for a grouping or collection (e.g., "motherhood")
any mother, a mother	• wutokasin • wuttookāsin	The different spellings show different ways it was said in different places ("dialect" difference)

FATHER

my father	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • n∞sh • n∞sh (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wutch negone n∞shik = "I have come from my forefathers" • nookoosh = "I have a father" (Mayhew, 1722)
my late (deceased) father	n∞shi	nooksha = "My father that was (but now is not)", Mayhew, 1722
your father (singular)	k∞sh	cutt∞so = "Have you a father?" (Narr.)
your late (deceased) father	k∞shi	
your father (plural)	kooshoo	Biblical--God is Father to all
his father	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • oohskok (Mayhew, 1722) • osh (Narr) 	Roger Williams (1643) translates osh as "a father"
the father of him or her	∞shoh	Obviative case
our father (plural)	n∞shun	appears in Lords Prayer
our fathers (plural)	nooshunnanog	Native spelling
our late (deceased) father	n∞shinnon	Native spelling
your late (deceased) father (singular)	k∞shinnan	Native spelling (author's translation)
your late (deceased) fathers (plural)	kooshinnanuk	Native spelling (author's translation)
your forefathers (plural)	negone kooshoowog	
our forefathers (plural)	negone nooshunn∞nuk	
their father	oohshoow∞ok	Mayhew
all fathers, fatherhood	wut∞shinneunk	
he who is a father	wut∞shimau	

HUSBAND

"I am a married man"	nummittumwussissu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • npakétam = "I am divorcing (am divorced)", Narr. • sanomp (or) sunnup = "common (Married ?) man" (see MAN, below)
my husband	nasuk	obviously a woman speaking
your husband (singular)	kasuk	
your husbands (plural)	kahsukowoog	refers to husbands of women; does not mean women with many husbands
her husband	wasukeh	wussentam = "he marries"
a husband	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wasükkion • wasëkkien • wásick (Narr.) 	The different spellings show different ways it was said in different places ("dialect" difference)
a widower	segaúo (Narr.)	see "a widow" under WIFE
adulterer	mammaúsa (Narr.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "He/she is an adulterer" (Narr.) • Nummammóqwun ewò' "He/she has wronged my bed (adultery)", Narr. • Pallè nuchisquauaw = "He/she has committed adultery" (Narr.)
"Polygamy" ²	nquittócaw (Narr.) neesócaw ("") sshócawaw ("") yócawaw ("")	I have one wife I have 2 wives I have 3 wives I have 4 wives

² Meaning: the condition or practice of having more than one spouse at one time. Also called *plural marriage*.

WIFE

"I am a married woman"	nøwetauattam	
my wife	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nummittamwus • noweéwo (Narr.) • nullógana (Narr.) 	obviously a man speaking. waumaûsu= "She is loving"
my wives ?	nummittamwussuog ?	not sure of
your wife (singular)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kummittamwus • cummittamus (Narr.) • coweéwo (Narr.) 	
your wives (plural)	kummittamwussog	some men had more than one wife, but the word seems to mean "the wives of all you men"
the wife of him	ummittamwussoh	Obviative form. nequt økauau = "he has one wife"
a wife	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mittamwus (or) mittumwussis • weéwo (Narr.) • wullógana (Narr.) 	ummittamwussu (or) ummittamwussuissu = "he takes a wife"; "he takes as a wife"
any wife	ummittamwussin	
a widow	sekousq	"woman left behind"
widows (plural)	sekousquaog	
Pregnant woman	neechaw (Narr.)	She is pregnant. Paugcótche nechaûwaw = "She is already delivered". kitummâyi mes nechaw = "She has just now delivered"

SON

my son	nunnaumon	
my sons (plural)	nunnaumonog	wame nunnaumonunk = "all my sons"
your son (singular)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kenaumon • kenōmon 	The different spellings show different ways it was said in different places ("dialect" difference)
your sons (plural)?	kenaumonog	not sure of
the son of him/her	wunnaumonuh	Obviative
his/her sons (plural)	wunnaumonuhog	
my grandson ("my son's son")	nunnaumon wunnaumonoh	two words here
younger, youngest son	muttásons	
our sons (plural)	nunnaumonnanonog	Native spelling
a son, son of anyone	wunnaumoniin	
a son of someone	mukkatchouks	In Narragansett, nummúckquáchucks = "my son"
sons of someone (plural)	mukkatchouksog	

DAUGHTER

my daughter	nuttaun	root = "taun"
my (young, small) daughter	nuttaunes	-es is "diminutive" form (to indicate something smaller)
my daughters (plural)	nuttaunesog	
my mother's daughter	wuttónoh nookas	two words here
my father's daughter ?	wuttónoh noosh	not sure
your daughter (singular)	kuttaunes	
the daughter of him or her	wuttaunoh	Obviative form. "he begets or has a daughter, she bears a daughter" = wuttôneu (or) wuttauniyeu
his daughter her daughter ?	wuttaun	not sure of "her daughter"
his/her daughters (plural)	wuttaunog	
our daughters (plural)	nuttaunnónog	
a daughter, any daughter	wuttaunin	
a second daughter	noh adtóekit	"she who is next in age"
daughters (plural)	wuttanog	
younger, youngest daughter	muttásons	
all daughters, daughterhood	wuttaunéunk	

BROTHER
(very complicated!)

my brother (by birth) <u>male speaking</u>	neemat	used <u>only by a man</u> or male (a male says this of his brother)
my brother (by birth) <u>female speaking</u>	neetompas	used <u>only by a woman</u> or female (a female says this of her brother)
my brothers (by birth) (plural) <u>male speaking</u>	neematog	used <u>only by a man</u> or male (a male says this of his brothers). Word used also by Eliot to mean "brethren"
my brothers (by birth) (plural) <u>female speaking</u>	neetompasog	used <u>only by a woman</u> or female (a female says this of her brothers)
my older brother	nunnohtónukqus	
your brother (by birth) (singular) <u>male speaking</u>	keemat	a male is speaking about "your brother" (by birth, but used also as "brethren" by Eliot)
your brother (by birth) (singular) <u>female speaking</u>	keetompas	a female is speaking about "your brother" (by birth)
your brothers (by birth) (plural) <u>male speaking</u>	keematog	a male is speaking about "your brothers" (by birth , but used as "brethren" by Eliot)
your brothers (by birth) (plural) <u>female speaking</u>	keetompasog	a female is speaking about "your brothers" (by birth)
your brothers (talking to more than one person about "your brothers")	kemattóowóog	"your brethren" in Eliot
your older brother?	kenohtónukqus	not sure of
his or her brother	weetompas	used by either sex for either sex, and may refer to a non-blood relation or of same wetu, longhouse or clan

his/her brothers (by birth) (plural)	weematog	weematittuog = "they are brothers"
we are brothers	nomattimen	reconstructed
they are brothers	wematittuock (narr.)	
the brother of him by birth or born in same household	weematoh	Obviative form.
the brother of her by birth or born in same household <u>male speaking</u>	weetáhtuoh	Obviative form. A male is speaking about "her brother"; used for one of same biological family or of same wetu, longhouse or clan
the younger brother of him or her	wessummusoh	Obviative form. Male or female speaking
the older brother of her?	wunnohtónukqusoh	Obviative form.
his/her oldest brother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mohtomégitche • mohtomégit 	The different spellings show different ways it was said in different places ("dialect" difference)
a brother, any ones brother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wematin • wemãttin 	The different spellings show different ways it was said in different places ("dialect" difference)
all brothers, brotherhood	weemattinneunk	

SISTER
(very complicated!)

my sister (by birth), father or mother's daughter <u>male speaking</u>	neetompas	a male is speaking about "my sister"
my sister father's daughter ? <u>male speaking</u>	nummissus	a male is speaking about "my sister"
my sister (by birth or not) <u>female speaking</u>	netukkusq	a female is speaking about "my sister". Used for a half sister or one of same wetu, longhouse or clan
my sisters (by birth) father or mother's daughters <u>male speaking</u>	neetompasog	a male is speaking about "my sisters"
your sister (singular), father's daughter <u>male speaking</u>	kummissis	a male is speaking about "your sister"
your sisters (by birth), (plural) father or mother's daughters <u>male speaking</u>	keetompas	a male is speaking about "your sisters"
your sisters (by birth or not) (plural) father's daughters ? <u>female speaking</u>	ketukkusquog ?	a female is speaking about "your sisters". Used for half sisters or one of same wetu, longhouse or clan
your sisters (plural) father's daughters ? <u>male speaking</u>	kummissisog	a male is speaking about "your sisters"
the younger sister of him or her	wessummusoh	Obviative form. Male or female speaking of his or her sister

his or her sister (by birth or not) father or mother's daughter	weetompassu (or) weetompas	used by either sex for either sex, and may refer to a non-blood relation or of same wetu, longhouse or clan
his or her sister father's daughter	ummissés	
the sister of him or her	ummissésoh	
the sister of him	weetáhtuoh	Obviative form. SA male speaking of "his sister" or "kinswoman"
his/her oldest sister	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mohtomégitche • mohtomégit 	The different spellings show different ways it was said in different places ("dialect" difference)
the sister of him or her	weetuksquoh	Obviative form. May refer to ones' non blood sister in the same wetu, longhouse or clan
our sister	ummissiesin	
a sister, half sister, same family or household	weetahtu	may refer to ones' non blood sister in the same wetu, longhouse or clan
a sister, any sister	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ummissiesin • neetat (or) wetompassin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • female speaking

BOY

a son, a male child	mukkatchouks	In Narragansett, nummúckquáchucks = "my son", "my boy" My pupil or ward = nullóquaso (Narr.) (peewauqun= "Look well to him")
sons, male children (plural)	mukkatchouksog	
young man (a youth, teenager) (singular)	nunkomp	
young men (youths, teenagers) (plural)	nunkompaog	
very young man, boy	nunkompaes	younger than nunkomp
very young men, boys (plural)	nunkompaesog	
orphan (See CHILD)		

GIRL

girl, teenager	nunksqua	
girls, teenagers (plural)	nunksquaog	young women
little girl	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nunksquaes • squáese (Narr.) 	"little young woman"
orphan (See CHILD)		

GRANDMOTHER

my grandmother, mother's mother	nokummus	
your grandmother (singular)	kokummus	
his/her grandmother	okummus	used as simply "grandmother"
a grandmother, any grandmother	wuttóokummíssin	addressing one respectfully as "grandmother"
grandmothers	okummusog	

GRANDFATHER

my grandfather, father's father	nummissoomis	Native spelling
my late (deceased) grandfather	numissoomissi	Native spelling
your grandfather (singular)	kummissoomis	reconstructed
his/her grandfather	ummissoomis	Native spelling
the grandfather of him/her	ummissoomisoh	Obviative form. Native spelling
his/her grandfathers	ummissoomisog	
a grandfather, any grandfather (father's father?)	wutt ǔkkĩnneasin	addressing one respectfully as "grandfather"

ELDERS

male elder	kehchis	"he is old"
male elders (plural)	kehchisog	kehchisog waántamwog = "the old are wise"
female elder	kehchissqua	"she is old"
female elders (plural)	kehchissquaog	

SON-IN-LAW

my son-in-law	nosénemuck (Narr.)	"he is my son-in-law"
a son-in-law	wasénnumkqutche	
the son-in-law (daughter's husband)	wussénum	"he is the son-in-law"

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

my daughter-in-law (son's wife)	nushin	reconstructed
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your daughter-in-law (singular)	kushin	
daughter-in-law of him/her	wushimoh	Obviative form.
any daughter-in-law	wushimin	

AUNT

my aunt	nokummes	"little grandmother" (because of -es, diminutive)?
your aunt (singular)	kokummes	
his/her aunt	okummes	reconstructed
aunt, in general	wuttokkummissin	

UNCLE

my uncle	nosusses	"my uncle by mother's side"
your uncle (singular)	kosusses	
his/her uncle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wussisses • wussusses 	The different spellings show different ways it was said in different places ("dialect" difference)
wife of his uncle	ummittamwussoh noshesoh	Obviative form. Two words here
an uncle, in general	noshesin	

COUSIN or RELATIVE

a cousin (by blood, marriage?), my kinsman, my kinswoman	adtonkqs	blood cousins are not unheard of
my female cousin	nutónkqs	also used for "kinswoman"
my female cousins (plural)	nutonkqsog	also used for "kinswomen"
my kinswomen (plural) ("my sisters")	nettahueog	Native spelling
my relative (singular)	nuttauwam	Native spelling
my relatives (plural)	nuttauwamoog	Native spelling
your female cousin (singular)	kadtonkqs	also used for "kinswoman"
your female cousins (plural)	kadtonkqsog	also used for "kinswomen"
the cousins of her (plural)	wadtunkqusoh	Obviative form.
his cousin, a cousin	watóncks (Narr.)	
my kinsman, kinswoman, my relatives, in general	nuttauwatueonk	"my people"
general respectful greeting of ones own people or allies (males)	nuttonkqsog	"sirs"
they are cousins	wattonksittuog (Narr.)	

FRIEND (OR KINSMAN/KINSWOMAN)

my friend, my kinsman	neetomp	also used as a friendly "brother", "my brother". In Narragansett we say neetop
my friends, kinsmen (plural)	neetompaog	
your friend, kinsman (singular)	keetomp	reconstructed
your friends, kinsmen (plural)	keetompaog	reconstructed
his/ her friend, kin	weetomp	
his/ her friends, kinfolk (plural)	weetompaog	
our friend, kinsman	neetompun	reconstructed
our friends (plural)	netapaunnaog	Native spelling
companion of same wetu, longhouse, clan (singular)	wutuomp	
a friend, kinsman, in general (singular)	weetompain	
friends, comrades	wetompâchick (Narr.)	
my companions or associates in war	nowepinnâchick (Narr.)	Nowepinnâtimin = "we join together in war". Nowechusettimmin = "we are confederates". Wechussittûock = "they join together in war". Nechusé ewò = "this is my associate, companion in war".
a woman's kinsman, kinswoman (singular)	wuttinnunkkûmoin	"her kinsman, kinswoman, relative" ?
kinship, kindred, in general	ouwatûonk	
Guardian	waúchaúnat (Narr.)	
Guardians	waúchaûmchick (Narr.)	They who watch over, protect us"

INFANT

infant	peisses	" he, she is very small, an infant" Nonðnese, nonónnis (Narr) = "a sucking child". noonsu = "He/she is a sucking child (suckling)".
baby, newborn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • papoðs (Narr.) • papeissu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "papoose" • "he, she is extremely small"?
your infant sister	peississit keetompas	two words here
your infant brother ? (not sure of)	peississit keemat	two words here
when he, she is small	peississit	
infants, in general	nag papeississitcheg	"those who are small, infants"

CHILD

my child	nunnechân ?	"my growing one"
my children	nunnechânog	
your child (singular)	kenechân	
your children (plural)	kenechânog	
his/her child	wunneečan	"are born, come from him"
his/her children (plural)	wunneečauog	"are born, come from him"
our children (plural)	nunnechonog	Native spelling
their children (plural)	wunnečannooah	Native spelling
a little child (boy)	mukki	"bare bottom"--no clothes for a boy till about 10 years old.
a very little child	mukkiēs	seems to be for boys only ?
little children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mukkiog • neechanog 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more for boys • boy or girl
a suckling, in general	n∞nuk	
a suckling child	n∞nukáe mukkies	children suckled many years to keep down population (nursing mothers can't get pregnant)
terms of endearment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • papeissesu • papeissisit • papéasek 	"little thing"
children, offspring without regard to sex, age (plural)	neečanog	"they are born"
my offspring	nutontseonk	"my descendants"

my grandchildren (plural)	n∞ssesog	Native spelling. Noosis = "I have a grandchild" (Mayhew, 1722)
fatherless children (plural)	towiúwock (Narr.)	Orphans
twins	tackqúwock (Narr.)	
the children, in general	wunneechâneunk	"from us are born"
Guardian (See FRIEND)		
Orphan (See "fatherless children")		ntouwiú = "I am an orphan"

MAN, WARRIOR

a tribesman	enin (or) nnin	literally "he is like us, one of us"; ninnu = "he is a tribesman, one of us"
a male	nompaas	
a man (See HUSBAND)	sanomp, sunnup	not certain of meaning, "man in genera (married)"?
a man	skeetomp wosketomp	skeetomp is common Algonquian term. wosketomp =used once for young brave (warrior)
warrior, war captain	keenomp	used once for warrior (war captain), "valiant"
warrior, high war captain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mugwomp • múckquomp (Narr.) 	used once for warrior (war captain), "great man", probably higher than keenomp
war leaders (in battle)	negonshâchick (Narr.)	
head Pinese Warrior ("War Chief")	missinnege	head Pinese Warrior of Wampanoag (Annawan was missinnege in King Philip's War)
men (plural)	wosketompaog	used once for young braves (warriors)
warriors, war captains (plural)	keenompaog	used once for warriors (war captains), "valiant"
warriors, high war captains (plural)	mugwompoag	used once for warriors (war captains), "great men", probably higher than keenompaog
a young man	wuskenin	wuske = "young"
an unmarried man	mat mittumwussÿssiuenin	"mat" = not
middle aged man	kutchínnu (Narr.)	"getting, becoming old"
middle aged men (Plural)	kutchínnuwock (Narr.)	
a very large man in size	magoshketomp	"huge man", "giant"
a great man, "noble", councilor	ahtuskou (Narr.)	A councilman. Plural = atauskowaúg
my great men, important leaders, "nobles"	nuttahtoskauwomog	Native spelling
a warrior, soldier, fighter (on your side)	ayeuteanin	ayeuchteáu = "he makes war, fights"
warriors, soldiers, fighters (on your side) (plural)	aiyeuehteanūog	

enemy warriors, soldiers, fighters (plural)	matwaüog (Narr.)	"enemies". mecautea = "an enemy fighter"
elite warrior, councilor, protector of The Massasoit of Wampanoag	pneise (or) pinese	specially trained elite warrior; not certain of word meaning, but it may be something like "little spirit that moves all about". One Pinese Warrior could chase away 100 men. Plural = pniesesok
a man of different tribe, nation, race	missinnin	used for captives, tribes paying tribute, "a captive"
men of different tribe, nation, race (plural)	missinninnúog	used for captives, tribes paying tribute, "captives"
sachim (village leader)	sâchem (or) sontim (or) sâchim (Narr.)	"the strong one". Europeans used "Sagamore" to mean a lesser leader (probably corrupted from Delaware word, sakimaü = "He is the sachem").
sachims	sachimaüog (Narr.)	sontimoonk = "sachimship, sachimdom"
dead sachim	chepasôtam (Narr.)	"The departed (chepi) sachem"
priest, physician, Holyman	pauwau, powwâw (Narr.)	powwâw nippétea = "The priest is curing him"
healer, "conjurer"	manêtu	"One who chants, sings, drums, to drive away evil spirits of the sick & dying." -etu implies a process of change ("cure, getting better")
chief priest	kehtpowwau	Plural = kehtpowwuog
prophet, wiseman, priest, philosopher	taupaw (Narr.)	plural is taupowaüog
overseer of worship	nanouwétea (Narr.)	Burial overseer = mockuttásuit ³
king (Great Sachim)	ketassoot	kingdom = ketassootamoonk
a prince	puppasootam	princes = puppasootammwog
ruler, governor	nanawunnuaen	from nanawunnum = "He rules over (primarily for safety)". Canotchet was called nanawtunu = "He is ruler"

³ See below quote from Roger Williams on Narragansett language of death, dying; notice distinction between physical death, and spiritual aspects.

Grand Sachem of Wampanoag	Massasoit	a title, "great leader" or "great commander". The Massasoit was the Grand Sachem of all the Wampanoag people. In historic times the Massasoits were Ousa Mequin ("Yellow Feather"); Wamsutta ("he has a kind heart"); and Pometacomet ("of the Masssoit's house"), also known as King Philip.
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Quotes from *Introduction to the Narragansett Language*, 2002
Crossing over

As pummissin ⁴	He is not yet departed
Neene	He is drawing on (now he is about to cross over)
Paúsawut kitonckquêwa	He cannot live long
Chachêwunnea	He is near death
Nipwimâw	He has crossed over
Kitonckquêi	He is dead ⁵
Katitonckquêban ⁶	They are dead and gone
Sequttôi ⁷	He, she is in Black (wears black face-soot for mourning)
Séqut	Black face-soot for mourning
Míchemeshâwi	He, she is gone forever
Mat wônck kunnawmòne	You shall never see him, her again

⁴ Literally, "He journeys yet", **Passive Voice**.

⁵ Physical death.

⁶ **Passive Voice**.

⁷ A condition maintained for weeks, month, up to a year (if a great person, like Sachim).

WOMAN

a woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • squa (or) squaw • mittamwossis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • female in general • married
women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • squaog • mittamwossisog 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • females in general • married
a young woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wuskittamwus • wusskennin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • married? • in general
marriageable virgin	kíhtuckquaw (Narr.)	
a virgin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • penomp • keegsquaw (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "stranger to men" • virgin or maiden
a prostitute	nanwunnoodsquaen	"common woman"
an old woman	wénise (Narr.)	"a little bent over"
old women (plural)	weníuck (Narr.)	
little woman	ussqua	
nurse	noosâwwaw (Narr.)	
female tribal leader, "Squaw Sachem"	sonksq (or) suncksqua (or) sonkusq (or) sunkisq	"woman who rules" of which we can note Wettamoe of the Pocassets and Awashonks of the Sakonetts.
Great Old Woman Sachem	kechissunkisq	"Great-she rukes-old-women"
Medicine Woman	pauwausq	counterpart of male powwau. Plural = pauwausquaog
Chief, Great Medicine Woman	kehtpauwausq	plural adds -uaog

PEOPLE & FAMILY & TRIBE

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People of our Tribe⁸ • Indian People not of our tribe⁹ • Indians in general 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nnínnuock¹⁰ • Ninnimissinnûwock¹¹ • Eniskeetompaûwog¹² 	General terms from Roger Williams (1643)
my people	nuttauwaog	Native spelling. All my people, my relations = wame nuttaúwaog
people of his	ummissinumoh	Obviative form. Native spelling
our common people	nummussannummunnonnog	Native spelling
my family	nutteashínninneōnk	
your family	kutteashinnūnneōnk	
a family	teashiyeuonk (or) chasiyeūonk	blood relations
a family or band (?) or clan (?)	weechinnineummoncheg	"They go with him"
my descendants, my posterity (used on Martha's Vineyard & Nantucket)	nuppometuonk	Native spelling
People of First Light	Wampanoag	from word nnínnuog, contracted to -noag. In modern Native American terms, Wampanoag is Wôpanâak
a tribe (or band)	chippissuog	"they are separate"
a tribe (or band) , collectively	chippanōonk	abstract noun form
a nation	wutohtimion	"those that live on this land"
nations	wutohtimoneog	ongtag magke wuttohmoneog = "other great nations"

⁸ "Those like us"; "We are all alike". [*nnin* = "people, human beings of our tribe"].

⁹ "Those not like us".

¹⁰ Original text reads *Ninnuock*. The ending *-ock* (or *-ag* or *-uck* with a connective "glide" pronounced as "y" or "w") makes words plural (more than one) for the type of noun referred to as "animate" (creatures that are alive and move) plus others we can't understand the rule for at this time. The ending *-ash* is the plural for "inanimate nouns"

¹¹ *Missin* = "other *nnin* (captive people, inferior men)". Double consonants in the middle of a word (like *nn* in *Nnínnuock*, or *hh*, *gg*, *ss*, in other words, etc.) are pronounced like one letter—just as we do in English; for example the word "supper" is said with one "p" sound.

¹² *Skeétomp* ("SKEE-dahb") = "a man", a common Algonquian word used among surviving languages like Maliseet. Some believe the word, *Eniskeetompaûwog*, means "original surface-dwelling people" (Iron Thunderhorse, 2000). *Wosketomp* is a similar word suggesting a "young warrior" (*woskehtau* = "harms or destroys" with perhaps root *-wask-* = "young." The key root is *-omp* = "free, unbound".

Some common tribal names, from Roger Williams, *A Key...*, 1643

Nanhigganêuck ¹³	Narragansetts
Massachusêuck	Massachusett Indians
Cawasumsêuck	Cawsumsett Neck Indians ¹⁴
Cowwesêuck	Cowweset Indians
Quintikóock ¹⁵	Indians of the long river (Connecticut)
Qunnipiêuck	Quinnipiac Indians
Pequotóg ¹⁶	Pequot Indians
Muhhekanêuck ¹⁷	Mohegans

¹³The plural ending *-êuck* ("ee-yuhck") is translated (incorrectly) "the people of". The endings *-ock, -og* for simple pluralization have the same meaning as *-êuck*. So, *Nanhigganêuck* ("Nah-hih-gah-NEE-yuhck") has been translated, "The People Of The Small Point Of Land". *Massachusêuck* is translated "People of the Great Hills". *Cawasumsêuck* means "People of the Sharp Rock". *Cowwesêuck* means "People Of the Small Pine Place". *Qunnipiêuck* = "People of the long-water place" (quinni-auke-pe) or "People of the place where the route changes". Pequotóg is translated usually "Destroyers". *Muhhekanêuck* means either "The Wolf People" or, in Prince & Speck, 1903, "People of the tide river".

This analysis of a word into its elementary units of root/stems & other elements is guided by the principal of *polysynthesis* (see Mayhew's unique letter of 1722—probably the only written description of the language given by a fluent speaker). English-language words can be understood in a similar manner; e.g., the words <telescope, telephone, television, telegraph, telegram, telepathy, telemetry> all have in common the Greek root *tele* (far off, at a distance) which goes into these words. The other roots (-scope, -phone &c) all have their individual meanings which when combined with other roots give us new words such as <microscope, periscope, Dictaphone, microphone, &c). Our manner of teaching Algonquian is quite similar to the word-analysis we just presented for English-language words.

¹⁴ Probably Pokanoket/ Wampanoag of Sowams who occupied lands from Sowansett River to Pawtucket River within Cawsumsett Neck in Bristol & Warren, RI

¹⁵ The recent book by Iron Thunderhorse is a good reference for Indian place names in southwestern New England.

¹⁶ These are ancestors of the Modern Pequots, including groups known as Mashantucket, Paucatuck, Eastern Pequot Indians, *inter alia*, in and around Ledyard, Connecticut.

¹⁷ Adopted and modified from an editorial footnote in *A Key into the Language of America*. Providence, RI: Narragansett Club, 1866 Edition, J. R. Trumbull, Editor. The Trumbull edition has many useful comments from historical sources. We are indebted to Dr. Trumbull for some historical editorial remarks used in the present book.

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Animals & Insects



muchquashimwock



mosq



attuckquock



péquawus

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Animals & *Insects*

October, 2003

Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program

A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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Wunnohteakonk



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS

Reprinted and revised from – Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer. (1998). *A Massachusetts Language Book, Vol. 1* Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council.

This project was funded [in part] by Expansion Arts, a joint program of the Rhode Island State Council on the Arts and the Rhode Island Foundation

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–NOTES–

This short treatise stems from the research of the Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program, a project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England. Our intention is to make these works available to a wide audience. Previous works are “The Word ‘Squaw’ in Historical and Modern Sources” (<http://www.indianeduresearch.net/squaw.pdf>) and “Spirits and Family Relations” (ED 471405).

The present paper shows translations for about 100 names for Animals¹ & Insects taken from the extinct American Indian Algonquian languages of southeastern New England, Narragansett and Massachusetts. Not all existing species were recorded by the missionaries of Colonial New England. Occasionally vocabulary words are borrowed from the Pequot language, Ojibway, Abenaki or Wampano (Iron Thunderhorse, 2000) when no extant terms were discovered. Reconstruction of such words in Massachusetts-Narragansett may be modeled on these terms from similar Algonquian languages. References are given below. One important document (Trumbull’s Natick Dictionary) is available on the Internet. The Goddard & Bragdon work is important for linguistic theory.

In the Algonquian languages, living organisms are named for their outstanding characteristics (color, sound, habit &c) such as *tummûnk* = beaver (“he cuts trees”), a well known characteristic of these amphibious animals. Sometimes the native peoples coined new words for new animals introduced by *Awaunagassuck* (English “strangers”). We note that five words in the Vocabulary were Americanized from the Algonquian languages (opossum, muskrat, moose, skunk and squaw).

The vocabulary listing is presented alphabetically as a table of three columns. On the left is the English language term being translated, as translated in the middle column (with language/dialect identified except for Massachusetts dialects), and any useful comments on the right side (including etymology). The main contributing language is Massachusetts² (Eliot, Cotton and Trumbull references). “Reconstructed” refers to my own creation. The abbreviation Narr. refers to the Narragansett language as recorded by Roger Williams (1643).

Pronunciation of words is not attempted owing to the scanty knowledge of this language. For technical guidelines, see Goddard & Bragdon (1988). Strong ⊗ Woman Moondancer (1998) provide a long guide to interpretation of vowel sounds and consonant-vowel clusters along with the special diacritical symbols seen in the vocabulary.

Future works will focus on topical vocabularies for other areas such as fish, birds, human body, etc.

¹ Taken broadly to include all land animals (excluding birds). Although insects technically are animals, they are distinguished for convenience.

² John Eliot translated the entire Bible into Natick dialect of the Massachusetts (or Wampanoag) language.



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VOCABULARY

(alphabetical)

—*Animals & Insects*—

ANIMALS (owaasineg) & INSECTS (cats, bulls, cows, pigs, hogs, goats, horses, cattle, sheep are European imports)	ALGONQUIAN (Narr. = Narragansett) (∞ = oo as in food)	COMMENT
animal in general, beast, living creatures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • oâos, ôâos • oáus • howass 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • -as, -awus = “animal” are common roots in composition • -ahsim, -oshim & -sem , other root evidently used for quadrupeds
animal skin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • oskún (undressed) • ohk∞n (dressed) 	root is “raw”; cf. “bone”
ant	annuneks	“he seizes”
antler (see “horn”)		
bat	mattappasquas (or) matabpusques	“animal that sits (hangs)”
bear	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mosq³ • paukúnawaw (Narr.) • awausseus (Pequot) • konoooh (Pequot) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • black female bear?, “the licker”; • a clan animal of Wampanoag • related to “goes in the dark or night” • “a wild beast” •
beast (including any domesticated animal)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • puppinashim • penashim (Narr.) 	related to verb prefix pŭ- meaning “motion all about” and -ashim- = “animal”

³ This term and the next also used to mean “Great Bear constellation” (Roger William, 1643)

beaver	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> tummûnk, tummòck (Narr.) nóosup (Narr.) súmhuṗ (Narr.) amisque 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> tummûnk & tummòck is a live adult (“he cuts trees”) nóosup is male ? súmhuṗ is female ? amisque is generic name “water beast”
bee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> aohkeom∞s ohkeomm∞se 	“a needle, a pin, stinger”
bobcat (see “wildcat”)		
bone	muskon	see “animal skin”
bull	nompashim netas	“4-legged domesticated male animal”
butterfly	měměngwa ⁴ (Ojibway)	related to “moving all about”
cat (house, european)	poopohs	imitative sound of paws + “little”
caterpillar	m∞pau	“a creeper, crawler”?
cattle (plural)	Netasûog (Narr.)	“house-fed animals” (i.e. do not find own food); cf. “bull” & “cow”
centipede	monocoraunganish (Wampano)	
chipmunk (or the ground or stripped squirrel)	anéqus	“little colored squirrel”; from “he seizes”
claw (see “hoof”)		
cows <ul style="list-style-type: none"> plural singular 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> côwsnuck (Narr.) ushquashimwe netas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English loan word “domesticated animal”
coyote	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> mukquoshimwes muchquashimwese (Narr.) 	“little wolf”; reconstructed; cf. “wolf” & Endnote on “small”
cricket	chansomps (Wampano)	See “grasshopper”
deer ⁵	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ahtuk 	Possibly “fallow deer” or “white-

⁴ The repetition of the first syllable mě is a common feature in the Algonquian Indian languages, referred to as **frequentative** or **reduplication**. It is a way of describing or emphasizing something that is going on repeatedly or habitually. For example, *momonchu* (“he is always on the move”; “he is always moving”). *Popowuttáhig* (“drum”) is another example—emphasizing the repetition of the *popow* sound of a drum. Look for other examples of frequentative nouns in Vocabulary (cat, mole, horse, moth, mountain lion, rabbit, spider (?))

⁵ Some meanings of “deer” include any animal of the family of hoofed, cud-chewing animals such as moose, and other animals not thought to be of this region (caribou, reindeer, etc.). A roe is a non-American small, swift deer. A hart is a male deer, esp. red in color after the 5th year life of when the crown antlers are formed (also “stag”). A buck is male, and doe is female; fawn is under a year old.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • attuck (Narr.) 	tailed deer"; words derived from "at the tree"? "wet nose"?; a clan animal of Wampanoag
deer (hart, young hart, stag, roe)	eyyomp (Narr.)	related to "male"
deer, doe	aunàn & quunêke (Narr.)	related to "communicates (where parents are)"?
deer, fawn	moósquin (Narr.)	related to "smooth" , "female"
deer, great buck	paucottaúwat (Narr.)	related to "moves" and "turns" (the deer's habit: move & turn)
deer, great buck	kehteyomp (Narr.)	"great male"
deer, little young doe	qunnequàwese (Narr.)	related to "communicates (where parents are)"?; see Endnote on "small"
deer, male	nóonatch (Narr.)	"wet nose" or "doe with a fawn" ?
deer, old (hart)	nukkonahtuk	"old deer"
deer, tribute skin	púmpon (Narr.)	given to sachem when deer is killed in water of sachem's land
deer, whole, part	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • missêsu (Narr.) • poskátuck (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "whole thing (deer)" • "half of a deer"
deer, young small buck	wawwúnnes (Narr.)	related to "small", "turning"
deerfly	muchawas (Wampano)	
dog ⁶	anúm	"takes hold by mouth" or "howls"
dragonfly	odamôganak (Wampano)	plural ?
elk	wôboz (Wampano)	Rare if ever a reference to this animal in woods of RI or MA.

⁶ Different regional Algonquian dialects for word "dog" (Roger Williams, 1643)—

Anùm, *Cowweset dialect*

Ayím, *Narraganset dialect*

Arúm, *Qunnippiuck (Wampano) dialect*

Alúm, *Neepmuck dialect*

Those tribes saying *anùm* called N-dialect by linguists. Those tribes saying *ayím* called Y-dialect speakers. Those tribes saying *arúm* called R-dialect (e.g., Wampano) speakers, and those tribes saying *alúm* called L-dialect speakers. Perhaps the Indian dog was a hybrid, domesticated wolf. Dogs were a food source in times of scarcity, and they were sacrificed by some tribes in ceremonies.

female animal (4- legs)	squáshim (Narr.)	from “female” and “animal”
fire fly	routawas (Wampano)	
fisher	pékané (Abenaki)	looks like a squirrel and related to weasels
flea	papekq	cf. “moth”
fly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • m∞súhq • oochaus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • black fly ?, “black biter?” • “animal moving all about”
fox (in general)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wonkis (or) wonküssis • a'waumps, a'wumps (Pequot) • wonkqussisemes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from “he doubles back” (applied to warriors’ tactics such as Pometacomet (King Philip) of Wampanoag) • “little fox “ (see endnote on diminutive suffix form -emes)
fox, black	moáshim	Reconstructed (“black 4-legged animal”)
fox, gray	péquawus (Narr.)	“gray” & “animal”
fox, red	mishquáshim (Narr.)	“red four-legged animal”
gnat, mosquito?	sogkemas	“a hard-biting fly”
goats (plural)	gôatesuck (Narr.)	English loan word
grasshopper, locust	chânsomps	From quôōshau = “he jumps”? ; see “cricket”
hair or fur of animals (plural)	weshakīnash	inanimate plural noun
hog (see “swine”)		
hoof, nail, claw	moohkos	“A sharp point”; inanimate noun
horn, antler	weween	“round, curved”; inanimate noun
horse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • horsesog • nahnaiyeumōaodt • naynayoûmewot (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English loan word (plural) • “creature that carries” with onomatopoeic frequentative • sound of horse—<i>naynay</i> + “to carry”.
ladybug	arrumosis (Wampano)	
leech	nepukskuks (Wampano)	

maggot	okwa (Wampano)	
male animal (4-legs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nomposhim • enewáshim (Narr.) 	from “male” and “animal” (cf. “bull”)
marrow of bone	ween	
marten	wappenaugh	“white” ?; larger than the related weasel
mink	nottomag	Root for “fish” (-amag)?
mole	mameechunit	“eats plenty”
moose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • m∞s • moòs (Narr.) 	related to “trims, cuts smooth”; also called “great ox, ” red deer” or “fallow deer”
mosquito (see “gnat”)		
moth	páhpohkumas	“animal constantly waiting” or “constantly changes direction”
mountain lion	quoquinna	“long tail”
mouse	abohquas	related to “sitting, being in place”? (cf. “rat”)
muskrat	musquash	“red animal”
nail (see “hoof”)		
opossum	wapesem	“white animal”
ox	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ox • anakausŭ puppinashim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English loan word • “laboring animal”
panther ?	qunnon∞	“long tail”; word also applies to mountain lion
pig (plural)	pígsuck (Narr.)	English loan word
porcupine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • qâk (Ojibway) • kôgwa (Wampano) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • said “kahk” (?) •
rabbit (hare, “conie”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • môhtukquás • wuhtokquas • waûtuckques (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “wet nose” • “he eats young plant stems”? • conie, “he ducks between”?
raccoon	aûsup (Narr.)	related to “holds with hands” or “face washer”
rat	mishabohquas	“large mouse”
sheep (plural)	shepsog	English loan word
sinew (leather string)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mutchoh (one piece) • mutchohtash (many pieces) 	inanimate noun as seen by suffix plural marker –ash with “accommodating t” preceding

skunk	squnck	“the sprayer” (still stinks!)
snail	askéquttam	related to “raw, slimy”
snake	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ask[∞]k askùg (Narr.) 	“snake” or serpent in general, related to “raw, slimy”
snake , black snake ⁷	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> m[∞]askug móaskug (Narr.) 	“black” & “snake”
snake, garter	skuksiz (Wampano)	“snake” & “little”
snake, rattlesnake	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> sésekq sések (Narr.) 	s-s-k sound of snake’s tail, animal revered by warriors
spider	mamunappeht	“net maker”
spider web	âshâp	same word for “fishing net”, “hemp”
squirrel	mishánneke (Narr.)	“great squirrel” (cf. “chipmunk”)
swine (plural)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> hógsuck (Narr.) pígsuck (Narr.) 	English loan words
tail (of animal)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wussükquin wussúkqun (Narr.) 	"his tail: meaning "long thing at end" or "hook, curve at end"
venison, fat, flesh, meat	weyaus	“flesh” of oâos
wasp	amoe (Wampano)	
weasel	a’mucksh (Pequot)	See “muskrat”
wildcat, bobcat, mountain lion, etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> pussoúgh pussoúgh (Narr.) 	Imitative hissing sound
wolf	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> mukquoshim muchquashim (Narr.) mogkeoáas mucks (Pequot) natóqus (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "animal that eats live flesh"; a clan animal of Wampanoag "eats live flesh"; great (large) animal great (large) animal “He feeds on deer”?
wolf ⁸ , black	moattôqus (Narr.)	“[deer eating?] black animal”; seen

⁷ “Black” + “snake” . Plural, moaskùgog. This word shows the process (called polysynthesis) of combining two or more words into one word with the individuals words becoming contracted. Moaskug comes from “he is black” (mowêsu) + “snake” (askùg). The word mowêsu became contracted or shortened to mo. Thus, to construct a word “red snake”, we take animate form for “red” (mishquêsu) + snake, or mishquáskug. The most difficult aspect of analyzing compound words is identifying the original contracted root words; sometimes but a single letter represents the original root (Mayhew, 1722).

		as a sacred animal
woodchuck, groundhog	ockgutchaun (Narr.)	“he goes under roots, he burrows”?
worm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ∞hg • oohke 	related to “raw, slimy”

Note: Names for animals and insects are “animate nouns” (they are alive and move). Their parts or byproducts are inanimate nouns.

1. In Massachusetts, animate noun plural form is given by the rule: Noun + og. The og said like -ak or -ock (“clock”); e.g., “dog” = anum + wog = anumwog (a “w” glide is inserted between final consonant stem and initial vowel plural marker.) Also see footnote for “snake, black”.
2. In Narragansett, animate noun plural typically written as Noun + ock (with glides)
3. To say “small” we add suffix -es or -s (“small”) or -emes (“smaller”)
 - -ese (“small”) is sometimes seen in Narragansett

⁸ One European observer [(Josselyn, John (1674, 1675))] remarked that there were two types of wolves: one with a rounded ball-foot and one with a flat foot (“deer wolf” because they preyed on the deer). *Moattôqus* (and *noatôqus* (is this a misprint?))—maybe “he feeds on deer”) may be the “deer wolf” because we seem to see the root for deer -*attoq-*, -*atoq-*. The final -*us* may be a formative related to the Natick dialect word *ôâas* meaning “animal” or “animate being”

About the author—



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Frank Waabu O'Brien (Dr. Francis Joseph O'Brien, Jr.) is an historical consultant. He has Indian Status from The Abenaki Nation (Sokoki and St. Francis Bands). Waabu is the former President, Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc. He is a member of and has served as Council Secretary, The Rhode Island Indian Council, and is currently a Tribal Member of the Dighton Intertribal Indian Council. Waabu graduated from Columbia University with a Ph.D. degree, doing a dissertation on applied linguistics. Waabu is an elected member of the New York Academy of Sciences. He was presented the American Medal of Honor in 2004 by the American Biographical Institute. In 2005 he accepted the International Order of Merit (IOM) from the International Biographical Centre of Cambridge, England. He is a disabled veteran from The Viet Nam War Era, and makes his living as a career civil servant mathematician for The Department of Defense.

Birds & Fowl



wompsikuk



kaukont



mashquanon

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Birds & Fowl

November, 2003

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The present paper shows translations for about 50 names for Birds and Fowl taken from the extinct American Indian Algonquian languages of southeastern New England, Narragansett and Massachusetts. Not all existing species were recorded by the missionaries of Colonial New England. Occasionally vocabulary words are borrowed from the Pequot language, Ojibway, Chippewa, Abenaki or Wampano when no extant terms were discovered. Reconstruction of such words in Massachusetts-Narragansett may be modeled on these terms from similar Algonquian languages. References are given below. One important document (Trumbull’s Natick Dictionary) is available on the Internet. The Goddard & Bragdon work is important for linguistic theory.

In the Algonquian languages, living organisms are named for their outstanding characteristics (color, sound, habit &c) such as *hònck* = “Canadian Goose” (onomatopoeic), a well known sound in the southeastern New England sky-land. Unlike animals, few birds/fowl were introduced to the new world in the 17th century by *Awaunagassuck* (English “strangers”). .

The vocabulary listing is presented alphabetically as a table of three columns. On the left is the English language term being translated, as translated in the middle column (with language/dialect identified except for Massachusetts dialects), and any useful comments on the right side (including etymology). The main contributing language is Massachusetts¹ (Eliot, Cotton and Trumbull references). The abbreviation Narr. refers to the Narragansett language as recorded by Roger Williams (1643). The abbreviation “Wm. Wood” refers to the vocabulary compiled by William Wood in 1634. William Wood wrote an expository work of his 17th century experiences in the New World, entitled *New Englands Prospect*, which summarized his experiences among the *Massachusêuck* (Massachusetts Indians, “People of the Great Hills).

Pronunciation of words is not attempted owing to the scanty knowledge of this language. For technical guidelines, see Goddard & Bragdon (1988). Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer (1998) provide a long guide to interpretation of vowel sounds and consonant-vowel clusters along with the special diacritical symbols seen in the vocabulary.

Future works will focus on topical vocabularies for other areas such as fish, birds, human body, etc.

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VOCABULARY

(alphabetical)

—*Birds & Fowl*—

BIRDS & FOWL	ALGONQU IAN	COMMEN T
	(Narr. = narragansett) (∞ = oo as in food)	
bird	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • psuk • psukses • pussekesèsuck (Narr.) • pissuksemesog 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • psuk = a bird; may be sound of birds taking-off • little bird • birds • very small birds
bird egg shell	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wohhogke • anna 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “a body” • also used for “sea shell”
bird nest	woddish	“he comes or proceeds from”
bird wing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wunnūppoh • wunnūp (Narr.) 	
bird/fowl in general	puppinsaas	“half bird”
blackbird	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • chógan² (Narr.) • massowyan (Pequot) • auchugyeze (Pequot) • niccone (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from “spotted” • • •
bluejay	tideso (Wampano)	
brant (brantgoose, a dark colored goose)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • menuks • munnùcks (Narr.) 	“bad fowl”?
Canadian goose &	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hònck 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • one Canadian goose

² Plural = chóganêuck . Millions of these pests ate up the corn planted in the fields. High-perched sentries of young boys were set up to scare them away which became the "scare crow" of America. Crows also fed on the crops but they were not harmed since they were an integral part of legend as a sacred bird.

geese ³	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hónckock <p style="text-align: center;">both Narr.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • many Canadian geese <p>natural sound of goose/geese</p>
catbird	minowizisibs (Wampano)	
chicken	ke'eeps (Wampano)	
claws, talons (plural ⁴)	muhkossog	"sharp points, hooks"
cock ⁵	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mônish nâmpashim ? • chicks (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from "male"; see "hen" • English loan word
cormorants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kuts • kuttis • kits (Narr.) 	from "washes himself"?
crane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tannag • taûnek (Narr.) 	"croaker", from "hoarse"
crow	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kongkont • kaukont (Narr.) 	caw! caw! sound; a sacred bird who brought Indians their beans and corn from southwest according to legend
cuckoo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kiyunk • kukkow⁶ 	imitates bird's sound; not certain of what type cuckoo
duck	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sēsēp • qunÿsseps • quequécum (Narr.) • quauquaumps (Pequot) • seaseap (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from "he dives"? or "stretches"? • re "long stretcher or diver"? • sound of "quack! quack!" • imitative sound, black duck •
eagle ⁷	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wompsikuk • wompsukook • wómpissacuk (Narr.) 	
egg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wôu • wóóu 	From "he comes from"
feather (or quill ?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • méquin • meegk 	"long hard thing" (Massasoit was named <i>Ousa Mequin</i> = "Yellow

³ Word is imitative sound. Interestingly this word is the sound we hear these majestic birds make by themselves in a flock in flight. The next line indicates the sound made when more than one goose "honks" at once. One must experience this phenomenon to know its significance.

⁴ Rare for an animal part to be "animate noun" by plural form "-og".

⁵ See Trumbull, p. 235 ("*cock")

⁶ The repetition of the first syllable ku is a common feature in the Algonquian Indian languages, referred to as **frequentative** or **reduplication** (coinciding in this case with onomatopoeic). It is a way of describing or emphasizing something that is going on repeatedly or habitually. For example, *momonchu* ("he is always on the move"; "he is always moving"). *Popowuttáhig* ("drum") is another example—emphasizing the repetition of the *popow* sound of a drum. Look for other examples of frequentative nouns in Vocabulary (duck, owl, robin, snipe, sparrow, swallow, woodpecker).

⁷ Word may also mean include fishhawk or osprey. The word means "great white tail". The eagles' feather was worn by great warriors (turkey & hawk feathers also worn by warriors).

		Feather")
fowler (bird hunter)	adchâēnin	"A hunter"
hawk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • quanunon • owôhsh • mashquanon • peeksq (or) peeskq • manamaquas (Wampano) • wushówunan (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • long tailed hawk (marsh hawk in Wampano) • owôh may be sound of beating wings • big, long-tailed hawk (red-tail?) • night hawk • fishhawk • wushówunan may be whoosing sound <p>A hawk's feather was worn by accomplished warriors or important leaders (sachem).</p>
heathcock (pinnated grouse or prairie hen; may include partridge or pheasant)	aunckuck (Narr.)	from "he paints himself"
hen	mônish	See "cock"
heron	gasko (Wampano)	
humming bird	anassas	Indigenous?
kingfisher	ceskwadadas (Wampano)	
kite (raven)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • qussukquanash • weewont 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • something to do with "stones, fruit pits"? • related to "little"
loon	medasibs (Wampano)	
meadow lark	pauishoons (Pequot)	
owl ⁸	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ∞h∞maus • k∞h∞khomwem⁹ • kehche k∞h∞khaus • weewees • kicheweewees (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ∞h∞ is imitative sound • little owl • great owl • screech owl • great screech owl
partridge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • páupock (Narr.) • pahpahkshaas 	from "animal that blows"?

⁸ The owl is a feared animal because he dwells in the dark and may represent an evil spirit. Indians are fearful of the dark, for night is the time when departed Spirits dwell in the forest along with the animal Spirits. Some say the departed hunt the animals as in life on earth. Life seems to go on there—for those who have crossed over to the Afterlife. Many stories are told about what happens to people after death.

⁹ Typically we expect to see ending "-es" or "emes" for diminutive ("small or smaller").

pigeon ¹⁰ , dove	wuskówhàn (Narr.)	“whoosh”; same word for dove?
quails (plural)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ch[∞]ch[∞]waog? • p[∞]hp[∞]hcuttog? 	sound of bird?
quill	pohquēmek	“see through”
robin	quequisquitch (Pequot)	related to his quick movement ?
sachim (king bird)	sachim (Narr.)	small-swallow-like-bird noted for its sachim-like qualities of courage against larger birds; may be a hawk
seagull	uhpúckachip (Pequot)	“he eats by smashing things up”?
snipe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cheecheesquan (Ojibway) • puhpushkuhse (Chippewa)? • sasasō (Abenaki) 	snipe was a Wampanoag clan animal
sparrow (used also for the swallow)	mameesashques	related to “fast, eat, little”
swallow	papaskhas	related to “everywhere, eat, fast”
swan	wequash (Narr.)	“light colored creature”
turkey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • néyhom (Narr.) • nahenam (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sound of bird; also a warrior’s feather. Turkey feathers also made a fine coat called Neyhommaûashunck. •
whippoorwill	muckko-wheese (Pequot)	related to birds’ sound
white-goose (snow goose)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wompöhtuk • wómpatuck (Narr.) • wawpatucke (Wm. Wood) 	“white bird”
woodland thrush	? (searching for)	
woodpecker	pahpahsa (chippewa)	pecking sound

Note: Names for birds and fowl are “animate nouns” (they are alive and move). Their parts or byproducts are inanimate nouns.

- In Massachusetts, animate noun plural form is given by the rule: Noun + og ; e.g., “quails” = ch[∞]ch[∞] + waog = ch[∞]ch[∞]waog. (a “w” glide and reduced vowel “a” are inserted between final vowel stem and initial vowel plural marker.). The og said like ock (“clock”).
 - In Narragansett, plural written typically as Noun + ock (“geese” = hōnck + ock = hōnckock).
- To say “small” we add suffix -es or -s (“small”) or -emes (“smaller”)
 - -ese (“small”) is sometimes seen in Narragansett

¹⁰ Wuskowohananaûkit = “At the abode of pigeons” or “pigeon country”. An actual place (in present-day Worcester County, MA, in the northern part of the Nipmuc country) where this bountiful delicacy was taken in large numbers.

About the author—



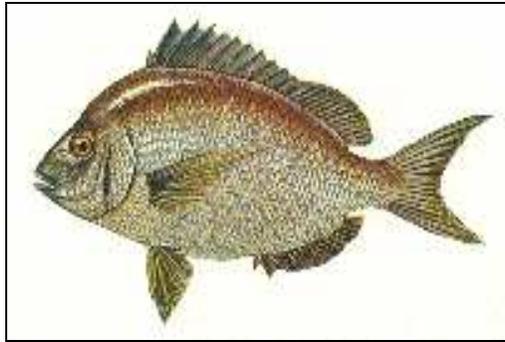
Author: Dr. Frank Waabu. Courtesy of the author at The Naval Undersea Warfare Center, Division Newport (Newport, RI)

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Fish and Aquatic Animals



kaúposh



mishcúp



mishoòn



poquaûhock

*Dr. Frank Waabu O'Brien
Aquidneck Indian Council*

Fish and Aquatic Animals

November, 2003

Native American Indian Heritage Month

Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program

A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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WUNNOHTEAONK



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS

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—NOTES—

This short treatise stems from the research of the Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program, a project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England. Our intention is to make these works available to a wide audience. Other related works are “The Word ‘Squaw’ in Historical and Modern Sources” (<http://www.indianeduresearch.net/squaw.pdf>), “Spirits and Family Relations” (ED 471405), “Animals & Insects, ” “Birds & Fowl”, & “Muhhog: the Human Body”.

The present paper shows translations for about 130 names for fish and aquatic animals and related terms taken from the extinct American Indian Algonquian languages of southeastern New England, Narragansett, Massachusetts and related dialects. Not all species were recorded by the missionaries of Colonial New England. Occasionally vocabulary words are borrowed from the Pequot language, Wampano (Iron Thunderhorse, 2000) and a north Boston-Shore dialect when no extant terms were discovered or for purposes of comparison. Reconstruction of such words in Massachusetts-Narragansett may be modeled on these terms from similar Algonquian languages. References are given below. One important document (Trumbull’s Natick Dictionary) is available on the Internet as a PDF document (can view book as it is written). In addition, it has been brought to my attention recently that many Algonquian texts are now available (as ASCII files; not as originally written) at the following address:

<http://www.people.umass.edu/aef6000/Texts/Algonquian/Algnqn.html>.

The Goddard & Bragdon work is important for linguistic theory.

The vocabulary listing is presented alphabetically as a table of three columns. On the left is the English language term being translated, as translated in the middle column (with language/dialect identified), and any useful comments on the right side (including etymology). The main contributing language is Massachusetts¹ (Eliot, Cotton and Trumbull references). The abbreviation Narr. refers to the Narragansett language as recorded by Roger Williams (1643). Pequot is a reference to the glossary of Prince and Speck (1904). The abbreviation “Wm. Wood” refers to the 275-word vocabulary compiled by William Wood in 1634. William Wood wrote an expository work of his 17th century experiences in the New World, entitled *New Englands Prospect*, which summarized his observations among the *Massachusêuck* (Massachusetts Indians, “People of the Great Hills”). The character &c means “etc.” Notes in the COMMENT column are itemized by “bullets” (•) when multiple

¹ John Eliot translated the entire Bible into Natick dialect of the Massachusetts (or Wampanoag) language.

Algonquian translations are listed; the order of the “bullets” in each column correspond.

Pronunciation of words is not attempted owing to the scanty knowledge of this language. For technical guidelines, see Goddard & Bragdon (1988). Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer (1998) provide a long guide to interpretation of vowel sounds and consonant-vowel clusters along with the special diacritical symbols seen in the vocabulary.

Future works will focus on topical vocabularies for other areas.

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VOCABULARY

(alphabetical)

– Fish –

FISH (naumaùssuck) & AQUATIC ANIMALS	algonquian (∞ = oo as in food)	COMMENT
alligator	kakadorôk (Wampano)	Not indigenous to RI or MA
bass	• suggig (Wm. Wood)	“a bass”
bass, striped bass	• missúckeke • missûckeke (Narr.)	• “large striped”
bluefish	aquaundunt (Pequot)	
bream ²	sequanamâuquock (Narr.)	plural, “Early Summer [Spring] fish”
canoe (boat)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mish[∞]n³ (or) mushoan = any large canoe or dugout • mishoòn = Indian canoe or dugout (Narr.) [see front cover] • mishoonémese⁴ = smaller mishoòn (Narr.) • peenoon = small floater • mishíttouwand = great canoe⁵ (Narr.) • peewàsu⁶ = a little one (canoe) (Narr.) • paugatemissaûnd = oak 	

² a European freshwater cyprinid fish (*Abramis brama*); *broadly* : any of various related fishes **2 a** : a porgy or related fish (family Sparidae) **b** : any of various freshwater sunfishes (*Lepomis* and related genera); *especially* : BLUEGILL (Merriam-Webster Dict.)

³ Root word is *oon* = “floater”.

⁴ Plural, *Mishoonémeshash*.

⁵ Larger than *mishoon*? Some carried up to 40 men sometimes in a sea-fight.

⁶ “It is little”.

	canoe (Narr.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kowwawwawând = pine canoe (Narr.) • wompmissaûnd⁷ = chestnut canoe (Narr.) • wunnauanounuck⁸ = a shallop⁹ (Narr.) • wunnauanounuckquèse = a small shallop, skiffe¹⁰ (Narr.) • kitônuck¹¹ = a ship (Narr.) • kitónuckquese = small ship (Narr.) • kunnósnep¹² (Narr) = anchor • wútkunck¹³ (Narr) = paddle, "his wood stick" 	
carp	kikômkwa (Wampano)	

⁷ From chestnuts = "white-nut tree".

⁸ In the words for "boat" (shallop, skiff), we see a common root *-ounuck, -onuck*, meaning "vessel" in the sense of something which carries or transports; we get the word for "cradle board" (*kóunuk*) from this root. Native peoples created these words when they saw the large ships of the Europeans. They believed the Mayflower was an island with a large tree.

⁹ A small open boat used by the English propelled by oars or sails and used chiefly in shallow waters. (Merriam-Webster Dict.)

¹⁰ Any of various small boats used by the English; *especially*: a flat-bottomed rowboat. (Merriam-Webster Dict.)

¹¹ "A great carrying tree," probably like the Mayflower.

¹² Word seems misspelled since we see root for "stone" (*-sen-*).

¹³ "His wood stick".

chub	arnamaga (Wampano)	
clam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • poquaûhock (Narr.) (or) poquaûhog • sickissuog¹⁴ (Narr.) • suckis suacke (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • common quahog; “closed hard shell”; this was shellfish from which the inner rim gave “purple wampum” [see front cover] • long black • “a clam”
codfish	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • anishămog • pauganaunt (Narr.) • noei comquocke (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plural, “smells badly [when not properly cured]” • Cod¹⁵ • “a codfish”
crab	katawam ?	Conjectured, reconstructed from a place name in Huden (p. 75)
cunner ¹⁶ (chogsets)	cachauxet (Pequot)	“marked with spots or stripes”
eel, eelpot	mihtúckquashep ¹⁷ (Narr.)	
eel, larger eelpot	kunnaggunneúteg ¹⁸ (Narr.)	
eels (plural)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • neeshauóg & neeshaûog (Narr.) • sassammaúquock (Narr.) • nquittéconnauog & nquittéconnaûog (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “go in pairs” • “smooth, slippery, glossy” • “goes by self”

¹⁴ The “squirter, spittler”; imitative of spitting sound. A sweet shellfish loved by the Native peoples, but dug up by roaming English livestock (swine), the animal most hated by Indians for stealing their food.

¹⁵ The first that comes before the Spring.

¹⁶ A wrasse (*Tautoglabrus adspersus*) common along the northeastern U.S. and adjacent Canadian coast; any of a large family (Labridae) of elongate compressed usually brilliantly colored marine bony fishes that usually bury themselves in sand at night and include important food fishes as well as a number of popular aquarium fishes. (Merriam-Webster dict.)

¹⁷ “Tree-wood net”.

¹⁸ -*gunne*- = “long”; -*eg* means “the thing that is”.

fish ¹⁹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • namohs • namohsog • naumaùs (Narr.) • naumaùssuck (Narr.) • kehtahhannâmagquog • mogkom • mogkommâquog • peeamaug (Pequot) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “water animal” • plural • plural • plural, “large fish of the ocean” • “great fish” • “great fishes”, plural • “little fish” ; plural adds <i>-suck</i>
fish fin	wapwekan	
fish hook and line	ôm	
fish, a fish-tail	wussúckqun	
fish, a half fish	poquêsu ²⁰	
fish, a sweet fat	osacóntuck (Narr.)	Like a haddock, and may also be the hake, pollack, whiting, or cusk fish.
fish, a whole fish	missêsu ²¹	
fish, bait	onawangónnakaun (Narr.)	
fish, fresh fish ²²	qunôsuog ²³ (Narr.)	plural
fish, head of	uppaquóntup (Narr.)	
fish, small winterfish (plural)	moamitteauúg (Narr.)	“black fish”? smelt? minnow?
fish, winterfish	paponaumsûog ²⁴	plural
fisherman	n∞tamogquaenin	from “he fishes”
fishers, fishermen ²⁵	aumáchick & natuckqunnuwâchick ²⁶ (Narr.)	

¹⁹ Look for the root for “fish” (*-am-* & *-aum-* & *-om-*) which implies fishing with a hook.

²⁰ “It is half” or “a part” in general.

²¹ “It is large (the whole thing)” in general.

²² They were taken in winter through the fresh-water ice. In Pequot, called *quúnoose* (“long nose”), the pickerel.

²³ “They are long”.

²⁴ “Frost fish”, “Tom Cod”, which migrates to brooks from the seas.

²⁵ Since verbs end in *-chick*, the usual suppositive mode is assumed, “They who fish; they who are fisherman”.

²⁶ Since verbs end in *-chick*, the usual suppositive mode is assumed, “They who fish; they who are fisherman”.

fishing hook	hoquaún ²⁷ (Narr.)	
fishing hook, large one	maúmacocks (Narr.)	
fishing hook, little one	peewâsicks ²⁸ (Narr.)	
fishing line	aúmanep (Narr.)	
fishing net	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • âshâp • ashòp²⁹ (Narr.) 	hemp or fishing net
fishing-net sinker (stone)	assinab	from “stone & net”
flounder	apaginamas (Wampano)	
freshfish (wintertime)	qunôsuog	plural, “long ones”
frog	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tinógkukquas • kopiauss (or) kupyãs (Pequot) 	“jumping animal” or “croaker”
frog, small, toad	tinnogkohtas	see “frog” with “small’ added
haddock (pollock, whiting or cusk?)	pâkonnôtam	
herring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ômmis ? • aumsûog & munnawhatteaûg³⁰ (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “small fish”? • plural
horsefish	séqunnock ³¹ (Narr.)	plural, “Spring fish”; shell chopped up for fertilizer
island	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • aquidne³² • munnóh 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “floating, suspended mass” • from “dry place”
lampries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • qunnamaug • qunnamáug (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “long fish”, plural •
lobster	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ashaünt • au so hau nouc hoc (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “he goes backwards” (how they crawl) • “lobster”

²⁷ Root *hoq-* means “hook-shaped”.

²⁸ Small things in general (basket, fish, &c.)

²⁹ Word also used for “flax” & “spider web”. Perhaps general name for vegetable fiber used to make rope, nets, etc., made from Indian Hemp (fibrous plants); also used a fish sinker called *assinab* (“stone net”).

³⁰ Literally “they enrich the soil” (used as fish fertilizer for corn, etc., a practice which they taught to the English, one of the many contributions of the First Americans to *awaunagussuck* on this land).

³¹ “Summer long shellfish”.

³² RI place name Aquidneck means “on the island” which show the stem Aquidn.

long clam	sökkissüog	“he spittles or spits”, plural
mackerel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wawwhunneke wawwhunnekesûog (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “he is fat” “It is well-bodied”, plural
menhaden (alewife) (plural)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> aumaûog munnowhatteaug 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “alewife “white or bony fish” (corn fertilizer, “he enriches soil”)
otter	nkèke	“he scratches, tears”
oyster	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> chūnk[∞] apwonnah opponenaûhock³³ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “he roasts” plural
perch	mômôramagwsek (Wampano)	
periwinkles	meteaûhock ³⁴	Plural, “ear shaped shell”; the neck of shell gave “white wampum” beads
pickerel	qunosuog	plural
pike	quinnoza (Wampano)	
polliwog	agorraweji (Wampano)	
porpoises	tatackommaûog ³⁵ (Narr.)	plural, “he strikes and strikes”
quahog (see clam)		
quahog, purple rim of	suckaûhock ³⁶	
salamander	kakadorôksiz (Wampano)	
salmon (plural)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> mishquammaùog mishquammaúquock³⁷ (Narr.) 	“red fish”

³³ “Shell fish to roast”.

³⁴ “Ear-shaped shell” [for white wampum beads; the shell also called a “whelk”].

³⁵ “He strikes and strikes the water”. The repetition of the first syllable *tatackom* (one porpoise) is a common feature in the Algonquian Indian languages, referred to as **frequentative** or **reduplication**. It is a way of describing or emphasizing something that is going on repeatedly or habitually. For example, *momonchu* (“he is always on the move”; “he is always moving”). *Popowuttâhig* (“drum”) is another example—emphasizing the repetition of the *popow* sound of a drum.

³⁶ *Sucki-* = “dark-colored” (purple); *-hock* = “shell, external covering”. The dark purple wampum beads from this quahog shell were worth 3 to the English penny, or twice the value of the white beads.

³⁷ A place where salmon were caught is called Misquamicut (“place of the red fish”), Westerly, RI. It is seen that little corruption exists in the place name (not a common occurrence).

sand dune, bank, sand	nágunt	“sand”
scallop	kagadigen (Wampano)	
scuppaug (porgy)	mishcúp	related to “large” or “red” [see front cover]
shad	magahaghe (Wampano)	
shark	mattaquab (language?)	Can’t locate source for this word; perhaps from Micmac or other northern Algonquian languages
sheepshead ³⁸	taut (Narr.)	
smelt (see “fish, small winterfish (plural”)		
snail	askequttum (Wampano)	
snapping or sea turtle	torupe	
spring fish	sequanamâuquock (Narr.)	plural, “early summer fish” (bream?)
sturgeon	kaúposh ³⁹ (Narr.)	
torchlight fishing	wikwâsin	Wequai = light in Natick (Prince, 1907)
trout	mishūskou	“red”, “turning back”
turtle/tortoise	tunuppasog ⁴⁰	“near water”; Wampanoag clan animal
water (fishing places)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • paumpágussit⁴¹ = sea spirit • kehtoh = ocean, “great unending thing” • wechêkum⁴² = the sea, ocean (Narr.) • kítthan⁴³ = the sea, ocean (Narr.), from “extended” • nippe = fresh (drinking) water, from “sits still” 	

³⁸ A marine bony fish (*Archosargus probatocephalus* of the family Sparidae) of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of the U.S. that has broad incisor teeth and is used for food (Merriam Webster Dict.)

³⁹ Perhaps from “impenetrable back”. These large fish were sometimes hunted at night by torchlight.

⁴⁰ Trumbull seems to suggest this is animate, singular, but suffix –og suggests plural animate form.

⁴¹ From *pummoh* (in Natick dialect), an old word meaning “sea”.

⁴² Perhaps from a word used by coastal Indians meaning “it produces, gives” fish.

⁴³ “Great expanse”. Plural *kittannash*.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sepi = river (usually long one like the Conneticut river) • nippissipog = pond or small lake • massapog = big lake, "large body of still water" • sepues = brook, stream or little river • aucùp (Narr.) = cove or creek • aucuppâwese (Narr.)= little cove or creek" 	
water mocassin	nipiiskok (Wampano)	"fresh water" + "snake"
whale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • p∞tâop • pôtoppauog (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "he blows" ("thar she blows!") • plural
whalebone	Waskèke (Narr.)	
white fish (bony fish)	munnawhatteaug	plural, "he enriches the earth", a fish like a herring and also used as fertilizer
winterfish	paponoumsûog	plural , "winter fish"

About the author—



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Muhhog: The Human Body



Níckégannash

*Dr. Frank Waabu O'Brien
Aquidneck Indian Council*

Muhhog: The Human Body

November, 2003

Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program

A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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WUNNOHTEAONK



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS

Reprinted and revised from —Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer. (1998). *A Massachusetts Language Book, Vol. 1*. Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council.

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—NOTES—

This short treatise stems from the research of the Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program, a project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England. Our intention is to make these works available to a wide audience. Previous works are “The Word ‘Squaw’ in Historical and Modern Sources” (<http://www.indianeduresearch.net/squaw.pdf>), “Spirits and Family Relations” (ED 471405), “Animals & Insects,” & “Birds & Fowl”.

The present paper shows translations for about 110 names for parts of the human body taken from the extinct American Indian Algonquian languages of southeastern New England, Narragansett, Massachusetts and related dialects. Not all terms for the large number of human body parts were recorded by the missionaries of Colonial New England. Occasionally vocabulary words are borrowed from the North Boston-shore Massachusetts dialect when no extant terms were discovered. Reconstruction of such words in Massachusetts-Narragansett may be modeled on these terms from similar Algonquian languages. References are given below. One important document (Trumbull’s Natick Dictionary) is available on the Internet as a PDF document (can view book as it is written). In addition, it has been brought to my attention recently that many Algonquian texts are now available (as ASCII files; not as originally written) at the following address:

<http://www.people.umass.edu/aef6000/Texts/Algonquian/Algnqn.html>.

The Goddard & Bragdon work is important for linguistic theory.

A brief grammar note is provided explaining the inflection and declension of possessive nouns relating to body parts (my heart, your heart, my feet, etc.). We use a quote from Eliot’s 1666 grammar book for illustration. Textual footnotes explain the concepts of “abstract nouns” and “reduplication” seen in these Algonquian languages.

The vocabulary listing is presented alphabetically as a table of three columns. On the left is the English language term being translated, as translated in the middle column (with language/dialect identified), and any useful comments on the right side (including etymology). The main contributing language is Massachusetts¹ (Eliot, Cotton and Trumbull references) and labeled “Mass.”. The abbreviation Narr. refers to the Narragansett language as recorded by Roger Williams (1643). The abbreviation “Wm. Wood” refers to the 275-word vocabulary compiled by William Wood in 1634. William Wood wrote an expository work of his 17th century experiences in the New World, entitled *New Englands Prospect*, which summarized his observations among the *Massachusêuck* (Massachusetts Indians, “People of the Great Hills”). The character &c means “etc.” Notes in the COMMENT column are itemized by “bullets” (•) when multiple Algonquian translations are listed; the order of the “bullets” in each column correspond.

¹ John Eliot translated the entire Bible into Natick dialect of the Massachusetts (or Wampanoag) language.

Pronunciation of words is not attempted owing to the scanty knowledge of this language. For technical guidelines, see Goddard & Bragdon (1988). Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer (1998) provide a long guide to interpretation of vowel sounds and consonant-vowel clusters along with the special diacritical symbols seen in the vocabulary.

Future works will focus on topical vocabularies for other areas.



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GRAMMAR NOTE

Algonquian languages are highly inflectional. The manner in which simple possessive nouns for body parts are inflected² is illustrated by the following, taken from John Eliot's 1666 grammar book for the Natick dialect of the Massachusetts language:

Metah, *the heart*.

Sing.	}	Nuttah, <i>my heart</i> .	Pl.	}	Nuttahhun, <i>our heart</i> .
		Kuttah, <i>thy heart</i> .			Kuttahhou, <i>your heart</i> .
		Wuttah, <i>his heart</i> .			Wuttahhou, <i>their heart</i> .

John Eliot (1666). *The Indian Grammar Begun; or, an Essay to Bring The Indian Language into Rules for the Help of Such as Desire to Learn the Same for the Furtherance of the Gospel Among Them*. Cambridge, MA: Marmaduke Johnson (page 11).

We note that this example illustrates the forms for the human “heart”. The root word for heart in this dialect is *tah* (“thing of existence”). The possessive forms are inflected by changing the prefix and suffix elements in the manner illustrated. Thus, any inflected word is of the form PREFIX + ROOT + SUFFIX. The occurrence of a double consonant (“t” & “h” in this example) is common English spelling practice. Pronunciation probably blends the consonants so that *Nuttah* is perhaps “nuh tah” (accent omitted). Thus, both singular (sing.) and plural (pl.) of “I” has form n’ (where the apostrophe ’ means a reduced vowel is substituted); singular (sing.) and plural (pl.) of “you” has form k’; and singular (sing.) and plural (pl.) of “his” has form w’ (sometimes o’ or u’). The appropriate suffix must be added to obtain pl. forms. The generic form “The ___” is usually given as m’ as illustrated by Eliot: “The heart” is m’ + root = metah (omitting diacritical marks). This standard form is not always seen (e.g. “thumb”). An example for “foot”; the root is “seet”; thus “my foot” is “nusseet”.

The plural for body parts is based on the fact that these nouns are inanimate and follow the pluralization declension form³: NOUN + ash (sometimes w or y glides and other elements interspersed for pronunciation).

EXAMPLES:

- “feet” = musseetash = m’ + *seet* (root) + ash (w/ double consonant).
- “my feet” = nusseetash = n’ + *seet* (root) + ash (w/ double consonant).

The Vocabulary listing presents the m’ form unless otherwise noted as either non-extant or nonstandard. The general rules provided above should be sufficient for inflection or declension of most of the Massachusetts-Narragansett body-part nouns whereas the Wood vocabulary is more problematical but presumably conforms generally to Massachusetts-Narragansett syntax.

² **Inflection** means a change in the form of a word to change meaning of word; e.g., an inflection of the word *mētah* (“the heart”) is *nuttah* (“my heart”) by rule given above. Roger Williams (1643, chap. VII, pp. 48-52) provides many example of inflected nouns for human body parts.

³ **Declension** means inflected form for a noun or pronoun by animate/inanimate reference or singular/plural reference; e.g., an inanimate form (declension) for plural nouns is given by the suffix *-ash* such as: *hussan* (“stone”, singular) and *hussanash* (“stones”, plural).

VOCABULARY

(alphabetical)

—Body Parts—

THE BODY (muhhog)	ALGONQUIAN (Narr. = Narragansett) (∞ = oo as in food)	COMMENT
ankle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mussipsk (Mass.) • suppiske (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “where the bones touch behind” • appears to be root word for “ankle bones”
arm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • méhpít (Mass.) • napet (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • related to “round” ? • “ the (my ?) arm”
armpit	Menukque (Mass.)	“to armholes”
back	Muppuskq (Mass.)	“bare, uncovered”
backbone	dottaguck (Wm. Wood)	appears to be root word for “backbone”
belly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • misshat (Mass.) • wawpiske (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • related to “it is great”? • “the belly” (root?)
blood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • musquéheonk⁴ (Mass.) • mishquè (Narr.) • néepuck (Pequot ?) • squehincke (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “red stuff” • “it is red” (inanimate) • “my blood”? • “blood” (root?)
body	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • muhhog (Mass.) • hoc (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “the body” • appears to be root word for “body”
bone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • muskon (Mass.) • muskanai (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from “horn” or “hide” ? • “a bone”
bosom	p [∞] chenau ⁵ (Mass.)	“divided in two”
bowels	menógkus (Mass.)	“on the inside of the body”

⁴ Nouns ending in *-onk*, *-onck*, *-uncke*, *-incke* &c are **abstract nouns** (indicating a collection or classification, state of being or action or abstract ideas <justice, love, truth, strength, red stuff &c.).

⁵ Words from Massachusetts-Narragansett without the *m'* form are presumed to be the roor word or nonstandard. As mentioned, the Wood vocabulary is more problematical but presumably conforms generally to Massachusetts-Narragansett syntax.

brain	metùp (Mass.)	related to “top”
breast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mohpânneg (Mass.) • mapànnog (Narr.) 	“that divided in two”
breast, the breastbone	nobpaw nocke (Wm. Wood)	“the (my?) breastbone”
cheek	man [∞] nau (Mass.)	from “he sucks” ?
chin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mishoon (or) mish[∞]n (Mass.) • ottannapeake (Wm.Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • related to “canoe” (canoe is “chin-shaped”)? • appears to be root word for “the chin”
ear	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • méhtâuog⁶ (Mass.) • tonagus (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • related to “knows, understands” • appears to be root word for “the ears” (plural?)
elbow	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • meesk (Mass.) • nisquan (Wm.Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “the (my ?) elbow”
eye	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • muskēsuk (Mass.) • skesicos (Wm.Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • related to “sky, sun, heavens” • appears to be root word for “the eyes” (plural?)
eyebrow	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • momounog⁷ (Mass.) • mamanock (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • they move up and down”? •
finger or fingertip	Muppuhkukquanitch (Mass.)	“it divides the hand” or “head of the finger”
finger, fingernail	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • múhkos (Mass.) • mokássuck⁸(Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from “sharp, hooked” •

⁶ Ending –og does not mean this is the plural animate form as plural form for body parts is –ash (inanimate noun plural form).

⁷ The repetition of the first syllable mo is a common feature in the Algonquian Indian languages, referred to as **frequentative** or **reduplication** (coinciding in this case with onomatopoeic). It is a way of describing or emphasizing something that is going on repeatedly or habitually. For example, *momonchu* (“he is always on the move”; “he is always moving”). *Popowuttáhig* (“drum”) is another example—emphasizing the repetition of the *popow* sound of a drum. Look for other examples of frequentative nouns in Vocabulary.

⁸ Ending –suck does not mean this is the plural, as plural form for inanimate nouns is –ash. Is this an error in Williams?

finger, fingernail, “ the black of the [finger] nail”	mocossa (Wm.Wood)	“ the black of the nail”
finger, forefinger	genehuncke (Wm.Wood)	
finger, little	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • muttasonitch (Mass.) • metosaunige (Wm.Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “the last of the hand” (subordinate mood?); “head of the hand” • “the little finger”
finger, the middle	naw naunidge (Wm.Wood)	“ the (my ?) middle finger”
foot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • musseet (Mass.) • seat (Wm.Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from “he does, acts”; foot is “the doer” • appears to be root word for “the foot”
foot, the instep	tasseche quonuck (Wm.Wood)	“ the instep”
foot, the sole of the foot	tahaseat (Wm.Wood)	“the sole of the foot”
genitals	menisowhock (Wm.Wood)	“the genitals”
genital, male	ukkosue pompucháí (Mass.)	“his hot organ”
genitals, testes (plural?)	wunnussuog ⁹ (Mass.)	“a pair”?(“his testes”)
hair	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • meesunk (Mass.) • meseig (Wm.Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from “he cuts off” •
hams	sicaw quant (Wm. Wood)	“the hams” (root?)
hand	Menutcheg (Mass.)	from “takes hold of”
hand, back of the hand	keisseanchacke (Wm. Wood)	
hand, left hand	menātche menutcheg (Mass.)	related to something about “hunting hand”
hand, right hand	unninuhkōe menutcheg (Mass.)	related to “hand which carries”
head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • muppuhkuk (Mass.) • mapaquóntup¹⁰ (Narr) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • related to “top” • perhaps “top of head”

⁹ Could this be plural animate?

¹⁰ Derived form from Roger Williams (p. 43).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bequoquo (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “the head”
head, forehead	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • muskodtuk (Mass.) • mscáttuck (Narr.) 	related to “which is high up”?
heart	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • metâh (Mass.) • nogcus (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “the ticker” “thing of existence” • “the (my?) heart”
heel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mogquón (Mass.) • oquan (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • related to “large” and “round” • appears to be root word for “the heel”
hip	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mobpee (Mass.) • mobpu (Mass.) 	
jaw	Muttompeuk (Mass.)	“mouth bone”
kidney	mutt [∞] unnussog (Mass.)	cf. “testes” inflected into m’ form
knee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mukküttuk (Mass.) • gettoquacke (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “what we dig on (when we bend down)” • “the knees”
knuckles	gettoquun (Wm. Wood)	cf. “thumb”
leg	Muhkont (Mass.)	“that which carries, bears body”
leg, calf of the leg	thaw (Wm. Wood)	“the calf of the leg”
limb	pompuchai (Mass.)	root?
lip	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mussissitt[∞]n (Mass.) • mattone (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “it is close to the mouth” • “the lips”
liver	mushquun (Mass.)	from “red, long”
loins	Musseگان (Mass.)	from “heat”
mouth	mutt [∞] n (Mass.)	related to word for “wife”, “she talks”
nail	Múhkos (Mass.)	from “sharp, hooked”
nail, the nails	cos (Wm. Wood)	root?
navel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • menwee (Mass.) • cocam (Wm. Wood) 	“the middle” ?
neck	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • missitteppeg (Mass.) • sitchipuck (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “joining the shoulder” • root word
nose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mutchôn (Mass.) • matchanne (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • related to “smell”? • “the nose”
rib	muhpeteog (or) muhpeteag (Mass.)	“side”

shin bone	Mississikoshk (Mass.)	“big bone”?
shoulder	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mittik (or) muttugk (Mass.) • mohpegk (or) muhpeg (upper part of back) (Mass.) • mattickeis (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “upper part of the back” • “the shoulders”
shoulder blade	tipimon ? (Mass.)	“from my shoulder”?
shoulder bones	bisquant (Wm. Wood)	“the shoulderbones”
sides, the sides	yaus (Wm. Wood)	“the sides”
skin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • muttúhquab (Mass.) • notoquap (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “that on the outside” • “the (my?) skin”
skull	muskonotip (or) mishkonóntup (Mass.)	“bone head”
stomach	mupp∞chĩnau (Mass.)	“thing divided in two”
stool	quenobpuuncke (Wm. Wood)	Appears to be abstract noun with roots “long” , “sit” & “round”
temple	Wuttahtukq (Mass.)	“on each side”
thigh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mehquau (Mass.) • apòme (Narr.) • nequaw (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “the (my?) thighs”
throat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mukquuttunk (Mass.) • munnāonk? (Mass.) • nashāonk ? (Mass.) • quuttuck (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “going down (swallowing or motion of Adam’s apple?)” • “sticks out”? • from “breath”? • appears to be root word for “the throat”
thumb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • keht∞quanitch (Mass.) • gettoquan (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “great finger” (subordinate mood?) • “the thumb” (cf. “knuckle”)
toe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • muppuhkukquaset (Mass.) • mettosowset (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “head of the foot” • “the little toe”
toe, third toe	noenaset (Wm. Wood)	“the (my?) third toe”
toe, great	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kehtequaset (Mass.) • gettoquaset (Wm. Wood) 	“big thing on the foot”

tongue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • meenan (Mass.) • whenan (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • related to “he speaks”? • “the (his?) tongue”
tooth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • meepit (Mass.) • mepeiteis (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from “he eats” • “the teeth” (plural?)
veins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mishquínash (Narr.) • misquish (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from “red” • “ the veins”
waist	mohoc (Wm. Wood)	Cf. “body”
womb	Ôontômuk (Mass.)	from “egg”, “birth” ?
wrist	Missippuskunnicheg (Mass.)	“the bone next to the hand”
wristbones	supskinge (Wm. Wood)	“the wrist bones”

About the author—



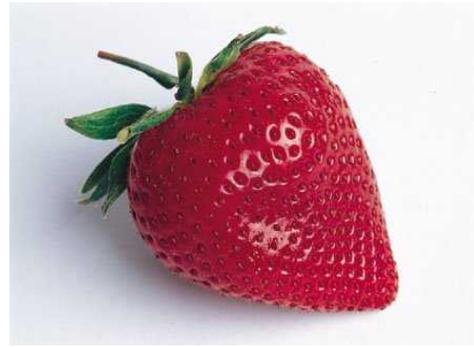
Author: Dr. Frank Waabu. Courtesy of the author at The Naval Undersea Warfare Center, Division Newport (Newport, RI)

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Corn & Fruits & Berries & Trees &c



ewáchimineash



wuttáhmin

*Dr. Frank Waabu O'Brien
Aquidneck Indian Council*

Corn & Fruits & Berries & Trees &c

December, 2003

Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program

A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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WUNNOHTEAONK



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS

Reprinted and revised from —Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer. (1998). *A Massachusetts Language Book, Vol. 1*. Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council.

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—NOTES—

This short treatise stems from the research of the Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program, a project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England. Our intention is to make these works available to a wide audience. Other related works are “The Word ‘Squaw’ in Historical and Modern Sources” (<http://www.indianeduresearch.net/squaw.pdf>), “Spirits and Family Relations” (ED 471405), “Animals & Insects, ” “Birds & Fowl,” “Muhhog: the Human Body, ” “Fish, ” & “American Indian Place Names in Rhode Island: Past & Present” (<http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianPlaceNames.html>)

The present paper shows translations for about 200 names for trees, plants and related terms taken from the extinct American Indian Algonquian languages of southeastern New England—Narragansett, Massachusetts and related dialects. Not all species were recorded by the missionaries of Colonial New England. Occasionally vocabulary words are borrowed from the Ojibway language (Baraga), Wampano (Iron Thunderhorse, 2000) and a north Boston-Shore dialect (Wood) when no extant terms were discovered or for purposes of comparison. Reconstruction of such words in Massachusetts-Narragansett may be modeled on these terms from similar Algonquian languages. Wampano revitalization efforts seem to include adaptation of European terms for trees not indigenous to the region.

In the Algonquian languages, living organisms are named for their outstanding characteristics (color, sound, habit &c) such as *n^otimus* = “tree with leaves resembling hands” (oak tree). We note that four words in the Vocabulary were Americanized from the Algonquian languages (squash(es), succotash, samp, and “Johnny Cake”).

References are given below. One important document (Trumbulls’ Natick Dictionary) is available on the Internet as a PDF document (can view book as it is written). In addition, it has been brought to my attention recently that many Algonquian texts are now available (as ASCII files; not as originally written) at the following address:

<http://www.people.umass.edu/aef6000/Texts/Algonquian/Algnqn.html>.

The Goddard & Bragdon work is important for linguistic theory.

The vocabulary listing is presented alphabetically as a table of three columns. On the left is the English language term being translated, as translated in the middle column (with language/dialect identified), and any useful comments on the right side (including etymology), along with supplemental footnotes.

The main contributing language is Massachusetts¹ (Eliot, Cotton and Trumbull references). The abbreviation Narr. refers to the Narragansett language as recorded by Roger Williams (1643). The abbreviation “Wm. Wood” refers to the 275-word vocabulary compiled by William Wood in 1634. William Wood wrote an expository work of his 17th century experiences in the New World, entitled *New Englands Prospect*,

¹ John Eliot translated the entire Bible into Natick dialect of the Massachusetts (or Wampanoag) language.

which summarized his observations among the *Massachusêuck* (Massachusetts Indians, “People of the Great Hills”). The character &c means “etc.” Some botanical terms thought to be unfamiliar are defined by simple lexical citations from the online Merriam-Webster dictionary.

Notes in the COMMENT column are itemized by “bullets” (•) when multiple Algonquian translations are listed; the order of the “bullets” in each column correspond.

Pronunciation of words is not attempted owing to the scanty knowledge of this language. For technical guidelines, see Goddard & Bragdon (1988). Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer (1998) provide a long guide to interpretation of vowel sounds and consonant-vowel clusters along with the special diacritical symbols seen in the vocabulary.

Future works will focus on topical vocabularies for other areas.



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² Note that the same person is identified by names "Moondancer," and "Waabu"/ "O'Brien".

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VOCABULARY

(alphabetical)

– Corn & Fruits & Berries & Trees, &c –

CORN & FRUITS & BERRIES & TREES, &c.	ALGONQUIAN (∞ = oo as in food)	<i>Comment</i>
acorns (plural)	anáuchemineash ³ (Narr.)	“nuts or small fruits,”; cf. “nuts”
alder	odopi (Wampano)	
apple (fruit)	meechim	from “to eat”
apple tree	applesanck ⁴ (Wampano)	Obvious adaptation of English “apple”
ash tree (black)	monunks	“black wood” (basket wood)
barberries (red berries or prickly pears) (plural)	wuchípoquameneash (Narr.)	“separated fruits or berries”
bark of a tree	mehtūkque wunnadteask	“wetu covering from tree”
bark, birch & chestnut	wuchickapêuck (Narr.)	Birch or chestnut bark to cover wetu (wigwam) in summertime (Roger Williams, p. 32) ⁵
barn, food storage	mechimukkōmuk	“enclosed place for food”
basswood	wigebimesanck (Wampano)	

³ Plural form for most words for “corn, fruits, berries, trees, &c” is –ash, indicating “inanimate” nouns.

⁴ -(s)anck seems to be Wampano root/stem for “tree” (wood); cf. –uck, -unk in Massachusetts-Narragansett. Another stem for “tree”: -mus, -mis, -mish, -misk.

⁵ Trumbull (1903) cites page 48 in both sections of his dictionary, but that is incorrect as the author has verified.

beans, kidney (plural)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> tuppuhqumash 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “they roll or turn” (perhaps common “pole bean;i.e., kidney bean or “Boston baked bean”)
beans, bush bean (plural)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> manusqussêdash (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> another type called “Indian beans”(perhaps “bush bean”)
bean, Indian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> kehtoheae mônasquisseet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “an Indian bean”
beech tree	wadchumesanck (Wampano)	
beechnut	wadchuamin (Wampano)	
berry, fruit, corn, grain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> min⁶ (or) minne 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> singular, “that which is growing” plural (small berries, fruit, corn)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> minneash 	
birch (hard woods) (may include other hardwoods like maple, hickory, the ashes, oaks, etc.)	pemsquamku	“wood that bends, winds and wraps around” (bark for baskets, etc.)
birch or chestnut bark	wuchickapêuck (Narr.)	“the separating bark” (for the wétu covering outside)
blackberries (plural)	wuttohkohk∞minneōnash	“moist berries that make us thirsty”?
bloodroot	nepuckadchubuk (Wampano)	
blueberries (hurtleberry)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> attitáash (Narr.) zata (Wampano) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (plural), related to “drink” “blueberry”
boneset ⁷	zazôbakwhôzik ⁸ (Wampano)	
bough	pohchâtuk	“it breaks, separates”

⁶ Look for this basic root word (also spelled “men”) found in many terms for a fruit, berry, corn etc.

⁷ Any of several composite herbs (genus *Eupatorium*); especially : a perennial (*E. perfoliatum*) with opposite perfoliate leaves and white-rayed flower heads used in folk medicine. (Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary).

⁸ Original document (p. 72) has circumflex over last “z” vs. last “o” as presented, which appears to be a typographical error.

branch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wuttuck • pauchautaqun⁹ (Narr.) • wúdtuckqun (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “ at end, outer most parts of tree” • “turning, separating” • “a piece of wood”
branches of a vine (plural)	cheouash	related to “separated”
bread	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • puttuckqunnége¹⁰ (Narr.) • petuckqunneg • isattonaneise (Wm. Wood) • petuckquinneg (Wampano) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • see footnote • “round long thing”, made from corn, fruits, etc. • “the bread” • bannock¹¹/frybread
briar, thorn	kous	“sharp thing”; cf. “pine tree”
bull rush	wekinash (Wampano)	cf. “reeds”
bush	nepéunk	
buttercup	wizowibemi pasakwasawoh (Wampano)	
cedar tree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • utchukküppemis • mishquáwtuck¹² (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “small separating bark” • red cedar
cherry tree	qussuckomineânug (Narr.)	“tree with stones in fruit”
chestnut tree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wompumus • wómpimish (Narr.) 	“white nut-tree”
chestnuts (plural)	wómpimineash (Narr.)	“white nuts”
chickory	minôboatag (Wampano)	
chokecherry	pesorramin (Wampano)	
colt's foot	pooke (Wm. Wood)	“colt's foot” ¹³

⁹ A number of more or less corrupted Rhode Island place names are based on this root for “turn, braching” such as Pocasset, Pauchaug, etc.; see the author’s website at the address:

<http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianPlaceNames.html>.

¹⁰ Puttuki = “(it is) round”. Qunni = “(it is) long, extended”. Final -ge means “the thing that”; thus, puttuckqunnége = “round-long-thing that is”, applied to cakes, breads, etc.

¹¹ **a** : A usually unleavened flat bread or biscuit made with oatmeal or barley meal; **b** chiefly *New England* : CORN BREAD; *especially* : a thin cake baked on a griddle (Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary).

¹² “The red tree” – very sacred tree; it’s classification is “animate” – only cedar and pine/fir trees and maple trees are “animate” in this subclass of natural world objects. Narr. plural for “cedar tree” is perhaps *mishquawwtuckquâog*.

¹³ Any of various plants with large rounded leaves resembling the foot of a colt; *especially* : a perennial composite herb (*Tussilago farfara*) with yellow flower heads appearing before the leaves; used medicinally. (Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary).

corn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • weatchimmíneash= corn in general (plural) • eat chumnis (Wm. Wood) = “Indian corn” • sowhawmen (Wampano) = corn • Ewáchimíneash (Narr.) = corn (plural) • munnequinn = green corn (still growing; stalks tasted like sugar cane) • munnequaminneash = green ears of corn (plural) • missunkquaminnémeash = dried corn (plural) • app[∞]suash weatchimmíneash = roasted corn (plural) • n[∞]hkik = parched corn (“Journey Cake”, “Johnny Cake”) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ nókehick (Narr.) = “parched meal”; a common traveling staple mixed with water, akin to corn soup • nasàump¹⁴ (Narr.) = unparched “meale pottage” • aupúmineanaqàump = parched corn • sappaeen = boiled soft in water • m’sickquatash¹⁵ = boiled whole corn (plural) • m’sohquttahhash = shelled boiled corn (plural) • scannémeneash (Narr.) = corn seed (plural) • mussohquamin = ear of ripened corn • wuskokkamuckómeneash¹⁶ (Narr.) = corn from a newly planted ground (plural) • wawéekanash (Narr.) = sweet corn (plural) 	<p>weatchimmíneash = “food growing in the field we eat”</p> <p>Corn was of many colors: white, black, red, yellow, blue and spotted. Four kernels (for 4 directions) planted in each hill. Corn grown with squash and beans (“3 sisters plants”)</p>
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¹⁴In American English, “Samp” is derived from this Narragansett word, and defined as “coarse hominy or a boiled cereal made from it”; hominy is “kernels of corn that have been soaked in a caustic solution (as of lye) and then washed to remove the hulls” (Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary).

¹⁵ We get “succotash” from this word.

¹⁶ “New ground corn”

corn planter (awl)	mukqs	
cranberry	sasemín	“sour-like fruit”; discovered by English as useful to “conserve against Feaver” (Roger Williams, p. 97)
cucumber (English import)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • m∞nosketetāmuk • askitameg 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “smooth raw thing in the ground” • “Indian cucumber”
currant berries (plural)	saútaash (Narr.)	related to “sour”? Sautáuthig is the delicacy dish made from Saútaash
earth (see “land”)		
elder bush ¹⁷	saskib (Wampano)	
elderberry	saskibimin (Wampano)	
fern	masozi (Wampano)	
field, soil	ohteuk	related to “to plant” (see “plant”)
figs	waweècocks (Narr.)	“sweet things”?
fir trees or tall trees (plural)	qunonuhquaog ¹⁸	“tall trees”
fire-wood (plural)	mishash	
flax [thread-like fibers]	masaûnock (Narr.)	
flower	uppēshau	“it shoots up”
flowers (plural)	peshaónash	
fruit (of tree)	mehtūkque mechummūoonk ¹⁹	“tree food”
fruit or vegetable	meechummuonk	“food [fruits & vegetables] in general” from “eats” + -onk
garden	tanohketeaonk	“place (field) where things grow in the earth”
ginger (snakeroot ²⁰)	skokadchubuk (Wampano)	
ginsing	gassôwadik (Wampano)	
gooseberry	hakenamin (Wampano)	

¹⁷ Extended discussion of this plant and berries may be found at Internet website
<http://www.botanical.com/botanical/mgmh/e/elder-04.html>

¹⁸ Plural ending –og identifies this noun as “animate noun” as explained in footnote for “cedar tree”.

¹⁹ Nouns ending in –onk are **abstract nouns** (indicating a collection or classification, state of being or action or abstract ideas <justice, love, truth, strength, foods &c.). Try to locate other “abstract nouns.”

²⁰ Any of numerous plants (as seneca snakeroot) most of which have roots sometimes believed to cure snakebites; *also* : the root of such a plant (Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary). Wm Wood (1634) describes snakeroot as an Indian cure against rattlesnake bites in the woods of southeastern New England.

gourd	asq	"raw"; see footnote for "squashes"
grapes (plural)	wenominneash (Narr.)	"grows on vines"; source of wine for English ²¹
grass or straw or hay (see "herb") (plural)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mosketuash • maskituash (Narr.) 	
grass, tender	woskoshkehtuash	From "new, young" + "grass"
gum, sap of tree	azoi (or) koa	
hardwoods (maple, hickory, some ashes, oaks, etc.)	see "birch"	
harvest time	núnnowwa ²² (Narr.)	
hawthorn (thornapple ²³)	chigenaz (Wampano)	
hazelnut	bagôniz (Wampano)	
hemlock	sagaskôdak (Wampano)	
hemp ²⁴ , wild	mazon (Wampano)	
herb or medicine	mosketu	from "raw", "green," "growing"
hickory nut	wusquatamin (Wampano)	
hoe or scrapper	anáskhig ²⁵ (Narr.)	Anaskhomwáutowwin = "a breaking up hoe"
hurtleberries ²⁶ (see blueberries)		
Indian tobacco (see "tobacco")		
jack-in-the-pulpit ²⁷	chichiz (Wampano)	

²¹ As most people know by now, Indians did not use alcohol before the coming of the Europeans:

Their drink was formerly no other than water, and yet it doth continue, for their general and common drink. Many of the Indians are lovers of strong drink [alcohol] Hereby they are made drunk very often; and being drunk, are many times outrageous & mad, fighting with and killing one another; yea sometimes their own relatives. This beastly sin of drunkenness could not be charged upon the Indians before the English and other Christians nations ... came to dwell in America. (Gookin, p. 11)

²² "The corn dries, grows dry".

²³ **a** : JIMSONWEED; *also* : any plant of the same genus **b** : the fruit of a hawthorn; *also* : HAWTHORN (Merriam-Webster's Dictionary).

²⁴ Related is Narr. word for "flax"= Asháppock (glossed as "hemp" in Roger Williams)

²⁵ "Thing that digs".

²⁶ Etymology: alteration of earlier *hurtleberry*, from Middle English *hurtilberye*, irregular from Old English *hort* whortleberry + Middle English *berye* berry Date: 1578. **1** : a European blueberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*); *also* : its glaucous blackish edible berry. (Merriam-Webster's Dictionary).

²⁷ An American spring-flowering woodland herb (*Arisaema triphyllum* syn. *A. atrorubens*) of the arum family having an upright club-shaped spadix arched over by a green and purple spathe. (Merriam-Webster's Dictionary).

jerusalem artichoke (related to sunflower)	? (searching)	
land, earth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ohke aûke (Narr.) sanaukamúck²⁸ (Narr). wuskáukamuck = “new ground (for planting)” aquegunníteash = “fields worn out” 	from words for “mother” and “land” Related Narr. terms are níttauke = “My land” & nissawnâwkamuck ²⁹
leaf of a tree	wunnepog	related to “beautiful”, “liquid,” “stands erect”
leaves, violet	pshaûiuash (Narr.)	
log	quttōw	from “heavy”, “weight”
maple tree, syrup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> msquayobsaanck (Wampano)= one tree nĩnâtik (Ojibway) = one tree nĩnâtikog (Ojibway) = many trees zeewâgmĩdě (Ojibway) = maple syrup 	Plural is animate form even in Ojibway; see footnote for “red cedar”
meadow	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wompashkeht micúckaskeete (Narr.) tataggoskituash (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> related to “bright light” and “growing” related to “green, raw, natural” “a fresh meadow”
melon	monasak∞tasq	see “cucumber”
mortar or place for pounding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> togguhwhonk³⁰ táckunck (Narr.) 	Imitative sound of pounding – <i>tah-kunk, tah-kunk</i> ; from “he grinds” + “wood”
mullein ³¹	mamatchwuttamagon (Wampano)	
muskmelon (English import)	quinosketãmuk	“long raw thing in the ground”
nettle leaf	mazônibag (Wampano)	
nutmeg	ramiskad (Wampano)	

²⁸ This word refers to land enclosed & cultivated (a garden or field). The ending *-kamuck* (*-komuck*) means an enclosed space or a structure like a Long House (*qunnèkamuck*).

²⁹ This word refers to land enclosed & cultivated (*my* garden or field) and has stem ending *-kamuck* as explained above.

³⁰ Probably not “abstract noun” as *-onk* is perhaps variant stem for “wood”.

³¹ Any of a genus (*Verbascum*) of usually woolly-leaved Eurasian herbs of the snapdragon family including some that are naturalized in No. America. (Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary).

nuts (plural)	annachiminash	"shell fruits", including one called "potato"
oak tree	n [∞] timus	"tree with leaves resembling hands"
oakwood, yellow	wesokkūnk	"yellow tree"
onions, wild (plural)	weenwásog	appears to be "animate noun" (exception to rule)
orchard	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ahtuck • mehtukque 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • place of trees • of a tree
peach tree	peachsanck (Wampano)	English loan word "peach" is evident
pear (see barberries)		
pecan	?	
pine tree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kowash'tugk • k[∞]wa • cówaw³² • kowawese (Narr.) • cówawésuck (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "tree with sharp things" • "sharp, point" • • young pine tree, "sharp," "small" • young pine trees
plain (noun)	mukkoshqut	"great grassy place"
plant (noun)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ahketeamuk • neahketeāmu • ohkehteau 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "of a thing in the field" • "a good plant" • "a thing in the earth"
plantain	maykituash (Wampano)	
planting time	aukeeteaûmitch ³³	
plum tree	plumsanck (Wampano)	Obvious adaptation of English "plum"
poplar tree (tulip tree)	meetwe	"wetuw wood"?
pounding pestle (for corn, nuts)	quinashin (Narr.)	"long stone"
puffball ³⁴	bigidoan (Wampano)	

³² Word is based on root *kous* (having a sharp point). The name of the tribal group Cowesit is based on this root ("At the place of the small pine"). In English "pine" was once "pin" (as in "sharp pin").

³³ "When he plants (puts into earth)".

³⁴ Any of various globose and often edible fungi (especially family Lycoperdaceae) that discharge ripe spores in a smokelike cloud when pressed or struck (Merriam-Webster's Dictionary).

pumpkin (see "squashes & pumpkins")	wasawa (Wampano)	
raspberry	zegweskimin (Wampano)	
red dogwood tree	squayawasanck (Wampano)	
red earth	míshquock (Narr.)	"red earth"
red oak tree (should be yellow?)	wesattimš	
reeds	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wékinash³⁵ (Narr.) wékinashquash³⁶ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> singular plural form in Massachusetts
rhubarb	maskituash (Wampano)	Appears as same term for "herb" in Massachusetts
rice, wild	menomen (Wampano)	
root, tree	wutchāppehk (or) wottapp (or) wuttapp (or) wattáp (Narr.)	"the bottom"
rose or lily	kossepēshau	"warm flower"? (not indigenous)
sarsaparilla ³⁷	sasôksek (Wampano)	
sassafras tree	sasaunckpâmuck (Narr.)	related to "bitter, tree"?
skunkcabbage	shegogwibag (Wampano)	
spruce	m'skask (Wampano)	
squash seeds ?	uppakumíneash (Narr.)	
squashes & pumpkins (plural)	askútasquash ³⁸ (Narr.)	"raw plant that can be eaten"; called "vine apple" by Roger Williams
straw, hay (plural)	seekpoghonkash	
strawberries (plural)	wuttáhminneash ³⁹ (Narr.)	Source of wine for English
strawberry leaves (plural)	wuttahminaspíppaguash	

³⁵ Root is "sweet". One of the few words that has a plural ending for a singular noun!

³⁶ Possibly used for "sweetgrass". Sweetgrass is a winter-hardy, sweet smelling, perennial grass that grows in rich, moist soil. It can be found in North America from Alaska to South Carolina. Sweetgrass requires full sun.

³⁷ Used primarily as a flavoring; also, a sweetened carbonated beverage flavored with sassafras and oil distilled from a European birch (Merriam-Webster's Dictionary).

³⁸ "Things green or raw that may be eaten". The English word "squash" is derived from this Narragansett. The English took the part "squash" (which they did not realize was already plural!) and added "es" to make the new word "squashes". Other Massachusetts words that may be of interest are: *askootasquash* ("cucumbers", an English import) and *quonooasquash* ("gourds") and *monaskootasquash* ("melons"). All have the root *-ask* or *-asq* meaning "green, raw, natural". The word *asquash* was used in general to mean "edible things green and raw".

³⁹ Literally, "Heart-shaped berries", a true delicacy for which is celebrated "Strawberry Nickommo" in modern times and probably in ancient times as well.

sunflower	kezouskuganak (Wampano)	
sweetflag ⁴⁰	muskwaskuk (Wampano)	
tobacco (Indian tobacco) (<i>nicotiana rustica</i>) (plural)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wuttamâuog ottommaocke (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “what they drink (i.e., smoke)”. Indian tobacco (not cigarette tobacco) was the most sacred plant and only plant grown by men; it was mixed with herbs and had very little nicotine in it, and did no harm. “tobacco”
tree (see individual names for trees)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> mehtugq= a tree, the tree mehtugquash = trees mehtugquēs= a small tree mehtugquēmēs= a very small tree mogkunk = a great tree massatugk = a large tree askunhq = a green tree (sapling) muss∞ouunk = a dry tree agwonk= under a tree ut kishkunk = near, beside the tree qunnuhquitugk = a tall tree mishuntugk⁴¹ = well-wooded (of a forest) muht∞k∞mes = a stick (“little wood”) wequanunkq = tree stump⁴² kenuhtugq = “long wooden (sharp) crooked stick” 	<p>h’tugq = “tree” (the root word may come from the sound made when a tree is struck by a club or ax or arrow, maybe.)</p> <p>Trees are very sacred; they span three worlds at once – sky, earth & under world; crystals found under some trees</p>
tulip tree (see “poplar”)		
vine apples (see “squashes”)		
vine trees (plural)	wenomesíppaquash (Narr.)	related to “grape”
walnut	wusswaquatómineug (Narr.)	

⁴⁰ A perennial marsh herb (*Acorus calamus*) of the arum family with long narrow leaves and an aromatic rootstock -- called also *calamus* (Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary).

⁴¹ This word appears as a place name in Providence, RI; Mashentuck = “Many trees; well forested place” (see <http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianPlaceNames.html>).

⁴² Also means’ “wooden mortar for corn-grinding”.

walnut tree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wuss[∞]hquattomis • wússquat (Narr.) 	from “to anoint with oils”, a practice done on their heads; the English used the bark to make beer
walnuts (plural)	wussoohquattômĩneash	“fruit we get oils from”. The meat crushed and mixed with water and corn was mother’s milk.
waterlily root	meskatak (Wampanao)	
watermelon (Colonial times)	ohhosketãmuk	“raw green thing”
white oak tree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pohkuhtimus • paugáutimisk (Narr.) 	related to “separating bark”, for baskets
willow tree	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • anumwussukuppe • anumwussikkup 	related to “making baskets”?
wintergreen	gôgôwibagok (Wampano)	
witchhazel	siokesanck (Wampano)	
wood (see “branch” & “tree”)		
woods (forest)	touhkômuck	“solitary place”

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*The Heavens, Weather,
Winds, Time &c*



Papòne <> Cône

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The Heavens, Weather, Winds, Time &c

December, 2004

Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program

A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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WUNNOHTEAONK



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS

Reprinted and revised from —Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer. (1998). *A
Massachusetts Language Book, Vol. 1*. Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council.

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—NOTES—

This short treatise stems from the research of the Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program, a project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England. Our intention is to make these works available to a wide audience. Other related works are “The Word ‘Squaw’ in Historical and Modern Sources” (<http://www.indianeduresearch.net/squaw.pdf>), “Spirits and Family Relations¹” (ED 471405, <http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/Home.portal>), “Animals & Insects,” “Birds & Fowl,” “Muhhog: the Human Body,” “American Indian Place Names in Rhode Island: Past & Present” (<http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianPlaceNames.html>), “Fish” & “Corn & Fruits & Berries & Trees &c”.

The present paper shows translations for about 250 names for weather, heavenly bodies, time and related terms taken from the extinct American Indian Algonquian languages of southeastern New England, Narragansett, Massachusetts. Occasionally vocabulary words are borrowed from Mohegan-Pequot (Prince & Speck, 1904) and a north Boston-Shore dialect (Pawtucket, William Wood, 1634) when no extant terms were discovered or for purposes of comparison.

References are given below. One important document (Trumbull’s Natick Dictionary) is available on the Internet as a PDF document (can view book as it is written). In addition, it has been brought to my attention recently that many Algonquian texts are now available (as ASCII files; not as originally written) at the following address:

<http://www.people.umass.edu/aef6000/Texts/Algonquian/Algnqn.html>.

The Goddard & Bragdon work is important for linguistic theory.

The vocabulary listing is presented alphabetically as a table of three columns. On the left is the English language term being translated, as translated in the middle column (with language/dialect identified), and any useful comments on the right side (including etymology). The main contributing language is Massachusetts² (Eliot, Cotton and Trumbull references). “Reconstructed” refers to my own creation. The abbreviation Narr. refers to the Narragansett language as recorded by Roger Williams (1643). The author is responsible for the spelling rearrangements for some material in *A Key*. “Pequot” is a reference to the glossary of Prince and Speck (1904), which includes the Ezra Stiles 1762 vocabulary. The abbreviation “Wm. Wood” refers to the 275-word vocabulary compiled by William Wood in 1634. William Wood wrote an expository work of his 17th century experiences in the New World, entitled *New Englands Prospect*, which summarized his observations among

¹ Errata sheet not included; write to author

² John Eliot translated the entire Bible into Natick dialect of the Massachusetts (or Wampanoag) language.

the *Massachusêuck* (Massachusetts Indians, “People of the Great Hills”). The character &c means “etc.” Notes in the COMMENT column are itemized by “bullets” (•) when multiple Algonquian translations are listed; the order of the “bullets” in each column correspond.

Pronunciation of words is not attempted owing to the scanty knowledge of this language. For technical guidelines, see Goddard & Bragdon (1988). Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer (1998) provide a long guide to interpretation of vowel sounds and consonant-vowel clusters along with the special diacritical symbols seen in the vocabulary.

Future works will focus on topical vocabularies for other areas.



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³ Moondancer and O'Brien are the same person.

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VOCABULARY

(alphabetical)

— The Heavens, Weather, Winds, Time &c —

We know very little about the accomplishments of our ancestors in mathematics, astronomy, meteorology, botany, pharmacology &c. Like other First Indigenous Peoples of America, the Wampanoag & other Algonquian-speaking peoples of our region must have been keen observers of the Laws of Nature for their very survival depended on being able to read the stars, the winds, clouds, the leaves, and all of the Great Spirit's Signs and Omens.... *Wampanoag Cultural History*...., p. 31.

The Heavens, Weather, Winds, Time &c	Algonquian (∞ = oo as in food)	Comment
air, atmosphere	mamahche ⁴ kesuk	"empty or void sky"
autumn, Fall (see "Fall")		
cloud	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mahtohqs • mattâqus (Narr). • wompatokqs • moowatokqs • musquatokqs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cloud, "moisture, wet" • cloud, "moisture, wet" • white cloud • black cloud (reconstructed) • red cloud (reconstructed)
cold (see "weather")		
constellation ⁵ , Great Bear Constellation	mosk <i>or</i> paukúnawwaw ⁶ (Narr.)	

⁴ Repetition or duplication of first syllable *ma* augments or intensifies meaning of *mahche* ("empty"); cf. "earthquake," "rain, a rain shower," "Spring, this Spring last," or "night, midnight". See footnote for "weather, cold, it is cold".

⁵ Constellations are any of 88 arbitrary configurations of stars or an area of the celestial sphere covering one of these configurations or "figures" or shapes formed by the positions of the stars in the night sky. One can "connect-the-dots" to make pictures of people, animals, and objects and possibly come up with the same shapes and names that have been associated with some constellations for hundreds of years. The Internet contains many "tutorials" on constellations. Some names given by Roger Williams such as Golden Metewand ("yardstick") no longer exist.

⁶ Both words mean "a bear". *Mosk* may be the black bear (female?). *Paukúnawwaw* means "night or darkness walker"; (cf. "dark" , "night").

constellation, the Brood-hen Constellation [Pleiades]	chippápuock (Narr.)	from “they are separate”
constellation, the Golden Metewand Constellation [Belt of Orion].	shwishcuttowwáuog ⁷ (Narr.)	-og indicates word is “animate” plural as are other items in this subclass of natural objects
constellation, the Morning Star Constellation	mishánnock (Narr.)	“great (large) star”
dark, it is dark	paukúnnun (Narr.)	
day, 1 day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nquittaqúnnegat⁸ (Narr.) • sawup (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “first day” • “1 sleepes” ❖ “The <i>Indians</i> count their time by nights, and not by dayes” (Wm. Wood)
day, 2 days	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • neesqúnnegat (Narr.) • isoqunnocquock (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nees= 2; cf. “month, 2 months” • “2 sleepes”
day, 3 days	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • shuckqunóckat (Narr.) • sucqunnocquocke (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • shwe = 3?; cf. “month, 3 months” • “3 sleepes”
day, 4 days	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • yowunnóckat (Narr.) • yoawqunnocquock (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • should read yowqunnocquockat ? • “4 sleepes”
day, 10 days	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • piuckaqúnnegat (Narr.) • pawquo qunnocquock (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “10 sleepes”
day, 11 days	piuckaqunnegat nab naquit ⁹ (Narr.)	“ten days plus one”
day, 12 days	piuckaqunnegat nab neeze (Narr.)	
day, 20 days	neesneechek tashuck qunnoúckat (Narr.)	tashuck means “so many” relative to measurement (animate plural form)

⁷ Literally “wetu (wigwam) with three fires”.

⁸ Literally, “in one day” (*qunne* = “duration, length”); the prefixed terms are ordinal numbers (first, second,...); -at seems to be a locative indicating “at, of, in,” &c.

⁹ Some Narr. entries have been rewritten to highlight word structure.

day, 21 days &c.	neesneechek tashuck qunnóckat nab naquit ¹⁰ (Narr.)	all one phrase; "20 + 1"
day ¹¹ (see "morning")	wómpān (Narr.)	womp- is a root for "white, dawn"; -an seems to be a root for "going beyond, exceeding"
day, a clear day	weitagcone (Wm. Wood)	" a clear day" ¹²
day, a cloudy day	goopkwod (Pequot)	-kwod = "day" analogous to -kod, -quot, -quat &c in Massachusetts & Narragansett; cf. "weather, overcast"
day, a day	kesŭkod	kesŭkodash = "days"
day, a long day	quawquonikeesakat (Narr.) ¹³	"[it is] a long day" ❖ quawquonikéesaqútche as ¹⁴ (Narr.) = "long days"
day, a quarter of an hour	yauwe chippag hour	"a quarter of an hour" ["hour" is English]
day, a short day	tiaquockaskéesakat ¹⁵ (Narr.)	"[it is] a short day"
day, all the day long	mamusse quinne kesŭkod	"the whole long day"
day, break of day	p∞touwāshâ	passive voice?
day, by day	kéesqush (Narr.)	
day, daybreak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kitompanisha¹⁶ (Narr.) • pouckshaa (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • passive voice? • "it is broken"
day, daybreak, about cock-crowing time ¹⁷	chouóeatch ¹⁸ (Narr.)	English roosters ?

¹⁰ If form is correct, we hypothesize that "30 days" is written *shwincheck tashuck qunnóckat*; adding *nab neeze* gives "31" &c.

¹¹ See footnotes for "heavens" and "time". Cotton vocabulary (see p. 15 "Time") provides names for 7 days of the week.

¹² Literal translations are cited for Wood's vocabulary.

¹³ Sun stays up longer. In this word and for the next entry, we note reduplication (*quawquo-*), "long, long."

¹³ Passive Voice with reference to "freeing, breaking".

¹⁴ *-as* is the plural in this word whereas plural marker *-ash* is normal for "inanimate nouns".

¹⁵ Sun goes down early. An *n* or *nn* probably should be included to read *tiaqu~~nn~~ockaskéesakat*.

¹⁶ Passive Voice with reference to "freeing, breaking".

¹⁷ Just before sunrise.

¹⁸ Suffix *-atch* indicates "when it is, when it has" (indefinite subjunctive form); other written forms seen are *-etch*, *-itch*, *-otch*, *-utch*.

day, daybreak, it is break of day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mautáubon <i>or</i> • chicháuquat wompan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “it is day (morning)” <i>or</i> • “it is day-break (day-light)”
day, daytime	kesükkâttæ ahquompi ¹⁹	“it is the time of day (of the sun)”
day, it is almost day	quequas nim (Wm. Wood)	“ it is almost day”
day, it is broad day	aumpatâuban (Narr.)	
day, it is day	keesuckquâi (Narr.)	
day, Lord's day	sontim∞e kesukod	
day, market day	oattechæ ukkesukodum	
day, next day	nesqunnoh	
day, one days walk	nquittakesiquóckat ²⁰ & nquittakesipúmmishen ²¹ (Narr.)	“[it is] one day’s walk”; root -pum- means “along in space or time”
day, our days	nukkesukodtumunnônash	
day, two days hence (or ago)	nesükquinōgkod	
day, three days hence (or ago)	nishikqunnohquod	“(or ago)” is presumed
day, four days hence	yauukqunnohquod	
day, seven days hence (or ago)	nesasuk tashikqunnohquod	“(or ago)” is presumed
day, week, or one part of a month	nequt chippi pasuk keessoocht	
day, yesterday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wawnauco (Wm. Wood) • wunnonkou • wunnonkon • weyongoo (Pequot) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “yesterday” • “[it was] last evening” • “last evening” • “yesterday”
day, yesterday (day before)	neesukquinogkod	

¹⁹ Translated as “time (a time), a period, a season”.

²⁰ "Of one sun's length". Length of time always includes the root "long" (*qunne*). Note: it appears that this entry is misspelled for *n* or *nn* should most likely appear after the second u to read *nquittakesiqunnoóckat*

²¹ "Of one sun's walk". Of interest is the distance Colonial era Indians could travel on foot. Roger Williams (Ch. XI) relates that a good runner could cover about 100 miles in one day, and return in two (after a good rest, we presume).

dew	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nechǐppog • néechipog (Narr.) 	“broken rain”; -og indicates animate plural form
directions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nannummiyeu = north • wompaniyeu = east • sowwaniyeu = south • sowwaníu (Narr.) = southwest²² • pahtatunniyeu = west 	-iyeu, -iu is a “particle” (uninflected root) indicating directions (cf. comment for “earth,” “heavens (sky)”))
drizzle, mist (see “rain, drizzle,....”)		
earth, land	aúke (Narr.)	aukeeseíu = “towards the earth”
earthquake	quequan	“shake! shake!”; shows example of frequentative form (see footnote for “weather, it is cold”)
evening	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wunnáuquit²³ (Narr.) • wunnonk∞onk²⁴ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evening (when it is) •
Fall	'ninnauāet	see “seasons”
fall of leaf & Autumn	taquònc (Narr.)	see “seasons”
flood	tamócon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nanashowetamócon²⁵ (Narr.) = “half a flood” • taumacoks (Narr.) = “upon the flood” • mishittommóckon (Narr.) = “a great flood”
fog (see “rain, drizzle, ...”)		
frost, a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • taquattin (Narr.) • tópu (Narr.) • taquatsha (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a frost • “it is frost” • “it is frozen”; auke tequátsha = “frozen ground”
frost, a great frost	missittópu (Narr.)	“it is a great frost”

²² The most sacred direction where lives *Kautántowíit*, The Great Spirit.

²³ -it = “when it is, at, in”.

²⁴ Nouns ending in -onk are **abstract nouns** (indicating a collection or classification, state of being or action or abstract ideas <justice, love, truth, strength, foods &c.>). Try to locate other “abstract nouns.”

²⁵ “Between” (intensified), “with”, “flood”.

hail (noun)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • missegkon • mussekon 	“big rain (snow)”
harvest, this harvest last	yò taquónticup ²⁶ (Narr.)	
heavenly body (sun, moon, star ?)	munnánnock ²⁷ (Narr.)	“a name of the sun or moon”
heavens (sky)	kéesuck ²⁸ (Narr.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ keesucquíu (Narr.)= “towards the sky”; ❖ kessuckquànd²⁹ (Narr.)= “Sun Spirit” ❖ annōgssūe kesuk = “the starry heavens”
hot, warm (see “weather, hot”)	kěsu	“it is hot”
ice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • capát³⁰ (Narr.) • kuppap 	“hard”, “blocked up”
ice, slippery ice	toonukquesūe kuppap	
light, it is light	wequâi (Narr.)	of the moon (Roger Williams, p. 64)
lightening	cutshâusha ³¹ (Narr.)	passive voice
mist (see “rain, drizzle,...”)		
month, a	nepauz	cf. “sun”
month, 1 month (“one moon”) ³²	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nquitpawsuck nepaûus³³ (Narr.) • a quit-appause (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • see footnote for “sun” • “1 moneths”

²⁶ Ending *-up* or *-ip* for verbs means simple past tense.

²⁷ Roger Williams uses word to mean also “moon ” & “sun”. Root is “alone, by self”.

²⁸ This word means either (a) visible heavens, the sky (b) the sun, “source of heat and light” or (c) space of one day—“one sun”. The last *k* in *kéesuck* is pronounced with a strong guttural sound—say “cup” without the “p”. Note that Cotton gives *kesūkod* = “a day”.

²⁹ The names for Spirits end in *-and*, *-anit*, *-it*, *-at*. The words for Spirits are based on a contraction or shortening of the word *manit* for *manito* (Spirit). For Spirit Names, see ED 471405 (“Spirits and Family Relations”).

³⁰ “When it is closed up or dense”. The same root is seen in word for “overcast weather” (*cúppaquat*).

³¹ Imitative sound?

³² The Indian “calendar” had thirteen months, based on the 13 full moons in one year (which are “calculated” on the 13 squares of a turtle’s outer shell). In one northern dialect (Abenaki), the seasons of the year corresponding to our modern names of the months are given in the Trumbull’s 1866 ed. of *A Key* (footnote 141):

month, 2 months (“two moons”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • neespausuck npaûus³⁴ (Narr.) • nees-appasue (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “pausuck” same as “pawsuck” above • “2 moneths”
month, 3 months (“three moons”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • shwepausuck npaûus (Narr.) • nis-appasue (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “3 moneths”
month, 2 months, when 2 moons have passed (?)	neesneáhettit ³⁵ (Narr.)	is nepaûus represented by -ne(a)- ?
month, 3 months, when 3 moons have passed (?)	shwinneáhettit (Narr.)	
month, 4 months, when 4 moons have passed (?)	yowinneáhettit (Narr.)	
month, harvest month	taquontikéeswush ³⁶ (Narr.)	
month, spring month	sequanakéeswush (Narr.)	
month, summer month	neepunnakéeswush (Narr.)	
month, winter month	paponakéeswush (Narr.)	

※ Great-Cold Moon (January); Fish Moon (Feb.); End-of-Fishing Moon (Mar.); Herring Moon, or Sowing Moon (Apr.); Covering Moon, or Corn-Planting Moon (May); Hoeing Moon (June); Berry Moon, or Eel Moon (July); Moon-of-Great-Sun, or Long-Day Moon (Aug.); Acorn Moon (Sept.); Thin-Ice Moon, or Moon-When-Margins-Of-Streams-Freeze (Oct.); Beaver-Catching Moon, or Moon-When-Holes-Are-Made-In-The-Ice-And-Watched-For-Beavers (Nov.); Long Moon (Dec.) ※

³³ Original text reads *Nqnitpawsuckenpaûus*. Following *A Key*, (Trumbull, ed., 1866, footnote 41), *nqnitpawsuck nepaûus* seems to mean: *nqnit* = 1 (first in order) + *pawsuck* = 1 unit + *nepaûus*. Likewise, “2 months” = 2 (2nd in order) + 1 unit + moon.

³⁴ Same as word above, spelled *nepaûus*.

³⁵ Is this and next two entries possibly the subjunctive form, *-hettit* (they); literally, “when there are two (of anything)”?

³⁶ *-keeswush* = “season, ‘moon’, month” (cf. *keesuck* = “day, time, sky, heavens”). The season names are then prefixed; see “seasons”.

moon, the	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • napauzshad • Nanepaùshat³⁷ (Narr.) • wuske nepauzsae • paushesui (Narr.) • wequáshim³⁸ (Narr.) • yo wompanámmit³⁹ (Narr.) • pashpíshea (Narr.) • weyoun, weyhan (Pequot) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • moon (diminutive of “nepauz = “sun”?) • Moon Spirit, “he walks in the night” • a new moon, “new moon” • a half moon, “it’s half” (of anything) • moonlight, “a light-colored moon”; wequâi (Narr.)= “it is light” • the moon so old • the moon is up • moon
morning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mohtompan • mautáubon (Narr.) • youmbewe (Pequot) • nompoae • appause (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “it is morning” • “it is day (morning)” • “early morning” • “early in the morning” • “the morn” ❖ cowompanu sin (Wm. Wood) = “Good morrow” ❖ weegwasun⁴⁰ (Pequot) = “good-morning”
mud, dirt	pissagk	pishagqua ⁴¹ = “[it is] muddy or miry”
night	nukon, nukkon	“descending”
nights (plural)	nukkonash	

³⁷ Roger Williams uses this word to mean “Moon” & “Moon Spirit”. Moreover, the repetition of the first syllable may be reduplication on an animate intransitive verb which Trumbull likens to “He rises/stands up” (in Narr., *neepouwe*).

³⁸ “light-ish”. The letters *-sh-* often indicate something “less than, inferior, a little,” etc. For example, the light of the moon is less bright than that of the sun; could also describe “dull, dim or scanty moonlight”.

³⁹ “Moon that shines till wompan (dawn)”.

⁴⁰ This Mohegan-Pequot word is similar to Narr. *asco wequáassin* [“may you live happily” (from *week* = “sweet”)].

⁴¹ The corrupted place name Pisquasent (Charlestown, RI), translated as “muddy rocks place,” shows partly this root word.

night, by night	náukocks (Narr.)	
night, dark, when it is	póppakunnetch ⁴² or aucháugotch (Narr.)	separate terms
night, it is night (this night)	nokannáwi ⁴³ (Narr.)	❖ connucke sommona (Wm. Wood) = "it is almost night" ; ❖ connu (Wm. Wood)= "good night to you"
night, midnight	nanashowatíppocat ⁴⁴ (Narr.)	fragment nashow- from "middle, between"; 2nd syllable -na- seems to intensify "middle" ('exactly the middle')
night, toward	túppaco ⁴⁵ (Narr.) & otematíppocat ⁴⁶ (Narr.)	tuppac-, -tippoc- is root for "night"; see "night, midnight"
noon & forenoon & afternoon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nummáttaquaw⁴⁷ (Narr.) • páwshaquaw (Narr.) • pohshequae⁴⁸ • nawwâuwquaw (Narr.) • quâttuhqũohquâ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • forenoon • noon, "it is half way" • noon • afternoon • afternoon
rain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sókenun⁴⁹ (Narr.) • zoogeryon (Pequot) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "it rains" • "it rains" ❖ sókenitch (Narr.) = "when it rains" ❖ sokenonni = "it's raining now" ❖ anamakéesuck⁵⁰ sókenun (Narr.) = "it will rain today" ❖ ahqunnon = "the rain ceases" (literally "ceases, the falling water")

⁴² "When it is very dark"; -*etch* has same sense as -*otch*. ("when it is"); intensifier on "dark".

⁴³ The "present definite" (it is going on right now).

⁴⁴ "Midway of the darkness".

⁴⁵ "In the dark night".

⁴⁶ May mean "time of darkness" or "between evening and morning".

⁴⁷ -*waw* = "state, condition".

⁴⁸ *Yáhen Páushaquaw* = "almost noon" in Narr.

rain, a great rain & much rain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mishúnnan (Narr.) • mishian (Pequot) • michunnan • mogkinnon 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “much rain” • “a heavy but short rain” • “much rain” • “great rain”
rain, a light rain	posher (Pequot)	“it rains”
rain, a rain shower	papadtippáshin	“there is a shower”; reduplicative form, papa- = “drops”?
rain, drizzle, mist, fog	nishkenon	“small or broken (“double”) rain”
rain, snow, shower (rain, snow)	neepanon	
rainy weather (see “weather, rainy weather”)		
rough (as seas)	koshhesu	“it is rough”
seasons: the Indian year seems to have had at least 6 seasons (A Key, Trumbull, ed., 1866)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • aukeeteámitch (“when he plants”) – seed time • séquan (“when water runs again” or “when water is long?”) – early Spring • néepun – midsummer, latter part • núnnowa (“the corn dries, grows dry”) – harvest time • taquònc (“beginning of cold”) – fall of the leaf, Autumn • papòne – Winter 	Narragansett words
sky (see “heavens”)		

⁴⁹ *Sókenun* (rain) is from verb “he pours”; *-nan*, *-non*, *-nnan*, *-nnon* &c indicate “falling water” as seen in this and next several entries.

⁵⁰ “This day”. *Anama* may mean “this”.

sky, clear sky	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pohkok • pâuqui (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “when it is clear”; ❖ póhkok msqui = “the sky is red” • it clears (the sky)
snow (a wet, fast snowfall ?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sóchepo⁵¹ (Narr.) • soojpoh (Pequot) • souch’pou (Pequot) 	“it snows”, the root -ch is sound of wet falling snow; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ animanâukock⁵² sóchepo (Narr.) = “it will snow tonight” ❖ sóchepwutch (Narr.) = “when it snows”
snow (a soft, slow snowfall ?)	muhpoo	“it snows” (the sound of soft snow falling?); <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ muhpooe kesukod = “a snowy day”
snow (fallen)	cône ⁵³ (Narr.)	general term, snow on ground; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ mudjon goone (Pequot) = “the snow is gone”
spring or seed-time	aukeeteámitch (Narr.)	“when he puts into earth”; see “seasons”
spring, springtime	séquan (Narr.)	early summer
spring, this spring last	saséquacup (Narr.)	frequentative form (?) with past tense marker -up; see footnote for “weather, cold, it is”
star, a	anóckqus (Narr.)	anócksuck (Narr.) = “stars”
storm , northerly storm, tempest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nashquttin • uhquõhquot 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • northerly storm • tempest
storm , southerly storm	sowanīsshin	

⁵¹ *Sóchepo* is probably "snow falling".

⁵² "This night". *Anima* may mean "this".

⁵³ *Cône* is believed to be "snow on the ground" and corresponds to neighboring Pequot (Prince & Speck, 1904). In Pequot it's pronounced *gûn* with *û* said like u in "rule". In Pequot dialect, we tend to hear our c or k sound as a hard *g* as in "go".

storm, wind storm	mishitáshin ⁵⁴	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ awêpesha (Narr.)= “The storm calms” ❖ awêpu (Narr.) = “a calm” ❖ nanoúwashin (Narr.) = “A great calm (from storms)”
summer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • néepun & quaqúsquan (Narr.) • nepinnāe • sequan (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • see “seasons” • “it is summer” • “the summer” ❖ neepunitch (Narr.) = “when it is summer” (reconstructed)
summer, it is a warm summer	woenaunta (Wm. Wood)	“it is a warm summer”
summer, this summer last	yo neepúnnacup (Narr.)	-up indicates past tense
sun, the (see “moon,” “heavens”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nippâwus⁵⁵ (Narr.) • nepaz, nēpáuz • cone (Wm. Wood) • meeün (Pequot) • munnánnock⁵⁶ (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from “he rises up” • from “he rises up” • “the sun⁵⁷” ?? • sun • “a name of the sun or moon”
sun rising	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • upposhpishaonk nepaz • pausepissoi (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nepaz = “sun” • “the sun is rising”
sun setting	oowayaonk nepaz	nepaz = “sun”
sun, clear, bright shining sun	pahke wussum ⁵⁸ e nepáuz	nepáuz = “ sun”
sunrise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nepauz pashpishant • páspisha⁵⁸ (Narr.) • waacoh (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “sun bursts/blooms forth” • “it is sunrise” • “the day breaks”

⁵⁴ “Big many winds”; see “wind”.

⁵⁵ Literally “He rises”. Word used for “a moon” or “month”, as in *neespausuck napaûs* (“2 months, 2 moons”); *keesuck* is used for “sun” as a source of light and heat (see “hot”).

⁵⁶ Roger Williams uses word to mean also “moon ” & “sun”. Root is “alone, by self”.

⁵⁷ Appears to be word for “snow”?

⁵⁸ Same word for “flower” meaning “He blooms forth”. Verbs ending in *-sha* seem to be Passive Voice unless it is an intransitive verb.

sunset	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wayaàwi⁵⁹ (Narr.) • wa aoy (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the sun sets • “the sun is down”
sunset, almost sunset	yáhen ⁶⁰ waiyàuw (Narr.)	
thaw, a	míchokat (Narr.)	míchokatch ⁶¹ (Narr.) = “when it thaws”
thunder ⁶²	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nimbau • padtohqūōhhan • neimpâuog (Narr.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • singular • unkquinneunkque • pattohqūōhhon = “terrible thunder” • “it thunders”, plural form, from “to hear, be heard” ? <p>❖ neimpâuog peskhómwock (Narr.) = “thunderbolts are shot”</p>
thunder, to thunder	peskhómmin ⁶³	péskunck ⁶⁴ = “flintlock rifle”
thunderbolt	ukkitshamun	“makes sound of thunder”
time (see “daytime” & related temporal terms)		read entry for “day” in Trumbull Dictionary, pp. 241-2
time, what time is it	tou wuttútan (Narr.) ?	“how high is it [the sun] (what time of day is it)”?
today, this day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • anamakéesuck⁶⁵ (Narr.) • autchu wompocke (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “today”
tomorrow	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • saup • saûop (Narr.) • a saw upp (Wm. Wood) • wompoca (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “tomorrow” • “tomorrow” • “tomorrow” • “tomorrow”

⁵⁹ To say “when the sun sets, has set,” we’d write *wayont* (“when he goes away”).

⁶⁰ “Almost”?

⁶¹ Original text reads *Míchokateh*.

⁶² Mayhew gives a place name on Martha’s Vineyard related to “thunder” — *Nempanicklickanuk*, a place called “The place of Thunder-clefts”, because “there was once a Tree there Split in pieces by the Thunder.” (p. 16). Note that Trumbull spells this place name so that he uses i for the e and h for the l.

⁶³ Infinitive form. This word means, “to burst into pieces with a noise”. We see the root word *-shk-* (or *-shq-* sometimes) to mean “violence, disaster”.

⁶⁴ “Thunder stick”.

⁶⁵ *Keesuck* is related to “gives life to”; *anima* = “this”.

warm, hot (see “hot, warm”)		
weather, calm weather	auweppöhquot	-quot, -quat related to “day”
weather, cloudy weather	matohquodt	cf. “cloud”
weather, cold weather	taúkocks ⁶⁶ (Narr.)	-s may indicate diminutive form
weather, cold, it is a cold night	takitíppocat (Narr.)	“it is a cold night”
weather, cold, it is cold	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tahki (Narr.) • tekiyo (Pequot) • tauh coi (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “it is cold” • “cold” • “it is very cold” ❖ tahkeès⁶⁷ (Narr.)= “it is a little cold” ❖ tátakki⁶⁸ (Narr.) = “very, very cold” ❖ sonkqui = “it is (feels) cold to the touch”
weather, dry weather	nnáppaquat (Narr.)	from nnáppi (Narr.) = “it is dry”
weather, fair weather	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wekineaûquat (Narr.) • weeköhquat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ wekineaûquocks (Narr.) = “when it is fair (weather)”; wek(in)- or week- indicates “sweet, nice, warm”
weather, hot weather	káusitteks (Narr.)	kussutah (Narr.) = “it’s hot today”
weather, overcast weather	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • máttaquat <i>or</i> • cúppaquat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “bad weather” • “closed-up day”
weather, pleasant weather	wunnuhquat	wunnegen keesuk = “beautiful day”

⁶⁶ In Windham County, Conn. is a place called Towcocks (Nipmuck Language) that appears related to *taúkocks*.

⁶⁷ The ending *-es* means “little”, characteristic diminutive form.

⁶⁸ The repetition or duplication of the first syllable *ta* is a common feature in the Algonquian Indian languages, referred to as **frequentative** or **reduplication**. It is a way of describing or emphasizing something that is going on repeatedly or habitually. For example, *momonchu* (“he is always on the move”; “he is always moving”). *Popowuttáhig* (“drum”) is another example—emphasizing the repetition of the *popow* sound of a drum.; *mameech* = “s/he eats a lot”

weather, rainy weather	onnohquat	'nnoh- indicates "falling water"
weather, warm weather	wekeneahquat	
weather, warm, it is a warm night	wekítíppocat	
weather, wet & stormy	wuttapö̀hquot kah nashquittin	
weather, wet weather	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wuttapö̀hquot • wutuyayow (Pequot) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wet weather/day • "it is wet"
wind, a cross wind	mattagehan (Narr.)	matta- = "bad"
wind, a fair wind	wunnágehan ⁶⁹ or wunnêgin waúpi (Narr.)	wunna- = "good, fair, pleasing"
wind, a great calm	mishaowepin (Narr.)	"great cease of wind"
wind, a great wind	mishâupan (Narr.)	"big wind"
wind, east wind	wopâtin ⁷⁰ (Narr.)	
wind, north wind	nanúmmatin & sunnâdin (Narr.)	
wind, northeast wind	chepewéssin ⁷¹ (Narr.)	
wind, northwest wind	chekesu (Narr.)	❖ chékesitch (Narr.) = "when the wind blows northwest"
wind, south wind	touwúttin (Narr.)	
wind, southeast wind	nanóckquittin (Narr.)	
wind, southwest wind	sowwannatin (Narr.)	this wind is the warmest and most pleasing wind for the southwest is house of the Great Spirit, Kautantowwit (in Narr.) or Keihtanit (in Natick Wampanoag dialect)
wind, strong northeast wind	sáchimoachepewéssin (Narr.)	word "sachim" (as in village leader) means "strong"

⁶⁹ *Wunnágehan* = "the thing that is extended (the air or wind) —it is good". *Wunnêgin waúpi* = "It is good—the wind."

⁷⁰ Original text (p. 86) reads *nopâtin* which we (along with Trumbull) think is probably a mistake, as *wop-* indicates 'east'

⁷¹ Word is said to come from *cheppi* or "evil spirit" from which comes this violent cold wind or "Noreaster" as New Englanders now call it. Storm is used as a symbol of raging warfare; e.g., *Chépewess & Mishittâshin* = "A northern storm of war" (Roger Williams, p. 182)

wind ⁷² , the wind	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wapan (or) waban wetun (Pequot) waûpi (Narr.) wappinne (Wm. Wood) wahbayoh (Pequot) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> from "what is up, above" wind from "it is above" "the wind" "windy"
wind, west wind	papônetin (Narr.)	"wind of winter"
wind, winds (plural)	wâupanash (Narr.)	"the winds"; inanimate form
winter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> papône (Narr.) poponăe papowne (Wm. Wood) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> see "seasons" "it is winter" "winter"
winter last winter	papapôcup (Narr.)	-up indicates past tense
winter, a sharp winter	ahauqushapapône (Narr.)	
year, 1 year	nquittecautúm ⁷³ (Narr.)	See footnote for "day, 1 day"
year, 2 years	neese ^{cautúm} (Narr.)	
year, 3 years	shweca ^{cautúm} (Narr.)	
year, 4 years	yoweca ^{cautúm} (Narr.)	
year, 10 years	piuckqueca ^{cautúm} (Narr.)	
year, 11 years	Piuckqueca ^{cautúm} nab naquit &c ⁷⁴ (Narr.)	rearranged
year, the last year	yaûnedg (Narr.)	past tense marker?
yesterday (see "day, yesterday")		

⁷² For names of Wind Spirits, see *Spirits and Family Relations* (ERIC Document, ED 471405). NOTE: ending *-in, -tin, -din, -sin* &c indicates "wind".

⁷³ *cautúm* = "year"

⁷⁴ Hypotheses: 100 years = *nquit pâwsuckcautúm*. 2000 years = *neese mittannugcautúm*. Reason: following previous forms, pick a number from Roger Williams, *A Key . . .*, Ch. IV, pp. 22-25, and to the number add *cautúm*.

About the author—



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Frank Waabu O'Brien (Dr. Francis Joseph O'Brien, Jr.) is an historical consultant. He has Indian Status from The Abenaki Nation (Sokoki and St. Francis Bands). Waabu is the former President, Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc. He is a member of and has served as Council Secretary, The Rhode Island Indian Council, and is currently a Tribal Member of the Dighton Intertribal Indian Council. Waabu graduated from Columbia University with a Ph.D. degree, doing a dissertation on applied linguistics. Waabu is an elected member of the New York Academy of Sciences. He was presented the American Medal of Honor in 2004 by the American Biographical Institute. In 2005 he accepted International Order of Merit (IOM) from the International Biographical Centre of Cambridge, England. Waabu is a disabled veteran from The Viet Nam War Era, and makes his living as a career civil servant mathematician for The Department of Defense.

ALGONQUIAN PRAYERS AND OTHER MISCELLANEOUS ALGONQUIAN INDIAN TEXTS



Peeyaûntamwock <> Michéme kah Michéme

*Dr. Frank Waabu O'Brien
Aquidneck Indian Council*

**ALGONQUIAN PRAYERS AND OTHER MISCELLANEOUS
ALGONQUIAN INDIAN TEXTS**

December, 2004; January, 2005

Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program

A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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WUNNOHTEAONK



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS

This project was funded [in part] by The Rhode Island Council [Committee] for the Humanities/National Endowment for the Humanities, Expansion Arts, a joint program of the Rhode Island Foundation Rhode Island and the Rhode Island State Council on the Arts/National Endowment for the Arts, Rhode Island Foundation, The Rhode Island Indian Council, and the Aquidneck Indian Council.

Front cover picture, Courtesy of the Naval Undersea Warfare Center, Newport, RI;
© 2004; (left) Chief Blue Eagle (Blackfoot, Abenaki), (right) the author

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—NOTES—

This short treatise stems from the research of the Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program, a project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England. Our intention is to make these works available to a wide audience. Other related works are “The Word ‘Squaw’ in Historical and Modern Sources” (<http://www.indianeduresearch.net/squaw.pdf>), “Spirits and Family Relations¹” (ED 471405, <http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/Home.portal>), “Animals & Insects,” “Birds & Fowl,” “Muhhog: the Human Body, “Fish” & “Corn & Fruits & Berries & Trees &c” & “The Heavens, Weather, Winds, Time &c,” and ” “American Indian Place Names in Rhode Island: Past & Present,” (<http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianPlaceNames.html>).

I have worked as a lone wolf for 9-10 years on the reconstruction and revival of the lost and sleeping American Indian languages of southeastern New England. The Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc., in Newport, RI, was founded, formed, and governed by aboriginal peoples of North America.

The Council realized that no Indian language annihilated by the harsh lessons of American History could possibly be regenerated no matter how much IQ from the natural realm descended on this bloodless ghost. We felt the preternatural and supernatural metaphysical realms could once again speak, or that one could turn up the volume of the voices always there.

A language gives the ability of human beings to do anything within possibility. The capability to Pray, Sing, Name and Speak forms the multidimensional quatrad of all audible and inaudible human communication within and between the natural, preternatural and supernatural realms of being and doing. To say it another way— Praying, Singing, Naming and Speaking are the gifts of the Creator available to men, woman and children of this land.

In this paper, I give some examples of my pyrrhic victories over the past decade, funded by various local, State and Federal agencies.

My interest and commitment to this fugitive area of research has always been guided by my spiritual vision, which I have put as a poem:

On What American Indians Want Today

They want to dry the tears that drowned the Sun
They want laughter to return to their hearts
They want to go home—to Mother and Grandmother
They want to hear their Ancestral Voices ‘round the Fire

—Moondancer, *Wampumpeag* (1996). Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council, 1996.

While Mastagoitch still dwells within my aging heart, I will continue to sing the praises of the Great Spirit and God Almighty.

¹ Errata sheet not included; write to author

Aho! <> Wunnêtu nittà

Frank Waabu O'Brien (Dr. Francis Joseph O'Brien, Jr.)
Newport, Rhode Island
January 11, 2005

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A Final Note: the scholarly word “extinct”

About the author

**ALGONQUIAN
PRAYERS
&c**



**Dedicated to
the Memory of Cjegktoonupa (Slow Turtle)
Supreme Medicine Man of the Wampanoag Nation**

THE LORDS PRAYER

From—

John Eliot (1669). *The Indian Primer; or, The Way of Training up of our Indian Youth in the good knowledge of God, in the knowledge of the Scriptures and in the ability to Reade.*

Cambridge, Massachusetts. Reprinted Edinburgh, Scotland: Andrew Elliot, 1880. [Courtesy of The John Carter Brown Library at Brown University].

Our Father which art in Heaven
Hallowed by thy Name
Thy Kingdom come
Thy will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven
Give us this day our daily bread.
And forgive us our trespasses,
 as we forgive them that trespass against us.
And lead us not into temptation,
 but deliver us from evil.
For thine is the Kingdome,
 the Power, the Glory, for ever.
Amen.

N∞shun kesukqut
Wunneetupantamunach k∞wesuonk
Peyaum∞utch kukkeitass∞tam∞onk.
Toh anantaman ne naj okheit, neane kesukqut.
Ásekesukokish petukqunnegash assaminnean yeu kesukok
Ahquontamaiinnean nummatcheseongash,
 neane matchenehikqueagig nutahquontamanóunonog.
Ahque sagkompagininnean en qutchhuaonganit,
 webe pohquohwussinnan wutch matchitut;
Newutche keitass∞tam∞onk, kutahtauun,
 mehkesuonk, sohsumóonk michéme kah michéme
Amen.

The symbol ∞ stands for the letters “oo” as in **food** or **moody**.

TRADITIONAL WAMPANOAG PRAYER

Taught by Cjegktoonupa (Slow Turtle), Supreme Medicine Man of the Wampanoag Nation

Nuppeantam

Keihtanit, nummag ne wuttamauog
Ohke, nummag ne wuttamauog
Okummus nepauzshad, nummag ne wuttamauog
Wutt̃tchikk̃inneasin nippawus, nummag ne wuttamauog
Taubot neanawayean
Nummag ne wuttamauog adt yau ut nashik ohke:
wompanniyeu
sowanniyeu
pahtatunniyeu
nannummiyeu
Taubot neanawayean newutche wame netomppauog:
neg pamunenutcheq
neg pamompakecheq
puppinashimwog
mehtugquash kah moskehtuash
namohsog
Quttianumoonk weechinnineummoncheq:
ahtuk
mosq
mukquoshim
tunnuppasog
sasas̃o

Keihtanit, nummag ne wuttamauog

̃ is oo as in "foot"

sasas̃o is Western Abenaki (Gordon Day, 1995)

I pray

Great Spirit, I offer this tobacco

Mother Earth, I offer this tobacco
Grandmother Moon, I offer this tobacco
Grandfather Sun, I offer this tobacco
I thank you
I offer this tobacco to the four directions
to the east
to the south
to the west
to the north
I thank you for all my relations:
the winged nation
creeping and crawling nation
the four-legged nation
the green and growing nation
and all things living in the water
Honoring the clans:
the deer
the bear
the wolf
the turtle
the snipe

Great Spirit, I offer this tobacco

THANKSGIVING PRAYER

Aquidneck Indian Council, 1997

Keihtanit
Taubot neanawayean yeu kesukuk
Taubot neanawayean ohke
Taubot neanawayean okummus nepauzshadd
Taubot neanawayean wutt̃tch̃ikk̃inneasin nippawus
Taubot neanawayean newutche yau ut nashik ohke:
wompanniyeu
sowanniyeu
pahtatunniyeu
nannummiyeu
Taubot neanawayean newutche wame neetompaog:
neg pamunenutcheq
neg pamompakecheg
puppinashimwog
mehtugquash kah moskehtuash
namohsog
Quttianumoonk weechinnineummoncheg:
ahtuk
mosq
mukquoshim
tunnuppasog
sasas̄o
Keihtanit
Taubot neanawayean yeu kesukuk

̃ is oo as in "foot"

sasas̄o (Western Abenaki)

I thank you for Mother Earth
I thank you for Grandmother Moon
I thank you for Grandfather Sun
I thank you for the four directions:
the east
the south
the west
the north
I thank you for all my relations:
the winged nation
creeping and crawling nation
the four-legged nation
the green and growing nation
and all things living in the water
Honoring the clans:
the deer
the bear
the wolf
the turtle
the snipe
Great Spirit
I thank you today

Great Spirit
I thank you today

MONUMENT TRANSLATION

Sponsored by the Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities, 1997

[The Aquidneck Indian Council was contacted by Deputy Director Jane Civens of the Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities (RICH) in 1997, to participate in a unique humanities project. The Committee desired to show the multicultural diversity within the City of Providence in The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. In the State capital, Providence, about 25 different human languages are spoken by the city's inhabitants. The Committee commissioned a monument commemorating this rich cultural diversity, and embracing the Spirit of The City of Providence as a refuge or haven for all peoples. Organizations representing these different language and cultural groups were given the task of translating into their own language the English phrase "A Refuge for All".

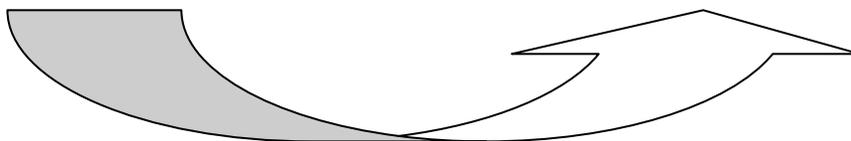
MENUHKONOG WUTCHE WAME

was the Council's translation of the phrase "A Refuge for All". The translation is documented to mean "a stronghold (or fort) [noun, abstract] for all/everyone"). The font and size and ensemble of the carved-lettering is not recalled by the author. The linguistic construction is written in the extinct southeastern New England Algonquian, derived from the John Eliot "Indian Bible". The three-word Indian language phrase is hand-carved on a small stone-tablet (among the other language translations) within the monument grounds. The outdoor permanent monument is situated in Providence, RI on Canal Street, adjacent to the Providence River, just outside the entrance to a Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) auditorium building. It is the only local Indian language translation of this extinct language ever created for a public monument by American Indians within the State. Jane Civens, the RICH/National Endowment for the Humanities, is acknowledged for this important humanities work. It was one of the highlights of our Council's public works.]



MENUHKONOG WUTCHE WAME

A REFUGE FOR ALL



KEHCHISOG

*From Moondancer (1996) Wampumpeag
Translated by Aquidneck Indian Council*

The Elders

The Elders pray for the rising of the sun

The Elders pray for the setting of the sun

We pray for the Elders

“Elders, please pray for the rising of the sun”

“Elders, please pray for the setting of the sun”

The sun rises

The sun sets

The Elders pray

Kehchisog

Kehchisog peantamwog wutche pashpishont

Kehchisog peantamwog wutche wayont

Nuppeantamumun wutche Kehchisog

“Kehchisog nissimun peantam∞k wutche pashpishont”

“Kehchisog nissimun peantam∞k wutche wayont”

Nepauz pashpishau

Wayau

Kehchisog peantamwog

∞ = oo as in “food”

KEIHTANIT-∞m

From Moondancer (1996) Wampumpeag

Translated 1998

O Spirit

Keihtanit-∞ m

O Spirit
That gives us our breath
Watch over us

Keihtanit-∞ m
magunutche nashationk
wadchanish

O Spirit
That gives us our food
Watch over us

Keihtanit-∞ m
magunutche meechummuonk
wadchanish

O Spirit
That gives us our family
Watch over us

Keihtanit-∞ m
magunutche weechinnineummoncheg
wadchanish

O Spirit
That gives us our happiness
Watch over us

Keihtanit-∞ m
magunutche wunnegenash
wadchanish

O Spirit
That makes all living
Watch over us

Keihtanit-∞ m
magunutche pomantamooonk
wadchanish

O Spirit
That makes us onewith you
Watch over us

Keihtanit-∞ m
kesteau yau ut nashik ohke
wadchanish

O Spirit
You are the only One
Watch over us

Keihtanit-∞ m
pasuk naunt manit
wadchanish

∞ = oo as in "food"

NOTE : wadchanish is imperative, singular (you); its function is as a universal personal referent

THE RABBIT STORY

“The Rabbit Story” is an old Algonquian legend. It was selected from the famous recording of the history and culture of New England Indians made by Princess Red Wing of the House of Seven Crescents [Courtesy of Mary Benjamin].

Princess Red Wing was the best known educator among our people. She was well honored in her lifetime—she knew Eleanor Roosevelt, Senators, Governors, and many other people. She was the first Native American woman to address the League of Nations in New York. Princess Red Wing was inducted into the RI Hall of Fame, listed in Who’s Who in the World, and many more honors.

Translated by Aquidneck Indian Council. Reprinted in Gatherings: The En’owkin Journal of First North American Peoples, Vol. IX, Fall, 1998. This translation effort was the first attempt to use the grammar, and, as such, is primitive. But the Algonquian-speaking Native children of Canada understood it.

Unnehtongquat Papaume Mohtukquas ē m ē s

Pasuk kē suk adt 'ninnauwā et mohtukquas ē m ē s quequeshau. Ho moocheke tohkoi.

Pē yau yean anumwussukuppe. Pumukau mehtugq waenu kah waenu. Teanuk waban ootshoh. Sonkquesu. Wussin, “nussonkques”.

Popomshau mehtuhq nano. Naim ushpuhquaueu kesukquieu. Wussin, “Pish muhpoo.”

Naim muhpooi. Pumukau moocheke waenu kah waenu anumwussukuppe. Togkodtam muhpoo manunne.

Naim sau ũ num onk tohkootaaum mehtugq yeuyeu onk kussukkoueu. Koueu noadtuk. Tookshau. Muhpoo mohtupohteau. Quinnupohke ashkashki.

Noh wahteunk mohtukquasog, wahheau nag na sohqutteahhauhaog. Nagum nont qushitteakonk. Mat qeshau wutche mehtukq. Paskanontam. Yanunum wuskesukquash onk qeshau wutche mehtukq.

Tiadche petshau kenompskut. Wussissetoon kuhkukque musqueheongane.

Yeuyeu nishnoh mohtukquas mahche pohki kuhkukque mussisston — mahche neese kuhkukque mussisstonash.

Asuh ahquompak kephont wusseettash waapemoash adt wuhhog. Yeuyeu nishnoh mohtukquas onk nishnoh “Easter Bunny” mahche neese tiohquekekontash.

Aoog adt touhkō muk onk nok wompiyeuash dtannetuog ut anumwussukuppe nummukkiog Indiansog newutche mohtugquas ē mesog wussukqunnash.

Kesteausu



The Rabbit Story

A little rabbit went out to walk on a cool day in the Fall. Oh, it was real cool.

And he came to a willow tree, and so he began to dance around and around. Well, by and by the wind came up and he began to shiver. “Oh, it’s kinda cool.”

So he danced faster and faster around the willow tree. After awhile he looked up into the sky. And he said, “I think it’s going to snow.”

By and by it did snow. So he danced faster and faster around the willow tree and patted the snow all down.

By and by he became so tired that he sat down on a limb of the willow tree and went to sleep.

He slept so long that when he awoke all the snow had melted and down below was all green.

Now you know the rabbit is a very timid animal. He was sitting up in the willow tree and he was afraid to jump out of a tree.

He was very hungry. He shut his eyes up tight and fell right out of that tree.

When he did, he cut his upper lip on a sharp stone. Now every rabbit has a split upper lip.

But when he fell out of that tree, he jammed his front legs right up into his body.
Now every single rabbit and every single Easter Bunny has two short legs.

But when he fell out of that tree, he caught his tail and now every single rabbit has a short tail.

Now, when you're driving through the country in the Spring next year, and you come to a willow tree and think you're picking pussy willows why all the little Indian children know that's where the rabbit left his tail on the willow tree.

The end

Powwow Speech

In Historical and Reconstructed Narragansett American Indian Language²
2000 Rhode Island Indian Council Powwow,
Roger Williams Park, Providence, RI



ENGLISH	ALGONQUIAN
Greetings	as cowequáassin
Today I speak Indian	nutteenàntowam anamakeésuck
I am called Waabu ³	ntússaweitch Waabu
We welcome all tribes !	yeuyeu neenáwun wunnégin wáme ninnimissinûwock !
Listen to me !	kúkkita !
I speak very truly !	achie nonaûmwem !
Let us cease this warring !	aquêtuck !
We gather in peace	kummoúwinneem aquéne–ut
We pray today	nuppeyauntâmumun anamakeésuck
The DRUM speaks truly	popowuttáhig wannaûmwaw naugum
Let the DRUM speak !	popowuttáhig mishaûntowash !
Let the DRUM speak truly !	popowuttáhig nanátowash !
My heart is pure	wunnêtu ntá
Peace !	aquène !
Aho !	aho !



Powwow Grant Funded by Rhode Island Indian Council, Aquidneck Indian Council,
and Expansion Arts,
A joint program of the Rhode Island Foundation and the Rhode Island Council on the Arts

² Not delivered publicly due to time....

³ Original text read “Moondancer,” former Indian name.

Nunnooham Wutche Ahki

⊗	⊗	⊗	⊗
aa oooo	psuk	togkonk	s–s–k
sésikw	ptoowu	popow	–sk–
pussoúgh	kaukont	tawk	s–k
pootau	hònck	keeshk	–s–sk–
nkèke	hónckock	mskik	‘sh
sickíssuog	wushówunan	muhpoo	t–q
poopohs	oohoo	sóchepo	ts–p
	choochoo	cutshâusha	q–p
	pahpahsa	paashk	’pe
	kukkow	quequan	sq

TITLE: I Sing for Mother Earth

The words in the poem are a selection of sounds of land animals & water animals & sky animals & human animals & nature & “pure sounds”. The sounds are derived from historical sources and linguistic reconstruction.

The source languages are the lost (sleeping) languages Natick-Massachusetts & Narragansett of the RI-MA region, with borrowings from Ojibwa, as recorded in

Understanding Algonquian Indian Words (New England), © 1996, rev. 2001, Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council.

[Moondancer, Aquidneck Indian Council]

On What Americans Want Today

They want to dry the tears that drowned the sun

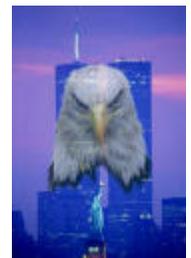
They want laughter to return to their hearts

They want to go home to Mother and Grandmother

They pray *Wunnohquand* to speak

Wunnand
Atatwauquand

Atattand



Wunmand = "Good Spirit" <> *Matwaûquand* = "God of war" <> *Mattand* = "Evil Spirit" <> *Wunnohquand* = "God of Peace"

**CONTRIBUTIONS OF
THE WAMPANOAG AND
NEW ENGLAND INDIANS
TO AMERICA**

A reprint of a brochure prepared by the Council as part of *The Wampanoag Indian Exhibit*, held at The Newport Public Library in RI in celebration of Native American Heritage Month, Nov., 1997.

For a Continental presentation of Native American contributions, see the outstanding article from the new *Museum of the American Indian* publication, "Know How: 100 Amazing Indian Discoveries". In *American Museum of the American Indian*. Fall, 2004: 38-60.

Our culture is deeply indebted to the native peoples of our country. In New England and elsewhere on Turtle Island (all of the United States of America) the American Indian has contributed many things and concepts that most of us are not even aware of. There is hardly anything that one can do, hardly anywhere that one can go which does not involve the influence of the native peoples who have lived here for thousands of years. The contributions, influences and legacies of the Indians can be seen in all aspects of our lives, and all over the continent of America—from government, child rearing, warfare, clothing, to the foods we eat.

We will share with you a small sampling of the contributions of the Indians in New England and elsewhere.



GOVERNMENT: The first concepts of a true participatory democracy, reflected in our Constitution and Bill of Rights, come from the influence of Indian democratic government, attested by the United States Congress.

MILITARY: Guerrilla warfare tactics were learned first from New England Indians in the 1600s. The Quonset hut is based on the Indian Longhouse. We name our weapon systems after Indians: Apache and Comanche Helicopters, Tomahawk Missile, etc. Paratroopers yell “Geronimo” when they jump out of planes. In W.W. II we used the Navaho and other Indian languages to encode messages.

CONSERVATION: we’re turning more and more to Indian concepts of land conservation and the precept of Indian’s respect for the land (“Take only what you need and no more”) to help us combat problems of pollution, the disappearance of the wilderness, overcrowding.

CHILD REARING: the international Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts movements were based on Indian lifestyle. The Indian practice of group-oriented decision making influences our rearing of children.

INDIAN DEVICES: To mention a few—wigwams, canoes & kayaks, snowshoes & dogsleds, toboggans, hammocks, ponchos & parkas, smoking pipes, rubber syringes, mocassins, tomahawks, and so on. People wear Indian jewelry and have Indian designs on their clothing, bed and beach blankets. Teenagers are great emulators of Indian warriors with their Mohawk haircuts and leather, fringed clothing.

FOOD AND RELATED: corn, popcorn, beans, potatoes, squash, succotash, Indian tobacco, Johnny Cake, hominy, clambakes, quahogs, maple syrup & sugar, are a few delicacies we still enjoy today. Fish fertilizer is still used in farming in the manner taught by the Wampanoag Indians. And the scarecrow is still scaring away unwanted birds from our farmers’ crops just as the early settlers learned from the Wampanoag Indians.

MEDICINE AND RELATED: herbal remedies and teas, pain relievers, laxatives, muscle relaxants, and other medicines, not to mention ingredients in mouthwash and chewing gum, come from our Indian ancestors throughout Turtle Island.

ANIMAL NAMES: skunk, moose, chipmunk, raccoon, woodchuck, opossum, muskrat are all New England Algonquian names.

PLACE NAMES AND RELATED : thousands of names for states, cities, towns, streets, schools, businesses, parks, rivers, lakes, mountains in our country bear Indian names. We name our automobiles, sports teams, beers and other things after Indians throughout Turtle Island.

MISCELLANEOUS: we can mention—

- that many of our major highways and byways in New England are old Indian trails
 - that many of our New England farms are old Indian villages & corn fields.
 - the first Thanksgiving in America took place in Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1621. Your history books do not tell you this, but it was the Wampanoag Indians who suggested to Governor Bradford in 1621 that it is better to thank your God for what you do have rather than lamenting what you do not have — and that is distinctly the Indian spiritual way.
 - the rubber ball, and games of lacrosse and baseball are Indian-based
 - “Rock-a-Bye-Baby” is still sung across America, just the way it was learned from Wampanoag Indians many years ago in Colonial times
 - In everyday speech we use words and phrases that come from the ancient Indians, such as —papoose, wampum, powwow, Big Chief, sachem, sagamore, brave, squaw, thunderbird, bury the hatchet, smoke the peace pipe, you speak with forked tongue, fire water, fly (talk) straight as an arrow, Indian file, scalp, war paint & war path, smoke signal, Indian Summer, happy hunting ground, a feather in your cap, and many others you can mention
 - Many people are embracing the Indian philosophy of love of nature and family, balance & harmony in life, rather than a love of material objects.
 - We do not have the space to mention the influences of Indians to the areas of art, literature, television and cinema, dance, and so many more areas
-

INDIAN CHARACTER (Historical Quotes Of 1600s):

- "... they are not of a dumpish, sad nature, but rather naturally cheerful."
- "... seldom are their words and their deeds strangers "
- "Whomever commeth in when they are eating, they offer them to eat of that which they are eating"
- "Such is their love for one another that they cannot endure to see their countrymen wronged, but will stand stiffly in their defense, plead strongly in their behalf"
- "There are no beggars amongst them, nor fatherlesse children unprovided for. "
- "Their affections, especially to their children, are very strong; so that I have knowne a Father take so grievously the losse of his childe, that he hath cut and stob'd himselfe with grieve and rage."
- "Such is their mild temper of their spirits that they cannot endure objurgations or scolding."
- "The younger sort reverence the elder"
- "Commonly they never shut their doores, day nor night; and 'tis rare that any hurt is done."
- "They are full of businesse, and as impatient of hinderance (in their kind) as any Merchant in Europe."
- "Many of them naturally Princes, or else industrious persons, are rich; and the poore amongst them will say, they want nothing."
- "Their warres are far less bloody and devouring then the cruell Warres of Europe; and seldome slaine in a pitch field "
- "[In] many ways hath their advice and endeavor been advantageous unto us [the English] , they being our instructors for the planting of their Indian corn, by teaching us to cull out the finest seed, to observe the fittest season, to keep distance for holes and fit measure for hills, to worm and weed it, to prune it, and dress it as occasion shall require. "

⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ⊗

Thus, the debt we owe to the native people of New England and all over this land is enormous. The Wampanoag Indians of Rhode Island and Massachusetts greeted you, and taught and nurtured you when you came to these rocky shores over 377 years ago. The Indian still has something to give to this great land of ours.



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⁴ Moondancer & Waabu and O'Brien are the same person.

⁵ Eratta sheet is missing.

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A Final Note: the word “extinct”

Some scholars write that the Massachusett language is “extinct” (like dinosaurs, the dodo birds and hundred of other living things). Let’s explain why this is not possible. Our language never died because it is the voice of Mother Earth. The language is in all of her songs. When you hear the dignified and beautiful Canadian goose say *hònck* he is singing his song. When the majestic lightening cracks and you hear *cutshâusha*, he talks the talk. When we see the skilled artist pounding out her metal we hear the *togwonck* of her pounding. When the Snow Spirit covers the sky with soft clouds of snow, we hear *muhpoo*, and Mother Earth sings once again. The Great Spirit gave us so many sounds in the language which are in nature, we can never forget them. Do you think the Great Spirit would give us our language only for a little while—until the Superior White Man would come, and everything died? This contradicts all metaphysical truths self-evident to all of God’s Children.

So you see, our language never died in the first place!

❖ nashpe Keihtanit oonanitteakonk asq nuppomantam ❖

⊗

By the Great Spirit’s blessing am I yet alive



About the author—



Author: Dr. Frank Waabu. Courtesy of the author at The Naval Undersea Warfare Center, Division Newport (Newport, RI)

Frank Waabu O'Brien (Dr. Francis Joseph O'Brien, Jr.) is an historical consultant. He has Indian Status from The Abenaki Nation (Sokoki and St. Francis Bands). Waabu is the former President, Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc. He is a member of and has served as Council Secretary, The Rhode Island Indian Council, and is currently a Tribal Member of the Dighton Intertribal Indian Council. Waabu graduated from Columbia University with a Ph.D. degree, doing a dissertation on applied linguistics. Waabu is an elected member of the New York Academy of Sciences. He was presented the American Medal of Honor in 2004 by the American Biographical Institute. In 2005 he accepted the International Order of Merit (IOM) from the International Biographical Centre of Cambridge, England. Waabu is a disabled veteran from The Viet Nam War Era, and makes his living as a career civil servant mathematician for The Department of Defense.

Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittówock in that Part of America Called New-England



Dr. Frank Waabu O'Brien
Aquidneck Indian Council

Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittówock in that Part of America Called New-England

February, 2005

Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program
A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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Wunnohteank



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS

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—NOTES—

This short treatise stems from the ongoing research of the Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program, a project of the Aquidneck Indian Council, for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England.

Our intention is to make these works available to a wide audience. Other related language works in the series are:

- The Word ‘Squaw’ in Historical and Modern Sources
- Spirits and Family Relations
- Animals & Insects
- Birds & Fowl
- Muhhog: the Human Body
- Fish
- Corn & Fruits & Berries & Trees &c
- The Heavens, Weather, Winds, Time &c
- Algonquian Prayers And Other Miscellaneous Algonquian Indian Texts
- American Indian Place Names in Rhode Island: Past & Present
<http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianPlaceNames.html>
- Bibliography for Studies of American Indians in and Around Rhode Island, 16th - 21st Centuries <http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianBibliography.html>

The last-named Bibliography contains other Council publications under authors “Moondancer,” “Strong Woman [Julianne Jennings]”, and “Frank Waabu O’Brien”.

I have worked as a lone wolf for 10 years on the reconstruction and revival of the lost and sleeping American Indian languages of southeastern New England. The Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc. In Newport, RI, was founded, formed, and governed by aboriginal peoples of North America.

The Council realized that no American Indian language annihilated by the harsh lessons of American History could possibly be regenerated no matter how much IQ from the natural realm descended on this bloodless ghost. We felt the preternatural and supernatural metaphysical realms could once again speak, or that one could turn up the volume of the voices always there.

A language gives the ability of human beings to do anything within possibility. The capability to Pray, Sing, Name and Speak forms the multidimensional quartrad of all audible and inaudible human communication within and between the natural, preternatural and supernatural realms of being and doing. To say it another way—Praying, Singing, Naming and Speaking are the gifts of the Creator available to men, woman and children of this land.

In this paper, we document Algonquian historical and reconstructed names for “spirits” of lower New England Indians. The 17th & 18th century “New-England” Colonial missionary records indicate a maximum of about $N = 38$ such extant names—

I brought home lately from the Nanhiggonsicks the names of 38 of their Gods ... all that they could remember. (Roger Williams, quoted in Bragdon, 1996, p. 186).

Only about a dozen “spirit names” were recorded for posterity by Mr. Williams in his famous 17th volume. We introduce over 100 spirit names in this paper. My reconstructive creation-rules are based on exemplary syntactical structures in Chapter XXI, pp. 122 ff. of Roger Williams’ *A Key into the Language of America* [1643], and known rules of grammar. *A Key* has been deemed a very reliable source for one or more dialects of the Narragansett language, spoken in Rhode Island and understood throughout New England (G. Aubin, 1972) . Obviously, there is no linguistic or epistemological model for discrepancy-validation since no living speakers of the language exist.

In the author’s opinion, the true upper limit *N* is unbounded [based on oral tradition, tangential missionary reports, and doxological considerations]. I have worked from this axiom. No Westernized “semantic model” is here postulated, but a 4-domain multidimensional structure (Nature, Animals, People and Activities) embracing the Natural, Preternatural and Supernatural realms, is possibly useful in the presentation of the finite ordering. At this stage, the presentation is alphabetical by English.

Ceremonial practitioners could add additional names by consulting any number of works; e.g., the authors’ book, *Introduction to the Narragansett Language*, and the papers listed above, and Prof. Aubin’s Ph.D. phonology dissertation, might be helpful.

TECHNICAL NOTES:

- The entries in *Keihtan Ánawat* are based on the Narragansett language given in Roger Williams’ *A Key into the Language of America* [1643], a very reliable source for one or more dialects of the Narragansett language. About a dozen spirit names were recorded there; the balance is based on first-order reconstructive hypotheses; a handful of terms are derived from Western Abenaki, Pequot-Mohegan, Ojibway and Natick-Massachusetts.
- We shy away from “obviation” rules (Goddard and Bragdon, 1988) in the structure of the song elements of *Keihtan Ánawat*.
- The footnotes and tutorial references to grammatical structures are taken from author’s *Introduction to the Narragansett Language*.
- Accent structure for Narragansett-Massachusetts has not been fully worked out in the theoretical linguistics literature. We know/accept the following concerning vowels and consonants in this language:

<p>6-VOWELS</p> <p><u>u a e e o o o</u></p> <p>SHORT LONG</p> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <p>12-CONSONANTS</p> <p>chh k m n p s sh <u>ttt</u>te^y wy</p> <p>1- conson</p>

Algonquianist Professor G. Aubin, a respected correspondent of the Aquidneck Indian Council, relates in a personal e-mail communication of 6-25-2002, the possible applicability of the following efficient “Ojibway-like rule” for long/short vowels (cf. Goddard and Bragdon, 1988):

- All long vowels are stressed
- All alternate even-numbered short vowels are stressed

This rule presupposes the existence of correct vowel classification which has not been achieved for the extinct American Indian languages Massachusett-Narragansett. Consequently, accent and “pronunciation” in this extinct American Indian language is largely intuitive¹. This limitation was made painfully evident from the author’s experience as Linguist during the making of the PBS documentary movie, *Mystic Voices: The Story of the Pequot War*², <http://www.pequotwar.com/>

A performative chant-song is being planned for the section, *Keihtan Ánawat*, “The Great Spirit Commands,” subject to interest, a collaborating artist-assistant, and that elusive God which we call Monéquand.

My personal interest and commitment to this fugitive area of research has always been guided by my spiritual vision, which I have put as a poem:

On What American Indians Want Today

They want to dry the tears that drowned the Sun
They want laughter to return to their hearts
They want to go home—to Mother and Grandmother
They want to hear their Ancestral Voices ‘round the Fire

—Moondancer, *Wampumpeag* (1996). Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council.

While Mastagoitch still dwells within my aging heart, I will continue to sing the praises of the Great Spirit and God Almighty.



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Frank Waabu O’Brien (Dr. Francis Joseph O’Brien, Jr.)
Newport, Rhode Island
February 13, 2005

¹ The author’s *Understanding Algonquian Indian Words....*, 2001 (Moondancer and Strong Woman), contains a pronunciation guide for some sounds of the language Massachusett-Narragansett.

² The author’s linguistic written and recorded materials of the reconstructed Indian-dialogue translations are being processed for donation to the Rhode Island Historical Society and the University of Rhode Island’s Special Collections Department.

*Prolegomena to
Nukkône
Manittówock*

INTRODUCTION³

“...They have plenty of Gods or divine powers”



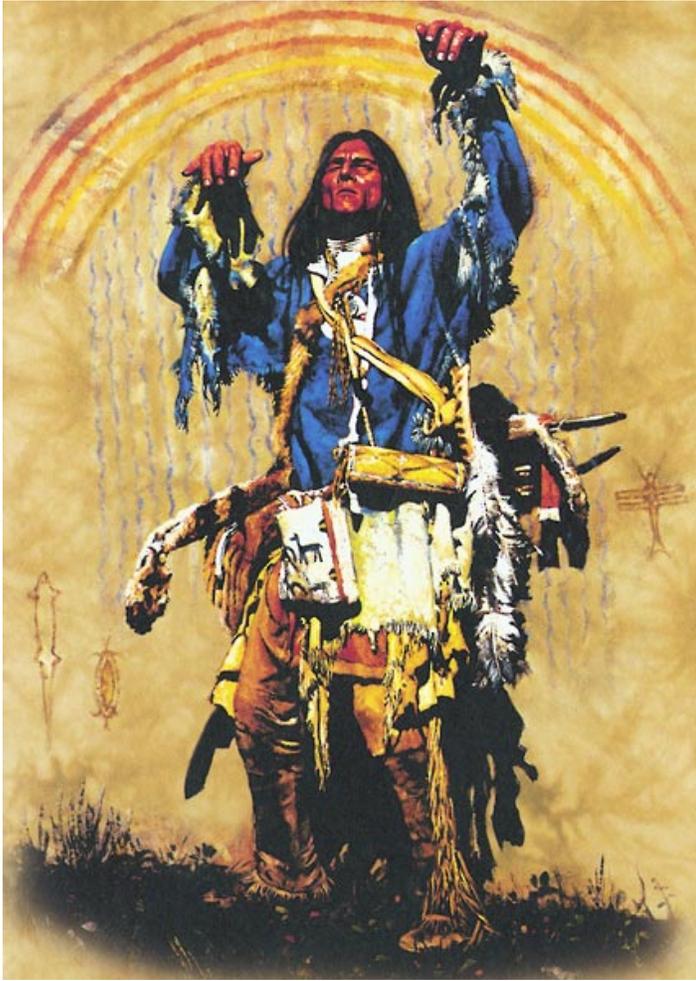
Maunêtu— A Medicine Man Healing

I find what I could never hear before, that they have plenty of Gods or divine powers: the Sunne, Moone, Water, Snow, Earth, the Deere, the Beare etc. are divine powers. I brought home lately from the Nanhiggonicks [Narragansetts] the names of 38 of their Gods ... all that they could remember (Roger Williams, quoted in Bragdon, 1996, p. 186). In *Wampanoag Cultural History*.... (1999, p. 67)



First they branch their God-head into many gods. Secondly, attribute it to Creatures.... [They have] Many Gods...all which they invoke in their Solemne Worships they invoke as: *Kautántowwít* the *South-West* God, from whom came their Corne, Beanes, as they say.... Even as the Papists have their He and Shee Saint Protectors as St. *George*, St. *Patrick*, St. *Denis*, Virgin *Mary*, &c. [they have] Squáuanit *The Womans God* ... Muckquachuckquànd *The Childrens God*.... (Roger Williams, 1643, p. 124)

³ Introduction represents the Colonial Christian Missionary Thesis, The Era-of-*Peeyáuntash-Asuh-Níppish* (Pray-Or-Die).



*Rain Dance*⁴

When the Lord first brought me to these poor Indians on the *Vinyard* they were mighty zealous and earnest in the Worship of false gods and Devils; their false gods were many, both of things in Heaven, Earth and Sea: And there they had their Men-gods, Women-gods, and Children-gods, their Companies, and Fellowships of gods, or Divine Powers, guiding things amongst men, innumerable more feigned gods belonging to many Creatures, to their Corn and every Colour of it: The Devil also with his Angels had his Kingdom among them, in them; account him they did the terror of Living, the god of the Dead, under whose cruel power and into whose deformed likeness they conceived themselves to be translated when they died; for the same word they have for *Devil*, they use for a *Dead Man*, in their Language. (John Eliot & Thomas Mayhew, 1653, pp. 201-202.). In *Wampanoag Cultural History*.... (1999, p. 67)

⁴ Non-Algonquian painting.



Besides there is a general custome amongst them, at the apprehension of any Excellency in Men, Women, Birds, Beast, Fish, &c. to cry out *Manittóo*, that is, it is a God, as thus if they see one man excell others in Wisdome, valour, strength, Activity &c. they cry out *Manittóo* A God: and therefore when they talk amongst themselves of the *English* ships, and great buildings, of the plowing of their Fields, and especially of Bookes and Letters, they will end thus: *Manittôwock* They are Gods: *Cummanittôo*, you are a God, &c. A strong conviction naturall in the soule of man, that God is; filling all things, and places, and that all Excellencies dwell in God, and proceed from him (Roger Williams, 1643, p. 126)



Yotáanit auntau ~ Fire Spirit Speaks



“When I argued with them about their Fire-God: can it, say they, be but this fire must be a God, or Divine power, that out of a stone will arise in a Sparke, and when a poore naked *Indian* is ready to starve with cold in the House, and especially in the Woods, often saves his life, doth dresse all our Food for us, and if he be angry will burne the House about us, yea if a spark fall into the drie wood, burnes up the Country ? (though this burning of the Wood to them they count a Benefit, both for destroying of vermin, and keeping down the Weeds and thickets)”.

Roger Williams [1643], p. 125.

PEANTAM ∞ ONK⁵



© 2004 , Courtesy of the Naval Undersea Warfare Center, Newport, RI; (left) Chief Blue Eagle (Blackfoot, Abenaki), (right) the author

Peeyaûntamwock



Michéme kah Michéme⁶

⁵ Religion ~“State of humble-or small-mindedness” [abstract noun]. In Cotton, *Vocabulary*....

⁶ They Pray <> Forever and Ever

PROLOGUE⁷

Algonquian ⁸	English
Manittóo ⁹	It is a spirit
Manìt ¹⁰	Spirit, “God”
Manittówock	Spirits, “Gods”
Nummusquanamúckqun ¹¹ manit?	The Great Spirit is angry with me?
Musquàntum manit	The Great Spirit is angry
Powwaw ¹²	Priest
Taupowaiog	Wise men and old men ¹³
Cowwéwonck ¹⁴	Soul
Míchachunck ¹⁵	Soul
Kautántowwit ¹⁶	Great Spirit, place of Great Spirit, from who comes their foods of corn and beans and squash (3-sister crops)

DIALOGUE¹⁷

⁷ The Prologue represents hypothetical Ancient Times prior to Colonial times—The Era of Being-Indian.

⁸ From— Moondancer ⊗ Strong Woman, *Introduction to the Narragansett Language*; based on a re-translation of *A Key* (1643, Chap. XXI, p. 131-132) and Mayhew (1722).

⁹ The Indian word is *mannitoo-oo*; the first two syllables mean “spirit”; the latter asserts the true existence of its being (“it is !”); from—Experience Mayhew (1722), “Observations on the Indian Language” (p. 15). Roger Williams was told about 38 names for spirits. He records only about 12 in *A Key* (1643).

¹⁰ Some say pronounced either “mah-nuh-doo” or “muhn-DOO”.

¹¹ Perhaps of form “He, she-us”; see Hagenau M.A. Thesis, 1962.

¹² Powwaw ~ A Priest [“Medicine Man”, Spiritual Leader]; Powwawog ~ Priests

These doe begin and order their service, and Invocation of their Gods, and all the people follow, and joyne interchangeably in a laborious service, unto sweating, especially of the Priest, who spends himselfe in strange Antick Gestures, and Actions even unto fainting.

In sickness the Priest comes close to the sick person, and performs many strange Actions about him, and threaten and conjures out the sickness. They conceive that there are many Gods or divine Powers within the body of a man: In his pulse, his heart, his Lungs, &c. (Roger Williams, 1643)

¹³ “Taupowaiog....they make solemne speeches and orations, or Lectures to them, concerning Religion, Peace, or Warre and all things” (Roger Williams, 1643, p. 128).

¹⁴ Literally, “Sleeping, a sleeping”.

¹⁵ Roger Williams translates this as literally “looking glass”; some dispute translation. Apparently there was a belief in two types of “souls” (Simmons, 1978). *Cowwéwonck* (“sleeping”) is the “dream soul” which traveled at night in dreams, and appeared as a light while one slept. During illness, the dream soul left the body. *Míchachuck* is the “clear soul” thought to reside in the heart, the “life force” of every person. The dream soul is believed to have returned to *Kautántowwit*’s house in the southwest after death to live a life very much as on earth. Evil persons were forced to roam forever for their punishment. Dreams and visions (with fasting) were undertaken to appeal to Manitou through the dream soul for a more successful life, protection, strength and balance or “centering”. See p. 135 for Williams' reference to "their souls".

¹⁶ Or *Keihtanit*. The “Great Spirit” is *Kautan*, *Kiehtan* (“chief, greatest”). The southwest is the origin and final resting place of Indians in old traditions.

¹⁷ The Dialogue is the Middle Passage as verbalized by the Missionary voice of Roger Williams—When the Tears Drowned The Sun. The Era-of- *Mamatchē’o* !

Narragansett¹⁸**English**

Paúsuck naúnt manìt ¹⁹	There is only one God ²⁰
Cummusquanamûckqun ²¹ manìt	God is angry with you (singular)
Cuppauquanúckqun ²²	He will destroy you (singular)
Wuchè cummanittówock manâuog ²³	Because of your many gods
Wáme pìtch chíckauta mittaùke	The whole world before long shall be burnt
Manìt áawat	God commands
Cuppittakúnnamun wèpe ²⁴ wáme	That all men now repent ²⁵

¹⁸ From *A Key* (1643, Chapter XXI, pp. 132-139).

¹⁹ Notice how Williams is using the Narragansett word for “spirit” to explain the Christian abstract concept “God”. It must have been very confusing to the Native peoples. Very few Indians converted to Christianity in this period. Ensophily (defined in Moondancer, *Neologisms*) probably has its origins in this period.

²⁰ The Christian monotheistic meaning.

²¹ This and the next line show the **Objective Indicative Mode** of the form **k’***uckqun** which is translated in *A Key* in the normalized form “He-us”. In fact it might actually be the form “He, she-you”, **k’***uck**. Thus, based on “normalized form,” “God is angry with you” might be *Cummusquanamûck manìt*. See Hagenau, M. A. Thesis, 1962

²² See previous footnote re **k’***uckqun** & **k’***uck**.

²³ “Because of your spirits—they are many”.

²⁴ This word is used as an accusation or demand or warning.

²⁵ “You repent—must—all” (Indicative mode). Suggested Imperative mode: Cuppittakúnnike wèpe wáme ! (Type II, Imper; *Indian Grammar Dict.*, 2000).

METALOGUE²⁶

Algonquian ²⁷	English
Mishaúntowash !	You—speak out !
Nanántowash !	You—speak plainly !
Tuppaúntash !	You—consider my words !
Yeush nokkóneyeuukish ²⁸	These are ancient things
Wunnétu ntá	My heart speaks the truth

²⁶ Defined in Moondancer, *Neologisms*.... The Metalogue represents Rebirth in the Era of Being-Indian-is-Legal. Following this is the Song, **Keihtan Ánawat**, “The Great Spirit Commands”. As a Christian-Indian, I take Algonquian “Keihtan” in a dual-sense, without further qualification. Since God «» Keihtan created all, created was the subset of “Indian Spirits.” No metaphysical contradiction is evident in singing the praises of God «» Keihtan. I take ánawat > auntu in meaning. Therefore, the existence of our Indian Spirits speaking is merely an instance of the proverbial Old Wine in New Bottles. I apologize for any inconvenience to the reader.

²⁷ Principally from—(a) Williams, Roger (1643) and reconstruction by author, (b) and other (c) sources including Western Abenaki (Day, 1995), Pequot-Mohegan (Prince & Speck, 1904), Cotton (1707), Hagenau (1962), Aubin (1972), Trumbull (1903), Goddard and Bragdon (1988) & Oral Tradition.

²⁸ Bible, 1 Chr. 4, 22 (Trumbull, 1903, p. 94).



KEIHTAN ANAWAT

The Great Spirit Commands

Mattand auntau ²⁹	Bad Spirit Speaks
Mosquand auntau	Bear Spirit Speaks
Tummòquand ³⁰ auntau	Beaver Spirit Speaks
Nóosuppusand auntau	Beaver ³¹ Spirit Speaks
Psúkand auntau	Bird Spirit Speaks
Moowatoquussand auntau	Black Cloud Spirit Speaks
Suckaweatchimánit auntau	Black Corn Spirit Speaks
Moashímand ³² auntau	Black fox Spirit speaks
Móaskuquand ³³ auntau	Black snake Spirit Speaks
Moattôquussand auntau	Black wolf ³⁴ Spirit Speaks
Mishquèsand auntau ³⁵	Blood Spirit Speaks
Peshaueweatchimánit auntau	Blue Corn Spirit Speaks
Mohockquand ³⁶ auntau	Body Spirit Speaks

²⁹ Auntau = “he speaks” (phonetically said, “aundow”, nasalized) is a 3rd-person singular, indicative, animate, intransitive, TYPE U verb, transformed into a normalized TYPE III verb (see Moondancer, *Indian Grammar Dictionary* ..., p. 17 [“speak”], and Grammar Table, following p. 114). Many of the names for spirits end in *-and*, *-anit*, and the like. My reconstructive creation-rules are based on exemplary structures in *A Key*, Chapter XXI, pp. 122 ff. Obviously, there is no linguistic or epistemological model for discrepancy-validation since no speakers of the language exist. The suffixes are apparently derived from the word *manit*, glossed as “above, superior, more than, beyond”. Oral tradition tells us that many of the spirits communicated with the living through visions & dreams. The souls of men hunted at night the souls of animals in the forest. Native peoples often invoked or called upon specific spirits—just as Roman Catholics call upon certain saints for protection, etc. One European’s understanding stated that *Manitou* signified a name given to “all that surpasses their understanding from a cause that they cannot trace” (Trumbull, 1866 edition). Of *A Key*.

³⁰ From verb, “He cuts trees”. Said “tuh-MAHKW” because plural has qu sound (a general rule).

³¹ [male?]

³² Roger Williams mentions in *A Key* a black fox (no name recorded) which the natives prized and adored but could rarely catch. Perhaps one way to say “black fox” is *moáshim* (literally, “black animal”) modeled on the form for “red fox”; plural *mooshimwock*.

³³ Noun is “Black” + “snake”. Plural, *moaskùgog*. This word shows the process of combining two or more words into one word with the individual words becoming contracted. *Moaskug* comes from “he is black” (*mowêsu*) + “snake” on previous line. The word *mowêsu* became contracted or shortened to *mo*. Thus, to construct a word “red snake”, we take animate form for “red” (*mishquês*) + snake, or *mishquáskug*. The most difficult aspect of analyzing compound words is locating the original contracted words; sometimes but a single letter representing the original root; cf. derivation for “cattle,” p. 102 or p. 144, “You will be hanged,” in *Introduction to the Narragansett Language*..., 2001.

³⁴ Fur much valued by Native peoples. Plural of “black wolf” is *moattùquussuck*.

³⁵ See *Introduction to the Narragansett Language*..., 2001 for following entry:

Mishquè or Néepuck	The blood	VII	51
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Múckquáchucksanit auntu	Boy Spirit Speaks
Neematánit auntu	Brother Spirit Speaks
Mishquáwtuckquand ³⁷ Auntu	Cedar ³⁸ Tree Spirit Speaks
Chícksand ³⁹ auntu	Chick Spirit Speaks
Muckquachuckquànd auntu	Children's Spirit Speaks
Anéqussand ⁴⁰ auntu	Chipmunk Spirit speaks
Mattâquassand auntu	Cloud Spirit Speaks
Waûtuckquessand ⁴¹ auntu	Conie Spirit speaks
Eweatchimánit auntu	Corn Spirit Speaks
Côwsnuckanit auntu	Cows ⁴² Spirit Speaks
Kaukontand auntu	Crow ⁴³ Spirit Speaks
Pumukauquand ⁴⁴ auntu	Dance Spirit Sings
Hobomock ⁴⁵ auntu	Death Spirit Speaks
Abbomocho auntu	Death Spirit Speaks
Kuttíomppand ⁴⁶ auntu	Deer ⁴⁷ Spirit Speaks
Paucottâuwawand ⁴⁸ auntu	Deer ⁴⁹ Spirit Speaks
Nóonatchand ⁵⁰ auntu	Deer (venison) Spirit speaks
Ahtuquánd auntu	Deer ⁵¹ Spirit Speaks

³⁶ “The body” (*mo-* = “the”; *-hock* = “body, cover, shell”).

³⁷ “The red tree”—very sacred tree; its classification is “animate”—only cedar and pine trees and maple trees are “animate”. Plural is perhaps *mishquawtuckquâog*.

³⁸ Red cedar, a very sacred tree.

³⁹ English word “chick” transferred.

⁴⁰ “Little colored squirrel” or “stripped squirrel” or “ground squirrel”.

⁴¹ “He ducks between”?

⁴² European import & English word with plural.

⁴³ A sacred bird, who from Oral Tradition, brought the corn, beans, and squash (“three sister” foods) from the southwest.

⁴⁴ In Natick, this word translates as “playing”. The word for dance is *pumukau* (“He dances”) and *pumukauog* (“They dance”), perhaps from stem *pauchau* (“he turns, branches”)

⁴⁵ Spirit of death, night, northeast wind, the dark, color black, and underworld. Abbomocho in the following line is a spelling variant.

[Hobomock or Abbomocho] they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he persuades them he sends the same for some conceived anger against them; but their calling upon him, can and doth help them; but when they are mortal and not curable in nature, then he persuades them Kiehtan is angry, and sends them, whom none can cure; insomuch as in that respect only they somewhat doubt whether be he simply good, and therefore in sickness never call upon him. (from Winslow, quoted in Bragdon, 1996, p. 189, In *Wampanoag Cultural History*, Chap. III, Religion).

⁴⁶ A great buck; “*kutt* = “great (large)”; *-omp* = “male”, perhaps said “kuh-TEE-yahp” or “kuh-TIE-yahp”

(?)

⁴⁷ Great buck.

⁴⁸ “He moves and turns”.

⁴⁹ A buck.

⁵⁰ “Wet nose” or “Doe with a fawn”?

⁵¹ “At the tree” or “he hunts”, Also spelled *ahtukq*, *attuck*; *ahtuquog* (plural). Pronounced “ah-tuhkw” (a qu sound like in queen is at end of word). This and many words ending in a k have the kw sound when the plural has this kw sound (one reason it is important to know the plural for a word). Possibly “fallow deer” or “white-tailed deer” is referred to by this word. Some meanings of “deer” include any animal of the family of hoofed, cud-chewing animals such as moose, and other animals not thought to be of this region

Wawwúnnessand ⁵² auntu	Deer ⁵³ Spirit Speaks
Aunànd auntu & quunêkesand auntu	Deer ⁵⁴ Spirit Speaks
Qunnequáwessand auntu	Deer ⁵⁵ Spirit Speaks
Anúmand auntu	Dog Spirit Speaks
Wompissácukanit auntu	Eagle Spirit Speaks
Aukeànd auntu	Earth Spirit Speaks
Quequananit ⁵⁶ auntu	Earthquake Spirit Speaks
Wompanànd ⁵⁷ auntu	East Spirit Speaks
Matche Manito ⁵⁸ auntu	Evil Spirit Speaks
Moósquinand ⁵⁸ auntu	Fawn Spirit Speaks
Squáshimmanit ⁵⁹ auntu	Female animal ⁶⁰ Spirit Speaks
Cowawànd auntu	Fir ⁶¹ Tree Spirit Speaks
Yotáanit ⁶² auntu	Fire Spirit Speaks
Occappand ⁶³ auntu	Firewater ⁶⁴ Spirit Speaks
Namausand auntu	Fish ⁶⁵ Spirit Speaks
Meechanit auntu	Food Spirit Speaks
Touohkpmukanit auntu ⁶⁶	Forest Spirit Speaks
Nunksquanit auntu	Girl Spirit Speaks

(caribou, reindeer, etc.). A roe is a non-American small, swift deer. A hart is a male deer, esp. red in color after the 5th year life when the crown antlers are formed (also “stag”). A buck is male, and doe is female; fawn is under a year old.

⁵² “Small, turning around to look”.

⁵³ Young (small) buck.

⁵⁴ A doe.

⁵⁵ Little young doe.

⁵⁶ Frequentative and imitative form (“shake-shake”). The repetition or duplication of the first syllable *que* is a common feature in the Algonquian Indian languages, referred to as **frequentative** or **reduplication**. It is a way of describing or emphasizing something that is going on repeatedly or habitually. For example, *mameech* = “s/he eats a lot” from *meech* = “s/he eats”

⁵⁷ “wah-bah-NAND”.

⁵⁸ “Smooth” & “female”

⁵⁹ “Female” + “animal”. Plural, *Squáshimwock*.

⁶⁰ 4-legged.

⁶¹ Or “pine”.

⁶² It is most interesting to witness the explanation given by Narragansetts to Roger Williams on the metaphysical derivation of “spirits”:

“When I argued with them about their Fire-God [*Yotáanit*]: can it, say they, be but this fire must be a God, or Divine power, that out of a stone will arise in a Sparke, and when a poore naked *Indian* is ready to starve with cold in the House, and especially in the Woods, often saves his life, doth dresse all our Food for us, and if he be angry will burne the House about us, yea if a spark fall into the drie wood, burnes up the Country ? (though this burning of the Wood to them they count a Benefit, both for destroying of vermin, and keeping down the Weeds and thickets)”. (*A Key*, p. 125)

⁶³ Derived from p. 36, *Understanding Algonquian Indian Words* (2001). Apparently from word for “fire” (Yòte, Narragansett), and root for “firm, hard, closed-up, blocked up” (-kup-)

⁶⁴ Old fashioned term for any strong alcoholic drink.

⁶⁵ See Chapter XIX, *Introduction to the Narragansett Language...* for other fish.

⁶⁶ *Toueu* (*towew*) = “deserted, solitary” (as in *touohkpmuk* = “forest, [“a solitary place”]) in Natick

Wunnand auntu	Good Spirit Speaks ⁶⁷
Nummissoomisani auntu	Grandfather Spirit Speaks
Nokummusani auntu	Grandmother Spirit Speaks
Péquawussand ^{68, 69} auntu	Gray fox Spirit speaks
Mogkamáni auntu	Great Fish Spirit Speaks
Mishánekewani ^{70, 71} auntu	Great squirrel Spirit speaks
Wushowunaneani auntu	Hawk Spirit Speaks
Metáhnand auntu	Heart Spirit Speaks
Naynayoúmewotani auntu	Horse ⁷² Spirit Speaks
Nuttaunésand auntu	Little Daughter Spirit Speaks
Squásesani auntu	Little Girl Spirit Speaks
Enewáshimmani ⁷³ auntu	Male animal ⁷⁴ Spirit Speaks
Skeetompani auntu	Man's Spirit Speaks
Nínâtkani ⁷⁵ auntu	Maple Tree Spirit Speaks
Powawani auntu	Medicine Man's Spirit Speaks
Monéquand auntu	Money Spirit Speaks
Nanepaûshat auntu	Moon Spirit Speaks
Munnánnockquánd auntu	Moon ⁷⁶ Spirit Speaks
Moðsani ⁷⁷ auntu	Moose ⁷⁸ Spirit Speaks
Wunnanamèani auntu	North Spirit Speaks
Nkèkewand ⁷⁹ auntu	Otter Spirit speaks
Ohomousani auntu	Owl Spirit Speaks

⁶⁷ Oral tradition speaks of the constant warring between wunnand and mattand, and the rituals and ceremonies to find the balance between these two forces in the natural, preternatural and supernatural realms of being and doing.

⁶⁸ Plural is *Pequáwussuck*. Why not said *pequáshim*, we do not know, but perhaps it is from another dialect; for example, in Pequot we see *mucks* for “wolf” (derived from *mogkéóas*, meaning “great animal”, where *-eoaa-* is not spoken in the Pequot dialect). Different tribes sometimes had different names for the same animals; rivers, etc. even though they spoke closely related dialects of the same language.

⁶⁹ *-awus* = “animal”. *Wonkus* is a Natick word for “fox” (“he doubles, winds” + “animal”). This is the name of the family Uncas of the Mohegans (Speck, 1928). *Wonkus* was used to describe King Philip and his tactics—attack and double back.

⁷⁰ From its use in Pequot (Prince & Speck, 1904), we can perhaps say “red squirrel” as *mishquánneke* [add *-s* and you have “little...”]. The “Great Red Squirrel” is perhaps *mishe-mishquánneke*.

⁷¹ “The large clawer”? Perhaps a *kw* sound at end.

⁷² European import; sound of horse—*naynay* + “to carry”.

⁷³ “Male” + “animal”. Plural, *Enewáshimwock*.

⁷⁴ 4-legged.

⁷⁵ Ojibway (Baraga, 1878, 1992). Plural is *nínâtkog* (animate noun form). Only cedar and pine/fir trees and maple trees are “animate”.

⁷⁶ The moon or a star in general; root suggest “alone, by self, or island”.

⁷⁷ Moose ~ “He trims, smoothes” or “smooth dressed skin”. Apparently a 1-syllable word. The word *moosi* means “it is smooth, bald, bare”. We get Natick compound words from it like, *moosompsk* (“smooth stone”); *moosontupan* (“he is bald on the forehead”).

⁷⁸ Also called “Great Ox” or “red deer”. Some were 12-feet high.

⁷⁹ “He scratches, tears”.

Ohomousanit auntu	Owl Spirit Speaks
Papoòsanit auntu	Papoose Spirit Speaks
Wunnóhquand auntu	Peace Spirit Speaks
Wuskówhànanit auntu	Pigeon Spirit Speaks
Cowawànd auntu	Pine ⁸⁰ Tree Spirit Speaks
Aùsuppand ⁸¹ auntu	Raccoon Spirit speaks
Sokennánd auntu	Rain Spirit Speaks
Seséquand auntu	Rattlesnake Spirit Speaks
Musquatoquussand auntu	Red Cloud Spirit Speaks
Musqueweatchimánit auntu	Red Corn Spirit Speaks
Mishquáshimand ^{82, 83} auntu	Red fox Spirit Speaks
Séipánit ⁸⁴ auntu	River Spirit Speaks
Sachimanit auntu ⁸⁵	Sachem's Spirit Speaks
Mísquamand auntu	Salmon Spirit Speaks
Paumpûgussit ⁸⁶ auntu	Sea Spirit Speaks
Kítthanit ⁸⁷ auntu	Sea Spirit Speaks
Mattaquaband ⁸⁸ auntu	Shark Spirit Speaks
Neetompasanit auntu	Sister ⁸⁹ Spirit Speaks
Púckand auntu	Smoke Spirit Speaks
Askúquand auntu	Snake Spirit Speaks
Sasasand ⁹⁰ auntu	Snipe Spirit Speaks
Koonánd ⁹¹ auntu	Snow Spirit Speaks
Sowwanànd auntu	South Spirit Speaks
Nninnuàckquand auntu	Spirit of Indian People ⁹² Speaks

⁸⁰ Or "fir".

⁸¹ "Hold with hands"; "face washer"?

⁸² "mihs-KWAH-shim" (we don't say "sh" in words with -sh- before a consonant).

⁸³ "Red animal". Plural is *mishquáshimwock*.

⁸⁴ Common word in Algonquian with meaning "extended, stretched out". We say "zeeb".

⁸⁵ Does it make sense to create the "The Deceased Sachem's Spirit Speaks" ~ Chepassôtamanit auntu, given that Oral Tradition forbids speaking of the dead?

⁸⁶ From *pum*, *pummoh*, "the sea".

⁸⁷ "Great expanse". Plural *kittannash*.

⁸⁸ Language source unknown; from Frank Waabu O'Brien [Moondancer] "Fish and Aquatic Animals," Aquidneck Indian Council, 2003 (unpub).

⁸⁹ My Sister

⁹⁰ Western Abenaki in Day's dictionary.

⁹¹ Inferred meanings of "snow": *Sóchepo* is probably "snow falling," maybe a wet, pelting type. *Cône* (or *Koon*) is believed to be "snow on the ground" and corresponds to neighboring Pequot (Prince & Speck, 1904). In Pequot it's written *gûn* with *û* said like *u* in "rule". In Pequot dialect, we tend to hear our *c* or *k* sound as a hard *g* as in "go". *Muhpoo*, I believe, is a light, soft, descending spirit. One may create spirit-speaking names for *Sóchepo* & *Muhpoo*.

⁹² People of our tribe; *ninnu* = s/he is a tribal member. Other meanings of "Indian" include: *Ninnimissinnûwock* ~ Indian People not of our tribe; *Eniskeetompaûwog* ~ Indians in general

Nisquanemanit auntu	Spirit of Mercy Speaks
Nuttaúquand auntu	Spirit of my People Speaks
Nashuanit auntu	Spirit of the Creator Speaks
Annóckquussand auntu	Star Spirit Speaks
Hussúnnad auntu	Stone Spirit Speaks
Kaúposhanit ⁹³ auntu	Sturgeon Spirit Speaks
Keesuckquànd ⁹⁴ auntu	Sun Spirit Speaks
Nimbauwand auntu	Thunder Spirit Speaks
Wuttámmasannad auntu	Tobacco Spirit Speaks
Mehtuquáand auntu	Tree ⁹⁵ Spirit Speaks
Tunnúppaquand auntu	Turtle Spirit Speaks
Matwaúquand auntu	War Spirit Speaks
Nippe-anit auntu	Water ⁹⁶ Spirit Speaks
Checkesuwànd auntu	West Spirit Speaks
Wetuómanit auntu	Wetu (House) Spirit Speaks
Pôtopanit auntu	Whale Spirit Speaks
Wompatokquussand auntu	White Cloud Spirit Speaks
Pussoûghanit ⁹⁷ auntu	Wildcat Spirit speaks
Wabanànd auntu	Wind Spirit Speaks
Papònand auntu	Winter Spirit Speaks
Muckquand ⁹⁸ auntu	Wolf Spirit Speaks
Squáuanit auntu	Woman's Spirit Speaks
Ockgutchaunanit ⁹⁹ auntu	Woodchuck ¹⁰⁰ Spirit Speaks
Wesaueweatchimánit auntu	Yellow Corn Spirit Speaks

Pakodjteau-un †† Hawúnshech †† Wunniísh



⁹³ Perhaps from “impenetrable back” These large fish were sometimes hunted at night by torchlight.

⁹⁴ “The power in the sky”.

⁹⁵ See Chapter XVI, *Introduction to the Narragansett Language* for other trees.

⁹⁶ Other “water” names found in Frank Waabu O’Brien [Moondancer], “Fish and Aquatic Animals,” Aquidneck Indian Council, 2003 (unpub).

⁹⁷ Also, “panther, mountain lion,” or animals making a hissing sound— “pussough”.

⁹⁸ Pequot-based.

⁹⁹ “He goes under roots”, “he burrows”. Name given by Indians to the pig or swine of the English.

¹⁰⁰ Or “groundhog”.

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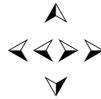
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**Guide to Historical Spellings &
Sounds in the Extinct
New England
American Indian Languages
Narragansett-Massachusetts**



Dr. Frank Waabu O'Brien
Aquidneck Indian Council

Guide to Historical Spellings & Sounds in the Extinct New England American Indian Languages Narragansett-Massachusetts

March, 2005

Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program
A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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Wunnohteank



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS



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Front cover: Photo, courtesy of Great Bear (Charles Weeden, Newport, RI), former Board Member & Website Manager, Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc. "Narragansett Indians at Narragansett Church, Charlestown" (1930s?).

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—NOTES—

This short treatise stems from the ongoing research of the Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program, a project of the Aquidneck Indian Council, for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England. Our intention is to make these works available to a wide audience. Other related language works in the series are:

- The Word ‘Squaw’ in Historical and Modern Sources
- Spirits and Family Relations
- Animals & Insects
- Birds & Fowl
- Muhhog: the Human Body
- Fish
- Corn & Fruits & Berries & Trees &c
- The Heavens, Weather, Winds, Time &c
- Algonquian Prayers And Other Miscellaneous Algonquian Indian Texts
- Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittówock in that Part of America Called New-England
- American Indian Place Names in Rhode Island: Past & Present
<http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianPlaceNames.html>
- Bibliography for Studies of American Indians in and Around Rhode Island, 16th -21st Centuries <http://www.rootsweb.com/~rigenweb/IndianBibliography.html>

The last-named Bibliography contains other Council publications under authors “Moondancer,” “Strong Woman [Julianne Jennings]”, and “Frank Waabu O’Brien”. See References and Sources section, below.

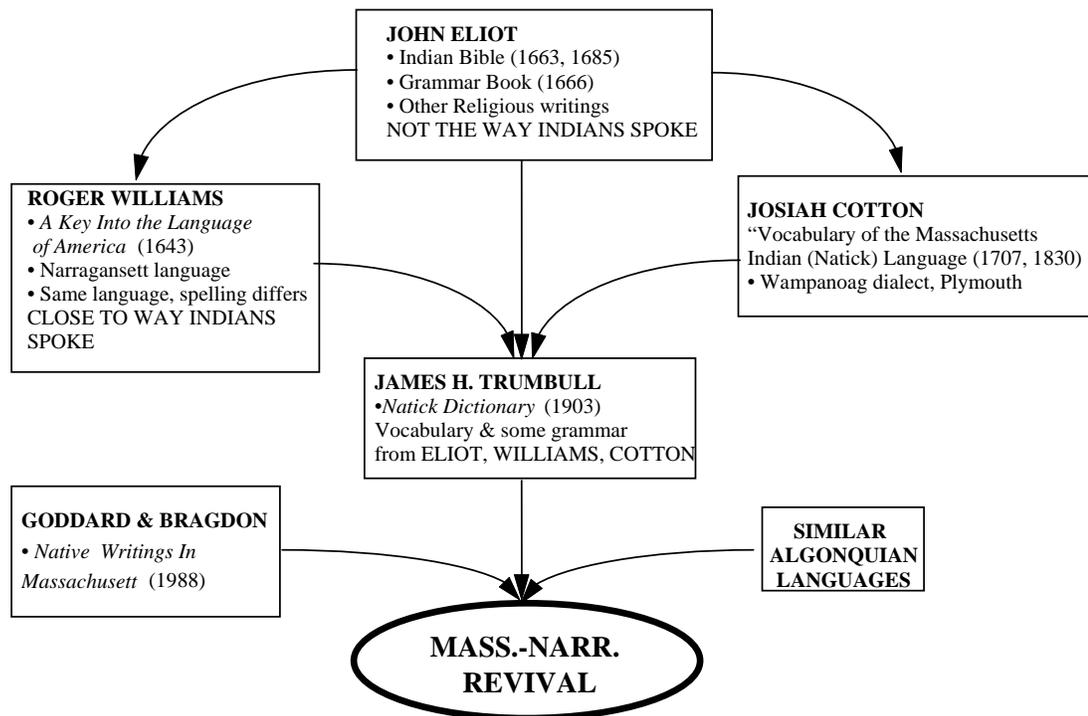
I have worked as a lone wolf for 10 years on the reconstruction and revival of the lost and sleeping American Indian languages of southeastern New England. The Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc. In Newport, RI, was founded, formed, and governed by aboriginal peoples of North America.

The Council realized that no American Indian language annihilated by the harsh lessons of American History could possibly be regenerated no matter how much IQ from the natural realm descended on this bloodless ghost¹. We felt the preternatural and supernatural metaphysical realms could once again speak, or that one could turn up the volume of the voices always there.

A language gives the ability of human beings to do anything within possibility. The capability to Pray, Sing, Name and Speak forms the multidimensional quartrad of all audible and inaudible human communication within and between the natural, preternatural and supernatural realms of being and doing. To say it another way— Praying, Singing, Naming and Speaking are the gifts of the Creator available to men, women and children of this land.

In this paper we summarize the Council’s research into the historical spellings and sounds provided by the 17th and 18th century Colonial missionaries (J. Eliot & J. Cotton [Massachusetts language] and R. Williams [Narragansett language]). Figure 1 shows the historical and modern written and oral sources required for language revival.

¹ This common-sense conclusion is averred by most practicing linguists. One dissenting voice comes from the late and eminent Prof. K. Hale; see Bilger, 1984.



Massachusett-Narragansett Language Revival Program
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 Mar. 1998, 2005

Figure 1: Historical and Modern Sources for Language Revival of the Massachusett-Narragansett Language of Southeastern New England

As would be expected, the extant Colonial records and documents from this period leave much to be desired from a modern perspective. The data and information are scanty, ambiguous, inconsistent, and prevalent with “noise”. However, the heroic efforts of the Christian missionaries who attempted to translate the Bible, record the vocabulary, grammar and dialogue of a people who spoke a language vastly different from the European Romance tongues, must be respected. And their works are what must be used as significant inputs into any extinct language revival efforts.

Below are presented three charts (A, B, C) which capture the Council’s sense of the issues and problems in using the historical data for modern efforts of rejuvenation, within the limitations already noted. Chart A is introduced as a sobering reminder of the difficulties with regard to ambiguity of the vowel spellings-sounds in Massachusett, as recorded and employed primarily by John Eliot in his Bible translation (1663, 1685, 2ed.). The primary reference for Chart A is Goddard & Bragdon (*Part II*, “PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY”, pp. 474-486).

Chart B focuses on the Rhode Island language, Narragansett (with several different dialects, including perhaps Coweset, Nipmuck, Pequot, Abenaki according to Ives Goddard, 1981?) as recorded in *A Key* [1643] by Roger Williams. The Colonial Williams Narragansett language material, in the author’s opinion, comes closest to what can be hoped for in revival because of its Native dialogue-base with word accents (virtually absent in Eliot’s Massachusett Bible). G. Aubin’s (1972) analysis of the Narragansett language revealed a document which is substantially accurate and corresponds to the general proto-Algonquian structure known up to that time. However, only about 2,100 lines of Algonquian, with 2-3 “words” per line, on average, based on about 320 verb roots or stems, are given in *A Key* (Hagenau, 1962). The Council re-translated *A Key* in 2001, and

provided a brief dictionary of verb stems, nouns &c, based on the works of Hagenau, Aubin, Goddard (1981), Goddard and Bragdon (1988), and miscellaneous other sources.

Chart C is a master table summarizing both Massachusetts and Narragansett historical vowels, consonants and blends, including the plethora of confusing diacritical symbols (primarily from J. Cotton, Plymouth Wampanoag).

The author has used Chart C (and Chart B) to produce reconstructed dialogue for a PBS documentary movie.² My Maliseet friends from Maliseet Tribe, Tobique Band, New Brunswick, Canada, claim ½ is comprehensible to their fluent speakers of this northern Algonquian language on the Canadian Reserve³.

Obviously a great deal of effort and many decisions must be made before the sounds of the ancient regional Algonquians once heard in these woods, fields, hills & mountains, and waterways, return to the tongues of those most deprived of the lost of their culture and language over the past three centuries. A full-bodied, limping Pidgin, or adapted living Algonquian language, is most likely hoped for at best⁴.

The author acknowledges Strong Woman (Julianne Jennings), former vice-president of the Council, for her years of dedicated work in keeping alive the Spirits of our people. Dr. Ives Goddard (Smithsonian Institution), Professors K.V. Teeter (Harvard, emeritus), G. Aubin (Assumption), K. Bragdon (William and Mary), and P. LeSourd (Illinois) have assisted me over the past 10 years. Any errors of omission or commission remain the responsibility of the author alone.

² “Mystic Voices: The Story of the Pequot War,” <http://www.pequotwar.com/>

³ I thank my good friend and *Nétop* Edward _____ for his extensive help in teaching me basic Algonquian pronunciation.

⁴ The most ambitious and current regional revitalization program is among the Wampanoag tribes, Gay Head (Aquinnah) & Mashpee Tribe, for the Massachusetts or Wampanoag (Wôpanâak) Language. The Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation is also rebuilding their lost language, as are the neighboring Mohegan Tribal Nation. See References for tribal website addresses.

**REFERENCE CHARTS
FOR HISTORICAL
SPELLINGS AND SOUNDS
IN THE
MASSACHUSETT &
NARRAGANSETT
EXTINCT LANGUAGES**

REFERENCE CHART A

SUMMARY OF MAJOR VOWEL SOUNDS IN MASSACHUSETT (Mainland Dialects)

This table shows: the 6 short & long vowels (u, a, ee, o, oo, ô), how they are written & pronounced, and how Eliot, others spell them.
(Other vowel sounds – î, ū, etc. – are in Reference Chart C)

VOWELS	SHORT	SHORT	LONG	LONG	LONG	LONG
	u	a	ee	o	oo	ô
SAID IN WORDS LIKE	<u>a</u> in sofa <u>u</u> in cut	<u>ah</u> [short version]	<u>ee</u> in green	<u>ah</u> [long version]	<u>oo</u> in moody	<u>a</u> in <i>blanc</i> [French]
SIMPLIFIED WRITTEN CHARACTER	ah uh	a	ee	ah	oo	ô â û

↓ WRITTEN BY ELIOT AS ↓

	a	a		a		
				á		
				â		â
				ai		
				au		
				ah		
	e		e			
	ee [before ht, hch]		ee, é, ē			
			ea	ea		
	ei [before ht, hch]		ei [rare]			
	i [sometimes]		i			
			ie [rare]			
		o		o	o	
				ó		
						ô
					œ, oo	
	u	u				
						û

EXAMPLE: the SHORT vowel a [written a & said like short ah] was written by Eliot as either: a, o, u.

✦ – NOTES – ✦

1. Pay careful attention to ambiguity in Eliot's writing of vowels – a, e, ee, ei, i, u & especially o – same spellings but different sounds.
2. See REFERENCE CHART C for more information on vowels, consonants, and special symbols ("diacritics") in Massachusett.
3. See REFERENCE CHART B for Guide to sounds in Narragansett, derived from G. Aubin's Ph.D. work at Brown University.
4. Prof. G. Aubin, in an e-mail exchange, felt this Chart challenged a number of assumptions and conclusions of his rival, Dr. Ives Goddard, Senior Linguist, Smithsonian Institution. The author offers no connotative comments, for the intent of CHART A is denotative only.

REFERENCE CHART B

PRONUNCIATION GUIDE



NARRAGANSETT

 SPELLING (Roger Williams, <i>A Key, 1643</i>)	 APPROXIMATE SOUND(S) (some are uncertain)
a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>uh</u> in sofa • <u>ou</u> in bought • <u>ah</u> in father
ah	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ah</u> in father • <u>ou</u> in bought
an, aum, aun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nasal sound
au	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ou</u> in bought • <u>au</u> in caught • <u>ah</u> in father
aw	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ou</u> in bought • <u>aw</u> in raw • <u>ah</u> in father
b	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>b</u> in big • <u>p</u> in pig
c, cc	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>k</u> in cow, account • <u>kw</u> in queen
ca, co, cu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>k</u> in call, cold, cut
cau	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>cow</u> • <u>caw</u>
ce, ci	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • s-sound in cede, civil, acid • z- or sh-sound as in sacrifice, ocean
ch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ch</u> in chair
ck	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>k</u> in cow • <u>ch</u> in child • <u>kw</u> in queen

ckq [before w]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>k</u> in <u>cow</u> • <u>kw</u> in <u>queen</u>
d, dd	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>d</u> in <u>din</u>, <u>muddy</u> • <u>t</u> in <u>tin</u>, <u>putty</u>
ddt, dt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>d</u> in <u>din</u> • <u>t</u> in <u>tin</u> • <u>tee-ah</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
e	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>e</u> in <u>he</u> • <u>e</u> in <u>bed</u> • <u>uh</u> in <u>sofa</u> • silent [no sound at end of word]
ê	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>e</u> in <u>he</u>
ea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>e</u> in <u>he</u> • <u>ea</u> in <u>yeah</u> • <u>ah</u> in <u>father</u>
ee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ee</u> in <u>beet</u>
ei	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>e</u> in <u>he</u> • <u>uh</u> in <u>sofa</u>
emes [word ending]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ee-me</u>s
ese [word ending]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ees</u>
eu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>eu</u> in <u>feud</u>
g [before w]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>k</u> in <u>cow</u> • <u>kw</u> in <u>queen</u> • guttural sound like German <u>ach</u>
g, gg, gk [word middle after a vowel]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>k</u> in <u>cow</u> • <u>kw</u> in <u>queen</u> • guttural sound like German <u>ach</u>
g, gk [word ending]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>k</u> in <u>cow</u> • <u>kw</u> in <u>queen</u> • guttural sound like German <u>ach</u>
i	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>uh</u> in <u>sofa</u> • <u>e</u> in <u>he</u> • <u>i</u> in <u>hit</u>
ie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>e</u> in <u>he</u>
ih	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>uh</u> in <u>sofa</u>
îi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ee</u> [?] • <u>ee-uh</u> [?] • <u>ee-ih</u> [?]
k, kk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>k</u> in <u>cow</u> • <u>kw</u> in <u>queen</u> • guttural sound like German <u>ach</u>
k [before consonant]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>kuh</u> in <u>cut</u>

m, mm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>m</u> in <u>mud</u>, <u>hammer</u>
n [before consonant]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>nuh</u> in <u>nut</u>
n, nn [middle, end of word]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>n</u> in <u>tan</u>, <u>tanning</u>
o	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>uh</u> in <u>sofa</u> • <u>ah</u> in <u>father</u> • <u>oo</u> in <u>food</u>
o [after w]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ah</u> in <u>father</u> • <u>ou</u> in <u>bought</u> • <u>au</u> in <u>caught</u>
oo, ô	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>oo</u> in <u>food</u>
oa [after w]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ah</u> in <u>father</u> • <u>ou</u> in <u>bought</u>
oh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>uh</u> in <u>sofa</u> • <u>oh</u> in <u>go</u> [?]
om, on	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nasal sound
p, pp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>b</u> in <u>big</u>, <u>bigger</u> • <u>p</u> in <u>pig</u>, <u>happy</u>
q [word beginning & before vowel]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>kw</u> in <u>queen</u>
q [before w]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>k</u> in <u>cow</u> • <u>kw</u> in <u>queen</u> • guttural sound like German <u>ach</u>
s [word beginning & after consonant]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>s</u> in <u>sip</u>, <u>racks</u>
s, ss [after vowel]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>s</u> in <u>sip</u> [one s sound]
sc	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>sk</u> in <u>skill</u>
sh [word beginning, word ending & before vowel]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>sh</u> in <u>she</u>, <u>push</u>
sh [before consonant]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>s</u> in <u>sip</u>
shk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>sk</u> in <u>skill</u>
shq	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>sk</u> in <u>skill</u>
sk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>sk</u> in <u>skill</u>
skc	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>sk</u> in <u>skill</u> • guttural sound like German <u>ach</u>
sp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>sp</u> in <u>spell</u>
sq	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>skw</u> in <u>squid</u> • guttural sound like German <u>ach</u>
t	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>d</u> in <u>din</u> • <u>t</u> in <u>tin</u> • tee-ah [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & t)
tt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>t</u> in <u>tin</u>, <u>putty</u> • <u>d</u> in <u>din</u>, <u>muddy</u> • <u>tee-ah</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & t)

tch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>tch</u> in <u>itch</u>
te [word beginning]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>tee-you</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
tea, ttea [after a vowel]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>tee-ah</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
teau, teu, tteu [word middle or end]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>tee-ah</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
u	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>uh</u> in <u>sofa</u> • <u>ah</u> (short version). • some think that at the beginning of some words, a <u>u</u> was a “whistling sound” (see <u>w</u>)
w, ww	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>w</u> in <u>won</u> (one <u>w</u> heard) [perhaps a “whistling sound” in some words beginning with <u>w</u>]
y	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>y</u> in <u>yes</u>
z	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>s</u> in <u>sip</u>

✦ – NOTES – ✦

1. For more technical information on Narragansett phonology, see:

- Aubin, George (1972). *A Historical Phonology of Narragansett*. Providence, RI: Brown University. (Ph.D. Dissertation).
- Goddard, Ives (1981). “Massachusetts Phonology: A Preliminary Look.” *In Papers of the Twelfth Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan. Ottawa: Carlton University, pp. 57-105.
- Goddard, Ives and Kathleen J. Bragdon (1988). *Native Writings in Massachusetts (Parts 1 & 2)*. American Philosophical Society Memoir 185. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society.

REFERENCE CHART C

Guide to Historical Spellings & Sounds in Narragansett-Massachusetts

(Mainland Dialects from Records of 1600s & 1700s)

STRESS AND PITCH MARKS

STRESS (Accent)	LANGUAGE
á (primary or main stress)	Massachusetts & Narragansett
à (secondary stress)	Historic records seem to omit

PITCH (Tone)	LANGUAGE
á (high or rising)	Narragansett ?
à (low or falling)	Narragansett
â (rising, then falling)	Narragansett [in Massachusetts ^ symbol is for nasals— â, ô, û]
m' (pause, hesitation)	Massachusetts

SYLLABLE STRESS

Stress (or emphasis or accent) typically falls on syllable or syllables marked with special symbols (e.g., wétu stresses first syllable with primary/main stress; ewò stresses second with a low/falling tone; wuskówhàn has main stress & low pitch; áúí stresses áú and í).

Narragansett is well-stressed, although inconsistently and ambiguously (G. Aubin, 1972). Most Massachusetts language words in Eliot seem to have no stress marks. This may indicate either that no special stress on any one syllable exists [e.g., nippe, askook, mehtugq], or it was omitted intentionally for fluent speakers of the language being taught the Bible in their own oral language.

Algonquianist Professor G. Aubin, a respected correspondent of the Aquidneck Indian Council, relates in a personal e-mail communication of 6-25-2002, the possible applicability of the following efficient “Ojibway-like rule” for long/short vowels shown below (cf. Goddard and Bragdon, 1988):

- All long vowels are stressed
- All alternate even-numbered short vowels are stressed

This rule presupposes the existence of correct vowel classification which has not been achieved for the extinct American Indian languages Massachusetts-Narragansett. Consequently, accent and “pronunciation” in this extinct American Indian language group is largely intuitive; it is also based significantly on imitating the sounds from “similar” existing Algonquian languages such as Maliseet/Passamaquoddy which are documented in the theoretical and educational literature (see Goddard, 1996; and personal communication, G. Aubin, 2002). This limitation was made painfully evident from the author’s experience as Linguist during the making of the PBS documentary movie, “Mystic Voices: The Story of the Pequot War”⁵, <http://www.pequotwar.com/>

⁵ The author’s linguistic written and recorded materials of the reconstructed Indian-dialogue translations are being processed for donation to the Rhode Island Historical Society, University of Rhode Island’s Special Collections Department and other repositories.

VOWELS & CONSONANTS (true “phonemes”). See the list below for other vowel spellings & sounds.

<p style="text-align: center;">6-VOWELS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">u a ee o oo ô</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SHORT LONG</p> <hr/>
<p style="text-align: center;">12-CONSONANTS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ch h k m n p s sh t tt,te,t^y w y</p> <p style="text-align: center;">l - conson.</p>

This 6V-12C schema is accepted generally by practicing linguists in Algonquian studies (personal communication, G. Aubin, 2002).

Partial List of Historic Spellings & Sounds



SPELLING (from John Eliot & others)	APPROXIMATE SOUND(S) (Some are uncertain)
a [as in <u>wadchu</u> (“wachuw”)]	<u>a</u> in sofa (or) <u>ah</u> [short or long version]
aa [as in <u>waantam∞onk</u>]	long <u>ah</u> [sometimes aa written as aá]
á [as in <u>násh</u> (“nosh”)]	long <u>ah</u>
ā [as in <u>wāwāmek</u>]	<u>a</u> in ale or á
ǎ [as in <u>pǎ</u>]	<u>a</u> in abet
â [as in <u>nâmaus</u>]	<u>a</u> in French word blanc (â is a nasal sound) (or, perhaps) <u>ah</u> [long vesion]
â	<u>a</u> in knave (nasalized). â is rarely seen.
· â	<u>u</u> in put
ä [as in <u>peäsik</u>]	<u>a</u> in arm (or) cat (rarely seen)
ae [word middle or ending]	<u>e</u> in he (or) <u>a</u> in am (or) cat
áe [word middle or ending as in <u>agkomáe</u> (“akomôee”)]	<u>ah-ee</u> (long <u>ah</u>)
ag [as in <u>tannag</u> (“tanok”)]	<u>ak</u> as in clock
ah [word ending]	long <u>ah</u>
ai [as in <u>naish</u> (“nosh”)]	long <u>ah</u> (or) <u>ai</u> in mail
aih [as in <u>nuppaih</u> (“nupoh”)]	<u>ah</u> [long version]
am, an, ám, án [after consonant as in <u>sampwe</u> (“sôpwee”)]	<u>a</u> in French blanc (nasal sound)
ash [word ending for plurals as in <u>hassenash</u>]	<u>arsh</u> in harsh (silent r)
ass [word ending for some plurals, Narragansett]	<u>ahs</u>
au [as in <u>hennau</u> (“henôw”)]	Long <u>ah</u> (or) <u>ow</u> (or) <u>ou</u> in bought or <u>ca</u> in caught
aû [as in <u>aûke</u> (“ahkee”), Narr.]	long <u>ah</u> [a rising-falling pitch]
aú, áu [as in <u>nesáusuk</u> (“neesôsus”)]	nasal sound ô as <u>a</u> in French blanc
aü [as in <u>aü</u>]	<u>ah-ou</u> (ü is <u>oo</u> in boot)
b, bp [word middle after vowel as in <u>kobhog</u> (“kophak”)]	<u>b</u> or <u>p</u> in big (or) pig (a sound between <u>b</u> / <u>p</u>)

b, bp [word ending]	<u>b</u> or <u>p</u> in big (or) pig (a sound between <u>b</u> / <u>p</u>)
ca, co, cu	k-sound like call, cold, cut
cau	<u>cow</u> (or) <u>caw</u> (see kau)
ce, ci	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • s-sound in cede, civil, acid • sometimes z- or sh-sound as in sacrifice, ocean
ch [word beginning and after <u>h</u>]	<u>ch</u> in chair
ch [word middle & word ending after vowel]	<u>ch</u> in much, etching
cha [word beginning]	<u>cha</u> in cha-cha
cha, che, chi [word middle & ending, as in <u>sâchem</u> (“sôteum”)]	<u>tee-you</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
che, chee	<u>chee</u> in cheese
chu [word middle following vowel or word ending as in <u>wechu</u> (“weeteuw”)]	<u>tee-you</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>). chu is rarely seen with this sound as a word ending; see next entry for more common sound with this word ending.
chu [word ending as in <u>wadchu</u> (“wachuw”) & <u>meechu</u> (“meechuw”)]	<u>chew</u>
ckq [word middle as in Narr., <u>muckquétu</u> (“mukweeteuw”)]	<u>qu</u> as in queen (see kq)
dch, dtch [word middle & word ending after vowel]	<u>ch</u> in much, etching
dj	<u>ch</u> in match (rare)
dt, d [word middle after vowel]	<u>t</u> in tin (or) <u>d</u> in din (a d-t sound) [<u>d</u> may be silent in some words like <u>wadchu</u> (“wachuw”)]
dt, d [word ending as in <u>kod</u> (“kat”)]	<u>t</u> in tin (or) <u>d</u> in din (a d-t sound)
dtea [after a vowel]	<u>tee-ah</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
dti	<u>tee-you</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
e [word beginning or middle as in <u>kesukun</u> (“keesukun”)]	<u>e</u> in he (or) <u>a</u> in sofa (or) <u>e</u> in bed (Narr.)
e [word ending as in <u>wuske</u> (“wuskee”) or <u>seipe</u> (“seep”)]	<u>e</u> in he [usually for adjectives & adverbs; a final <u>e</u> in some Roger Williams & Cotton words is probably silent and tells us that the preceding vowel is a long sound; e.g. <u>cummú muckquete</u> (“kumumukweet”) (see ese for another example)
<u>e</u>	<u>e</u> in he

ee	<u>ee</u> as in green (or, before ht & hch) <u>a</u> in sofa
é [as in <u>wétu</u> (“weeteuw”)]	<u>e</u> in he
ē [as in <u>mētah</u>]	<u>e</u> in end, bed
ê [Narr., as in <u>pennêtunck</u> (“pehnêtunck”)]	Roger Williams says ^ is “long sounding Accent” (<u>e</u> in he)
ë	<u>a</u> in tame (ë rarely seen)
ea [as in <u>sekeneam</u> (“seekuniam”)]	<u>e</u> in he (or) long <u>ah</u> (or) <u>e</u> in bed (Narr.) (or) <u>ea</u> in yeah (Narr.)
ei [as in <u>keihtoh</u> (“kuhtah”)]	<u>a</u> in sofa [before ht, hch] (or) <u>i</u> in hit (or, rarely) <u>ee</u> in heed
emes [word ending for diminutive as in <u>mehtugquemes</u> (“muhtukweemes”)]	<u>eemes</u>
es [word ending for diminutive as in <u>mehtugques</u> (“muhtukwees”)]	<u>ees</u>
ese [word ending for Narr. diminutive, as in <u>squáese</u> (“skwahees”)]	<u>ees</u> [final <u>e</u> in ese probably silent & means preceding vowel is “long”; see e (word ending)]
et [word ending, “locative” as in <u>pautuxet</u>]	<u>et</u> in set
eu [as in <u>ayeu</u> (“ayuw”)]	<u>eu</u> in feud
êuck [word ending as in Narr., <u>Massachusêuck</u>]	<u>e</u> in he + <u>ook</u> in hook (or) <u>e</u> + yuck
f	not used
g, gg, gk [word middle after a vowel as in <u>agkomáe</u> (“akomôee”)]	<u>k</u> in cow [perhaps a guttural sound]; one <u>g</u> heard in <u>gg</u> .
g, gk [word ending as in <u>mehtug</u> (“muhtukw”) & <u>tannag</u> (“tanok”)]	<u>k</u> in cow [perhaps a guttural sound] (or) <u>qu</u> in queen
gh	<u>k</u> in cow (or) <u>ge</u> in age
ghk	<u>k</u> in cow (or) <u>qu</u> in queen
gi, ji	<u>gi</u> in giant
gq [word ending as in <u>mehtugq</u> (“muhtukw”)]	<u>qu</u> in queen
gw, gqu [word middle between vowels as in <u>mehtugquash</u> (“muhtukwash”)]	<u>qu</u> in queen
h, hh	<u>h</u> in hot (one <u>h</u> heard)
h' [word beginning as in <u>h'tugk</u>]	<u>h</u> in hot (a pause or breathing sound after <u>h</u>)

hch, ch	<u>ch</u> in chair
hk [word middle as in <u>kishke</u> (“keeskee”)]	<u>k</u> in cow
hsh	<u>sh</u> in shoe
ht	<u>ht</u> in height
hw, hwh	<u>wh</u> in what
i [word middle as in <u>quinni</u> (“kwinee”)]	<u>a</u> in sofa (or) <u>e</u> in he (or) <u>i</u> in hit
i [word ending as in <u>mooi</u> (“moowee”)]	<u>e</u> in he
í [as in <u>sickíssuog</u>]	<u>i</u> in hit (or) <u>a</u> in sofa
ī	<u>i</u> in ice
ĩ [as in <u>nehchĩppog</u>]	<u>i</u> in ill
ï [as in <u>aũï</u>]	<u>e</u> in he (or) <u>i</u> in pin (ĩ rarely seen)
ie	<u>e</u> in he [rare]
îi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>ee</u> [?](Narr.) • <u>ee-uh</u> [?] (Narr.) • <u>ee-ih</u> [?](Narr.)
is, ish [word middle as in <u>kishke</u> (“keeskee”)]	<u>ees</u> [see entry for sh & shk]
ish [word ending as in <u>anish</u> (“ahnish”)]	<u>ish</u> as in dish
is [word ending as in <u>mokkis</u> (“mahkus”)]	<u>us</u>
it, ut [word ending, “locative”]	<u>it</u> or <u>ut</u> in put
j	<u>ch</u> in match (or) <u>gi</u> in giant (rare)
ji	<u>gi</u> in giant
jt [word middle after vowel as in <u>quajtog</u> (“kwochtak”)]	<u>ch</u> in etching
k [word beginning & after consonant]	<u>k</u> in cow
k, kk [word middle after vowel as in <u>mokkis</u> (“mahkus”)]	<u>k</u> in cow (one <u>k</u> heard) [perhaps a guttural sound]
k [word ending as in <u>ahtuk</u> (“ahtukw”)]	<u>qu</u> in queen (or) <u>k</u> in cow
k’ [word beginning as in <u>k’chi</u>]	2nd <u>k</u> in kick (make a pause or breathing sound after <u>k</u>)

kau	<u>cow</u> (or) <u>caw</u> (see cau)
ke	<u>kee</u> in keep (or) <u>kuh</u>
kē , kee	<u>kee</u> in keep
kh	<u>ck</u> in back? [perhaps a guttural sound]
ki	<u>kee</u> in keep (or) <u>ki</u> in kick
ko	<u>ka</u> in karate (or) <u>co</u> in coop
kq [before consonant & word ending]	<u>qu</u> in queen [see ckq]
kqu [word middle between vowels as in <u>nukqutchtamup</u> (“nukwuchtamup”)]	<u>qu</u> in queen [see ckq]
kuh, keh [as in <u>kehtonog</u> (“kuhtoonakw”)]	<u>kuh</u>
l	<u>el</u> (rarely seen in southeastern New England dialects)
m, mm	<u>m</u> in mud (or) hammer (one <u>m</u> heard)
<u>m̃</u> [as in <u>poṃpu</u> (“pôhpuw”)]	nasal sound as in <u>pomp</u> (<u>m̃</u> is very rare)
m’ [word beginning as in <u>m’tugk</u>]	<u>meh</u> or <u>muh</u> (a pause or breathing sound after <u>m</u>)
n [beginning of word]	<u>n</u> in no
nn [beginning of word as in <u>nnin</u> , (“ <u>nuh-nihn</u> ”)]	<u>nuh-nih</u> (two <u>n</u> sounds)
n, nn [middle, end of word]	<u>n</u> in tan (one <u>n</u> sound)
ñ [as in <u>moñchu</u>]	nasal sound; oñ is nasal
o [as in <u>kod</u> (“kat”)]	<u>ah</u> [short or long version] (or) <u>oo</u> in food
oa	<u>oa</u> in soap (or) oak (or) broad
oo [as in <u>askook</u>]	<u>oo</u> in food
oooo, ∞∞	first oo or ∞ spoken; said as <u>oo</u> in food
ó [as in <u>wómpi</u> (“wampee”) & <u>anóme</u> (“anôme”)]	<u>ah</u> [long version] (or, rarely) <u>o</u> in old
ō [as in <u>kōmuk</u>]	<u>o</u> in old
ô [as in <u>woskétomp</u> (“waskeetôp”)]	<u>a</u> in French word blanc (nasal sound)
ô	<u>o</u> in no [as a nasal sound?] ô is very rare.
ock [word middle or ending, Narr.]	<u>ak</u> in clock
og [word middle or ending]	<u>ak</u> in clock
oh [as in <u>ohke</u> (“ahkee”)]	<u>ah</u> [short or long version] (or) nasal sound ôh [after <u>n</u>]
õh [as in <u>põhqui</u>]	<u>a</u> in sofa
oi	<u>oi</u> in oil

ôi	nasal <u>a</u> in blanc + <u>e</u> in he
om, on [nasal sound as in <u>woskétomp</u> (“waskeetôp”)]	<u>a</u> in French word blanc (nasal sound)
onk [word ending, abstract nouns as in <u>meetsuonk</u>]	<u>onck</u> (or) <u>unck</u>
oo [as in <u>askook</u> (“ahskook”)]	<u>oo</u> in food [Eliot’s special (digraph) symbol for double oo; the same as ∞ (or) 8]
∞ [as in <u>mutt∞n</u> (“mutoon”)]	<u>oo</u> in food (modern symbol for α 8 also used for ∞)
∞∞,∞∞∞	first ∞ or ∞ spoken; said as <u>oo</u> in food
∞ [as in <u>sohsum∞onk</u>]	<u>oo</u> in boot
∞ [as in <u>peantam∞onk</u>]	<u>oo</u> in foot
ou	<u>ou</u> in out
∞w [word beginning]	<u>whee</u> (“whistling sound” which Eliot couldn’t explain)
p, pp [word middle after vowel]	<u>p</u> or <u>b</u> in pig (or) big (a sound between p / b). One p heard
p [word ending]	<u>p</u> or <u>b</u> in pig (or) big (a sound between p / b)
ps [word beginning or middle as in <u>psuk</u>]	<u>pss</u> (rare) as in collapse
pu, puh [as in <u>appu</u> (“apuw”)]	<u>pu</u> in put
q [before consonant & word ending]	<u>qu</u> in queen
qu [word beginning & after consonant]	<u>qu</u> in queen
qu [word middle between vowels]	<u>qu</u> in queen
qua [as in <u>quadjtog</u> (“kwochtak”)]	<u>quo</u> in quota (or) <u>qua</u> in quality
quâ	<u>quo</u> in Pequot
que [as in <u>ahque</u> (“ahkwee”)]	<u>que</u> in queen (or) quest
qui	<u>que</u> in queen (or) <u>qui</u> in quick
quie [as in <u>wishquie</u> (“weeskwayee”)]	<u>kwayee</u>
quo [as in <u>ahquompi</u> (“ahkwahmpee”)]	<u>quah</u>
qun [as in <u>qunutug</u> (“kwunutukw”)]	<u>kwun</u>
qū [as in <u>qūtshaiü</u>]	<u>coo</u> (like dove-sound)
qut	<u>kwut</u>
r	<u>are</u> (rarely used in southeastern New England dialects)
s [word beginning & after consonant]	<u>s</u> in sip

s, ss [after vowel as in <u>nusset</u> (“nuseet”)]	<u>s</u> in sip (one <u>s</u> sound)
sh [before vowel & word ending as in <u>mukquoshim</u> (“mukwahshum”)]	<u>sh</u> in shoe, she, ship
sh [before consonant as in <u>kishke</u> (“keeskee”)]	<u>s</u> in sip
shau [as in <u>petshau</u> (“peetshow”)]	<u>show</u> in rain-shower
shk [before vowel as in <u>kishke</u> (“keeskee”)]	<u>sk</u> in Alaska, skill
sq [as in <u>mosq</u> (“mahskw”)]	<u>squah</u> in squat
suck [word ending, for plurals in Narragansett]	<u>sook</u>
t [word beginning & after consonant as in <u>taûbot</u>]	<u>t</u> in tin (or) <u>d</u> in din (a d-t sound)
t, tt [word middle after vowel as in <u>nuttah</u> (“nutah”)]	<u>t</u> in tin (or) <u>d</u> in din (a d-t sound) [one <u>t</u> heard]
t, tt [word end as in <u>moskeht</u>]	<u>tee-you</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
tch [word middle & word ending after vowel]	<u>ch</u> in etching (or) <u>tch</u> in watch
te [word beginning as in <u>teag</u> (“teokw”)]	<u>tee-you</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
tea, ttea [after a vowel]	<u>tee-ah</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
teau, teu, tteu [word middle or end as in <u>keteau</u> (“keeteow”)]	<u>tee-you</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>)
to, tó, tô [as in <u>attóau</u> (“atôow”)]	<u>to</u> in top [a nasal sound]
tu, ttu [word middle or end as in <u>wétu</u> (“weeteuw”), <u>pittu</u> (“puteow”)]	<u>tee-you</u> [fast tempo] (a complex sound between <u>ch</u> & <u>t</u>) Other sounds like ti, tti, tj have the <u>tee-you</u> sound plus additional sounds
toh [as in <u>kehtoh</u> (“kuhtah”)]	<u>tah</u>
u [as in <u>wuttup</u> (“wutup”)]	<u>a</u> in sofa (or) <u>ah</u> (short version). Some think that at the beginning of some words, a <u>u</u> was a “whistling sound” (see w)
ú [as in <u>aúí</u>]	<u>u</u> in rude (or) <u>a</u> in sofa
ū [as in <u>qūtshai</u>]	<u>u</u> in rude, tune
ũ [as in <u>wonkqüssis</u>]	<u>u</u> in circus, up?
û	<u>a</u> in blanc (or) <u>u</u> in mud? (nasal sound)

ü	<u>u</u> in turner (in Eliot ?)
ü [as in <u>äü</u>]	<u>u</u> in upsilon (or) <u>oo</u> in boot (ü rarely seen) ?
uck, uk [word ending as in <u>pasuk</u> (“posukw”)]	<u>uhck</u> , <u>oock</u> ; k is qu sound as in queen for some
ut, it [word ending, “locative” as in <u>kehtompskut</u>]	<u>ut</u> in put (or) <u>it</u>
uw [word beginning]	a <u>w</u> “whistling sound”
v	not used
w, ww	<u>w</u> in won (one <u>w</u> heard) [perhaps a “whistling sound” in some words beginning with <u>w</u>]
wh	<u>wh</u> in what
wi	<u>why</u> (or) <u>wee</u>
wu [as in <u>wuttup</u> (“wutup”)]	<u>wah</u> (or) <u>woo</u> (or) <u>wuh</u>
x	<u>ex</u> in exit (rarely seen)
y	<u>y</u> in yes
<u>ȳ</u>	<u>y</u> in lyre (in Eliot, others ?)
<u>ÿ</u>	<u>y</u> in typical (or) fully
yau	<u>yaw</u>
yeu [as in <u>ayeu</u> (“ayuw”)]	<u>you</u>
yo	<u>yah</u> (or) <u>yo</u> in yo-yo
yó	<u>yah</u> (or) <u>yo</u> in yo-yo
<u>yō</u>	<u>yo</u> in yo-yo
z, zs [as in <u>nukkezheomp</u> (“nukeeshiôp”)]	<u>s</u> in sip



» **NOTE** «

The above spellings are selected from the works of John Eliot & Josiah Cotton (Massachusetts—Natick, and Plymouth dialects), Roger Williams (Narragansett) & J. H. Trumbull (1903 dictionary of Eliot’s Bible and Cotton, Williams). The Nantucket & Martha’s Vineyard “island dialects” are not included. The infinity symbol ∞ and numeral 8 are seen in modern writings to stand for Eliot’s special (digraph) character œ. There is a great deal of uncertainty in our knowledge about the actual speech sounds and patterns of the Algonquian-speaking full-blooded Indians of southeastern New England (Rhode Island, Massachusetts & parts of Conn.). For additional information on these matters of phonology, consult the works by Goddard (1981), Goddard & Bragdon (1988), and other references cited in those sources. The author’s highly deficient *Massachusetts Language Book* exemplifies additional spelling-sound hypothetical reconstructions, based on LeSourds’ paper, which, in turn, is based on the works of summa Algonquianist Ives Goddard.



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⁶ "Moondancer" and "O'Brien" are the same person.

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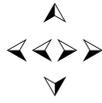
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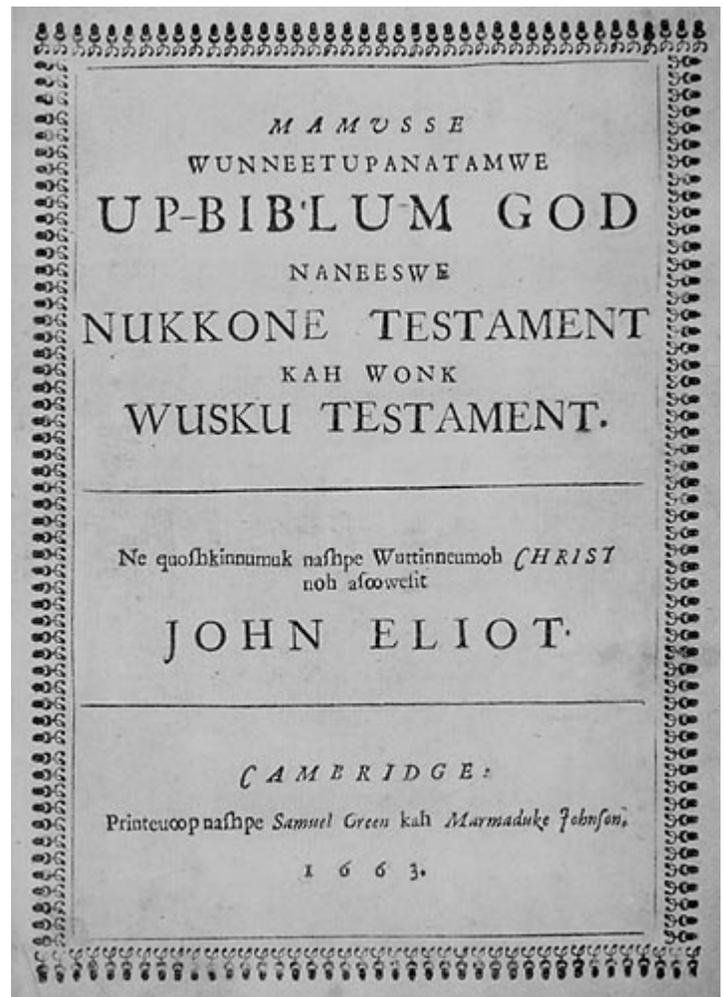
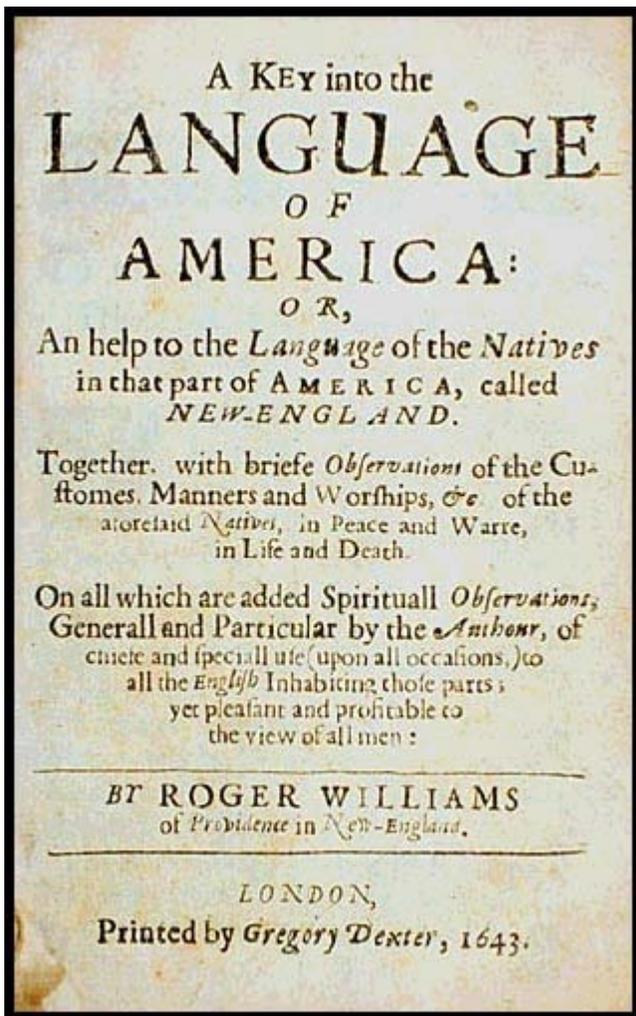
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Bringing Back Our Lost Language: Geistod in that Part of America Called New-England



Dr. Frank Waabu O'Brien

Aquidneck Indian Council

Bringing Back Our Lost Language: Geistod in that Part of America Called New-England

March, 2005

Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program
A project for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian Languages of
Southeastern New England

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Wunnohteakonk



MAY PEACE BE IN YOUR HEARTS



This project was funded [in part] by The Rhode Island Council [Committee] for the Humanities/National Endowment for the Humanities, Expansion Arts, a joint program of the Rhode Island Foundation Rhode Island and the Rhode Island State Council on the Arts/National Endowment for the Arts, Rhode Island Foundation, The Rhode Island Indian Council, and the Aquidneck Indian Council.

Title page —Facsimile title pages for John Eliot's 1663 *Bible* (right) and Roger Williams' 1643 *A Key* (left). Courtesy of Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.

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—Notes—

This short treatise stems from the ongoing research of the Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program, a project of the Aquidneck Indian Council, for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England. Our intention is to make these works available to a wide audience. Other related language works of the Aquidneck Indian Council in the series are¹:

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- Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittówock
- Guide to Historical Spellings & Sounds in the Extinct New England American Indian Languages, Narragansett-Massachusetts

The fore-named Bibliography contains related publications and other Council publications under authors “Moondancer,” “Strong Woman [Julianne Jennings]”, and “Frank Waabu O’Brien”.

I have worked as a lone wolf for 10 years on the reconstruction and revival of the lost and sleeping American Indian languages of southeastern New England. The Aquidneck Indian Council, Inc. In Newport, RI, was founded, formed, and governed by aboriginal peoples of North America.

The Council realized that no American Indian language annihilated by the harsh lessons of American History could possibly be regenerated no matter how much IQ from the natural realm descended on this bloodless ghost. We felt the preternatural and supernatural metaphysical realms could once again speak, or that one could turn up the volume of the voices always there.

A language gives the ability of human beings to do anything within possibility. The capability to Pray, Sing, Name and Speak forms the multidimensional quartrad of all audible and inaudible human communication within and between the natural,

¹ These works have been donated to various historical societies and universities in and around Rhode Island.

preternatural and supernatural realms of being and doing. To say it another way—Praying, Singing, Naming and Speaking are the gifts of the Creator available to men, woman and children of this land.

In this paper, we provide an overview and a summary of own efforts and experience in “language revival” of the extinct regional Algonquian American Indian language Massachusett-Narragansett. Relevant and related references and sources are appended below.

Since the earlier publication of this essay seven years ago in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 1998, 22(3):215-222, the movement of “language revitalization” of extinct American Indian languages, has gained increased momentum on a local and national level. To quote one website regarding a local effort:

“Over the last seven years, Jessie Little Doe Fermino, a member of the Mashpee tribe on Cape Cod, has been on a single-minded mission to revive the language of her ancestors, Wampanoag, the ones that greeted the Pilgrims when they landed at Plymouth Rock and that gave the state of Massachusetts its name. But when she applied to the National Endowment of the Humanities for a grant to create a Wampanoag dictionary, she was turned down. The apparent reasons: the Wampanoag language has not been used in about 100 years, the known descendants of the original speakers number only 2,500 and Ms. Fermino is trying to make a spoken language out of a language that until recently existed only in documents, many of them from the 17th century. "We got great reviews from the specialists, but the panel of non specialists hated it," Ms. Fermino said.....

In the face of doubts and many difficulties, the revival of indigenous languages is a growing movement among Native American groups from Hawaii to Cape Cod, and it is fast becoming a new subspecialty in the field of linguistics as well. "We no longer use the term 'dead' language -- we now speak of them as 'dormant,'" said Leanne Hinton, a professor of linguistics at the University of California at Berkeley, which recently sponsored its fourth annual "Breath of Life California Language Restoration Workshop." [Alexander Stille, 2000]
http://www.turtletrack.org/Issues00/Co10072000/CO_10072000_Language.htm

The author’s recent paper, “Guide to Historical Spellings & Sounds in the Extinct New England American Indian Languages, Narragansett-Massachusett,” provides some insight into the technical difficulties of recovery. The most ambitious program of language revitalization is among the Wampanoag peoples (Gayhead [Aquinnah] Tribe and Mashpee Tribe). Jessie Little Doe Fermino is the lead in language reclamation of the Wampanoag (Wôpanâak) language. She obtained a master’s degree from MIT in linguistics. The Pequot and Mohegan tribal peoples have also begun a program of bringing back their lost languages. See References & Sources for website addresses and contact information.



Bringing Back Our Lost Language: Geistod in that Part of America Called New-England²



Frank Waabu O'Brien
Aquidneck Indian Council
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Introduction

Before the Europeans came to these shores in search of wealth and religious freedom for themselves, about 12,000 Wampanoag Indians lived here in southeastern New England—about 8,000 on the mainland and about 4,000 on the islands. After the King Philip's War (1675-1676) only about 400 Wampanoag people survived. No one has done a complete history of all these people following the war.

Over the years the forces of blood mixing, enactment of laws, disease, racial attitude, and isolation have disintegrated the looks, language and lore of the First Americans of our region³. But Indian culture was never completely replaced by Christianity or European culture. A people do not want to die!

The ancient language of the Wampanoag Indians, and related Algonquian-speakers, is called nowadays *Massachusett*. This language, like most Indian languages, was oral. It was the language spoken by The Massasoit Ousa Mequin, and by Annawan, and all of the Indians that lived in this region.

The Massachusett language has been sleeping since the early 1800s. Even in the early 1700s, some were not speaking fluently the language anymore. Because our ancestors were considered a conquered people and no longer able to practice our culture, the new ways of Europeans slowly replaced many of the old ways. It seems that the parents and grandparents just refused to teach their children the old language, maybe because they saw the pain involved in being Indian in a world no longer theirs.

Eventually the old language fell silent, as did all of the Indian languages across southern New England, from Cape Cod and beyond to the Hudson River. Across Turtle Island—what we call the United States of America—over 125 American Indian

² An earlier version of this paper was printed as "Bringing Back Our Lost Language" in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 1998, 22 (3):215-222, Moondancer ⊗ Strong Woman.

³ An all encompassing term chosen to describe all of this is *Gesitod* ("spirit death," defined in the author's *Neologisms*)

languages have become extinct through the harsh lessons of American history. Many more are on the brink of extinction.

Today many people want their ancient Massachusetts language back and are willing to work hard to learn a very complicated language. A language is the essence of one as a human being. Knowing the language of ones Native American ancestors makes one unmistakably Indian. Rebuilding the Massachusetts language involves intense research and cooperation among Indians, language scholars and others. Next to no funding is available to tribes or Councils who want to bring back their lost language.

The Massachusetts Language

Let's give a brief overview of how the oral language was recorded. In 1620 when the English landed at Plymouth, MA they walked into the abandoned village of Patuxet. The English were on the land of the Wampanoag. When a separate group of English landed in 1630 [first in Salem, MA, then Boston, MA] they entered the land of the Massachusêuck (The Massachuset People or "People of the Great Hills"). The Massachusêuck, the Wampanoag and other indigenous people along the coast, were victims of catastrophic diseases introduced by previous European explorers as early as 1612-1613. The mortality rate reached 90%. This is the main reason why Europeans met virtually no resistance when they came ashore.

Up in the Boston area, the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company said that the principal aim of the English colony was to "incite" the Native peoples to accept and practice the Christian religion. Certain laws were even passed later to insure that the Indians would accept Christianity and not practice their own religion.

Only the English missionaries took seriously this goal of conversion. One English name stands out above all others in connection with the recording of the language of the Wampanoag and other Algonquian-speaking peoples of southeastern New England. This man was John Eliot, a Congregationalist Minister who came to New England in 1631. Eliot began to learn this unwritten language. He was convinced that only by being able to communicate with native peoples in their own language could he achieve the goal of spreading Christianity to the Indians. One day the local Massachusetts Sachem called Waban asked Eliot to explain Christian teachings. Later Eliot and his now "praying Indians" founded a European-styled village at Natick, MA. This village was called a "praying village". Here Eliot worked with his devoted teacher (and servant of 35 years) Job Nesutan to learn the language. Eliot worked with Job Nesutan and other Indians in translating the Holy Bible into the Massachusetts language. The Indian Bible (written entirely in the local Natick dialect of Massachusetts) was published in 1663 at Harvard University and a second edition was printed in 1685 (so many Bibles were destroyed in the King Philip's War, 1675-1676).

Other Indians that made possible the translation and publication of the Bible are John Sassamon, Cochenoe and James Printer. Hardly anyone ever mentions the necessary contributions of the Indians. Without these Indians there would have been no Bible. If Issac Newton, one of the greatest European scientists could humbly claim he stood on the shoulders of giants to accomplish his work, we can say the same of John Eliot and his Indian teachers.

Now, the Indian Bible is not the way Indians spoke the Massachusett language. Like the English language Bible with its abstract language, the Indian Bible was meant to teach the Christian faith which is very different from the Indian religion. But the Eliot Bible is one of the most important primary sources we have for the pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar of the language. In fact, the Massachusett language is perhaps the only language which has any chance of being revived since we know more about this language than any other in the region.

It is ironic that the missionary John Eliot, who came here to destroy Indian culture, actually preserved the language in written form. We must be thankful to the Natick Indian Job Nesutan, and John Sassamon, Cochenoe and James Printer for they ultimately are the safekeepers of our language.

Narragansett Language

The Narragansett language, once spoken by the Narragansetts, is quite similar to Massachusett. Narragansett was understood throughout New England. Scholars refer to Massachusett and Narragansett as dialects of the same language. Narragansett was partially recorded by Roger Williams and published in his book *A Key into the Language of America* in 1643. Williams was writing a book so that the English who came here would have a phrase book to use in communicating with the local people. This book is well worth getting. His book seems to give some of the actual speech patterns of the Narragansetts (and the Wampanoag). Williams did a better job than Eliot of recording the sounds of the language.

The Massachusett Language as Written by Indians

Ten years ago a book came out called *Native Writings in Massachusett* by Ives Goddard and Kathleen Bragdon, two of the top scholars who work on the technical aspects of our language. This book is actually in two volumes. The first volume has writings from Wampanoag Indians of the 1600s and 1700s. The second volume is very technical, dealing with grammar of the language.

Teaching the Language

Last year we published the first book written for Indians on the language. The textbook—*Understanding Algonquian Indian Words (New England)*—was published with the help of a grant from The Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities (a state program of the National Endowment for the Humanities)⁴. We give about 1,400 entries in the dictionary part of the book and cover grammar and other aspects of the language at a very basic level for the beginning learner[†].

⁴ Rev. ed., 2001

[†] We acknowledge the assistance of our Principal Humanities Scholars, Tall Oak <Council Elder>, and Karl V. Teeter < Professor Emeritus of Linguistics, Harvard University>. We also acknowledge the guidance, support and love of the late Slow Turtle, Supreme Medicine Man of the Wampanoag Nation.

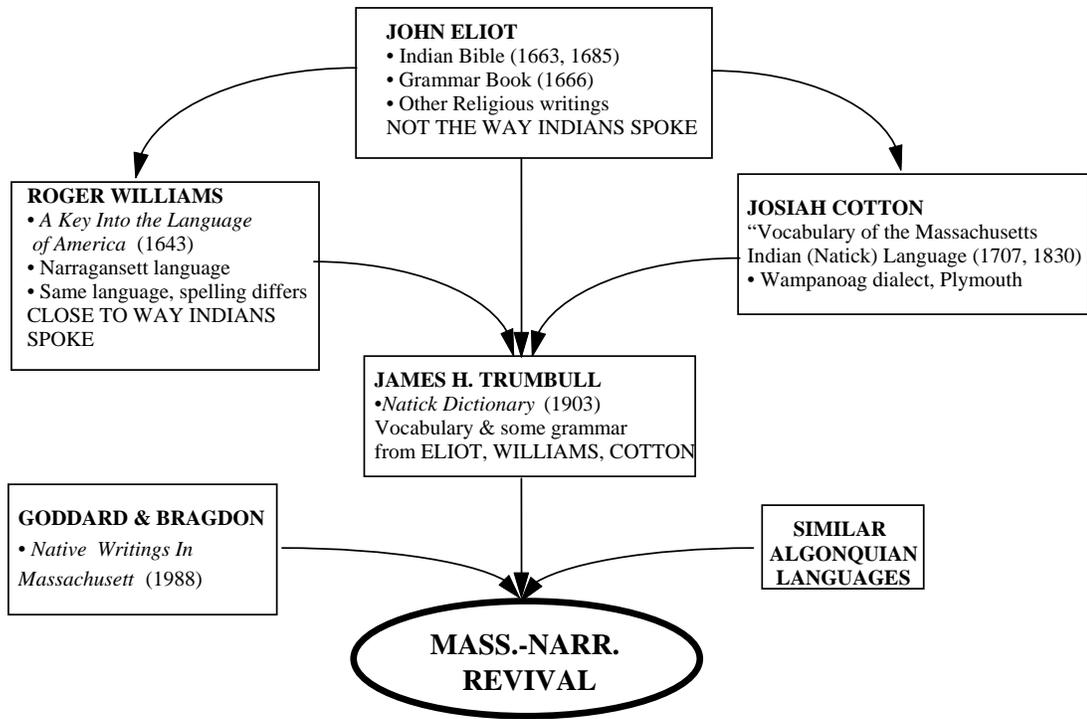
We are recognized throughout the area as knowledgeable about the language. Several years ago (1997) the Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities contacted us to provide a Massachusetts language translation to be carved on a permanent monument in Providence, RI⁵. This engraving may be one of the few public testaments of the Indian tongues spoken here for over 12,000 years.

Since the time of our book's publication, our Council has been preparing many classroom teaching materials on the language. Our efforts at reviving the language involve making up teaching materials to instruct tribal members on pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. These materials along with the book can allow us to teach the elements of the Massachusetts-Narragansett language. A second language book—*A Massachusetts Language Book, Vol. 1*—was the result of our recent efforts to bring the language back to our brothers and sisters here in southeastern New England⁶.

The following diagram shows the main sources we use in our research into the language. The references are given in References and Sources.

⁵ Documented in "Algonquian Prayers And Other Miscellaneous Algonquian Indian Texts," 2005, Newport, RI, Aquidneck Indian Council

⁶ Subsequent Council publications are listed below in References and Sources. Our most recent work was on the PBS documentary movie, "Mystic Voices: The Story of the Pequot War."
<http://www.pequotwar.com/>



Massachusetts-Narragansett Language Revival Program
 ©Aquidneck Indian Council, F.J. O'Brien, Jr.
 Mar. 1998, 2005

Figure 1. Sources of Information for the Narragansett-Massachusetts Language Revival Program. Sources given in References.

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⁷ "Moondancer" and "O'Brien" are the same person.

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⁸ Errata sheet is missing in ERIC document.

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AT THE POWWOW



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Aquidneck Indian Council

AT THE POWWOW

April, 2005

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Reprinted and revised [in part] from—Strong Woman ⊗ Moondancer. (1998). *A Massachusetts Language Book, Vol. 1*. Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council.

This project was funded [in part] by The Rhode Island Council [Committee] for the Humanities/National Endowment for the Humanities, The Rhode Island Indian Council, and the Aquidneck Indian Council.



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—INTRODUCTION & NOTES—

This short treatise stems from the ongoing research of the Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program, a project of the Aquidneck Indian Council, for the reconstruction of the extinct American Indian languages of southeastern New England. Our intention is to make these works available to a wide audience. Other related Aquidneck Indian Council language works in the series are:

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- ❖ Bringing Back Our Lost Language: Geistod in that Part of America Called New-England

The above online Internet “Bibliography for Studies” contains other Council publications under authors “Moondancer,” “Strong Woman [Julianne Jennings]”, and “Frank Waabu O’Brien”. See References and Sources section, below, for a selection.

The present paper discusses the evolution of the American Indian powwow. A brief historical overview is presented to motivate understanding of the eventual ban on Indian dancing, singing, and other “religious” practices in that part of America called New-England and elsewhere. In the section, “Vocabulary,” we show Algonquian translations for over 200 vocabulary terms related to a New England Indian powwow (clothing, food, conversation, greetings, weapons, animals, &c).

NOTA BENE: Let the reader be advised that the content of some of the images presented in this paper may be disturbing. My motivation is not to shock or disturb the reader’s peace of mind; the historical graphics are offered in a didactic vein¹. It should likewise be evident to the reader that many of the historical paintings, sketches, photographs, &c, created by non-Indians, were usually quite fanciful and factually bankrupt. Therein, one may gauge an understanding of the artists’ motivation and “agenda.” Students of logic would have a field day identifying the type “fallacies” of reasoning inherent in these pictorial stories. It is hoped that the reader will hereby gain some appreciation for the importance that

¹ “A book must be the ax for the frozen sea within us”— Franz Kafka (1883–1924). Taught by Mrs. ___ Rossman, World Literature II, Rhode Island Junior College, ca. 1972.

American Indians views their Powwows in contemporary times. As such, my approach is quasi-historical, linguistic and phenomenological.



One historical-etymological reference defines “powwow” to mean:

1624, "priest, sorcerer," from Algonquian (probably Narragansett) *powwow* "shaman, Medicine Man," from a verb meaning "to use divination, to dream." Meaning "magical ceremony among N.Amer. Indians" is recorded from 1663. Sense of "meeting" is first recorded 1812. Verb sense of "to confer, discuss" is attested from 1780.

<http://www.etymonline.com/>

Historically, “powwow” has often times had the connotation of a “war dance,” whereby Indian warriors would “put on the war paint,” dance with great savage vehemence by moonlight in a circle around an immense village fire to the beat of a loud rhythmic drum, working themselves up into a frenzy, in preparation for an upcoming raid, battle or war against European invaders. Popular movies such as “Dances with Wolves” (released in 1990) have reinforced this popular perception. This sentiment is depicted in the following image²:

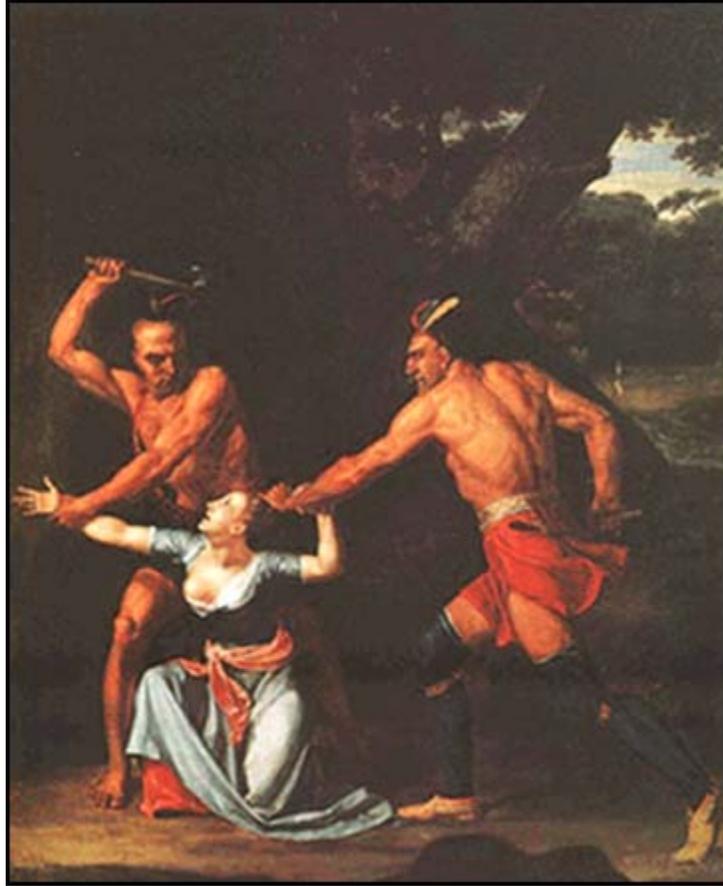


War Dance of the Mississaugas [www.scugogheritage.com/history/mississaugas.htm]

Local, State and national government officials throughout American History feared these “war dances”. The sound of the faraway drum caused intense trepidation in the civilian population, for they signaled Indian trouble.

This “heathen madness” inevitably signalled an “Indian uprising”, and imminent bloodthirsty acts. The following several 19th century images, selected from the WWW, are meant to impress upon the eye and mind the stereotype of the savage red man which was more or less associated with American Indian behaviors such as drumming and dancing.

² Very few images or paintings from the New England Colonial period exist; in an article by William S. Simmons of Brown University (now unrecalled), he explains the paucity of images as counter to puritan mores. Hence, the need to select from the large set of images from the 19th century to describe the issues in this paper.



The Death of Jane McCrea by John Vanderlyn (1804)³

³ In 1777, at the height of the American Revolution, General Schuyler was rushing to Fort Edward to collect his troops so that they could prepare a defensive against the advances of Loyalist General Burgoyne. At Fort Edward occurred the death of Jane McCrea, the story of which, as set afloat at the time, is familiar to all, and was exploded years ago. Truth tells the story as follows: Miss McCrea was a handsome young girl, visiting friends at Fort Edward at the time of Burgoyne's invasion. She was betrothed to a young man living near there, who was then in Burgoyne's army. When that army approached Fort Edward, some prowling Indians seized Miss McCrea, and attempted to carry her to the British camp at Sandy Hill, on horseback. A detachment of Americans were sent to rescue her. One of a volley of bullets fired at her captors, pierced the maiden and she fell dead from the horse, when the Indians scalped her and carried her glossy locks as a trophy into the camp. Her lover, shocked by the event, left the army, went to Canada at the close of the war, and there lived a moody bachelor until he was an old man. He had purchased the scalp of his beloved, of the Indians, and cherished it as a precious treasure, upon which, at times, he would gaze with tearful eyes as he held the ever-shining locks in his hand. The body of Miss McCrea was recovered by her friends, and was buried at Fort Edward. A tale of romance and horror, concerning the manner of her death, went abroad. In September, a letter from Gates to Burgoyne, holding him responsible for her death, gave great currency to the story; and hundreds, perhaps thousands of young men, burning with indignation and a spirit of vengeance because of the outrage, flocked to the American camp. [© 2002-2003 by LoveToKnow]



This illustration is from *Harper's Magazine*, February 1880. [CREDIT: Reinhart, Charles Stanley, artist. "Look, Here Is the Strawberry Next Her Heart." Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress⁴].



Illustration from a 19th century American magazine

Of all the American Indians “out west,” one of the best known and most notorious “Indian renegades” of this period in late 19th cent. is the famous, fierce warrior Geronimo (1829-1909), a war leader of the Chiricahua Apache, known as Goyathlay in his language, a

⁴ Painting, related to New England Indian “Raid on Deerfield” (February 29, 1704); Reverend Williams memorialized his Canadian experience in a book, *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion*, first printed in 1707. In it, he tells his story and that of his family and parishioners. Although four of his children returned home with him, his daughter, Eunice Williams, remained in Canada, joining the Mohawk tribe. She took the name A'ongote, which means "She (was) taken and placed (as a member of their tribe)," and in early 1713, she married a Native American man. In 1713, Queen Anne's War ended. France and England did not do battle in America again until the French and Indian War of 1754. The people of Deerfield could rebuild their town and, for a while, rest easy.

photograph of which is shown below from a popular “documentary” program shown on American television.



“Geronimo”



Locally, some 17th century Rhode Island and Massachusetts Colonial officials observed these dances first-hand, as indicated in the following passage taken from the oft-quoted classical book by Daniel Gookin⁵, *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England*:

They use great vehemency in the motion of their bodies, in their dances; and sometimes the men dance in greater numbers in their war dance (Gookin, 1674, p. 13).

The classical and historic image of the “red man” has almost always been painted with a thick black stroke. The written interpretation of New England American Indian life, culture and religion was usually not favorable. The following citation summarizes the widespread view of regional Algonquian Indians in the 1600s:

⁵ The authors' *Wampanoag Cultural History* (1999) contains a large collection of primary source citations regarding the New England American Indians.

The customs and manners of these Indians were, and yet are, in many places brutish and barbarous in several respects, like unto other savage people of America [Indians] They are very revengeful, and will not be unmindful to take vengeance upon such as have injured them or their kindred They are much addicted to idleness, especially the men They are naturally much addicted to lying and speaking untruth; and unto stealing, especially from the English (Gookin, 1674, p. 9).

William Woods' famous book, *New Englands Prospects* (1634), records more horrific traits of the regional New York Mohawk Indians (lit. "they eat live flesh," intransitive, animate verb < Narr.⁶)—"a cruell bloody people" (Part 2, p. 64). Wood describes the Mohawk war cry, upon entering a village,

[T]hese cannibals.... They march securely and undauntedly, running, and fiercely crying out *Hadree Hadree Succomme Succomme* we come we come to sucke your blood.... (Part 2, p. 66)

This quote from a standard American history classic has been repeated often, as extreme attestation of the inherent "savage red man" which had to be purged from the face of the Earth as not worthy of natural existence.



American Indian Cannibals

The Iroquois were described historically as especially violent and brutal, as the following image is meant to portray, again suggesting the causal link between "heathen" practices such as drumming and singing, and bloodthirsty acts of uncivilized savages.

⁶ Roger Williams describes their geographic location, relative to Rhode Island: "The Canibals, or, man eaters, up into the west, two, three or foure hundred miles from us." (*A Key* [1643], p. 16)



Iroquois Warrior Scalping enemy

Such perceptions and attitudes were bound to lead to conflict between the foreigners and the indigenous populations. And in 1675, the New England “King Philip’s War” (or “Metacom’s Rebellion”) broke out in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, such a war (1675-1676) which became one of the bloodiest and most costly in the history of America⁷. This harsh, terrifyingly brutal war was the firebrand that stamped “Indian Policy” for the next 200 years in America⁸.

The following large image portrays a battle scene from the King Philip’s War.

⁷ The Leo Bonfanti (1970) five-volume set is good reading on this subject.

⁸ For graphic written details (and eloquent sermon on non-Christian behavior), see the daring and shocking lecture by R. F. Haffenreffer, Jr. (1927), one of the founders of The Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology at Brown University in Bristol, RI.



Above,—King Philip's War (1675-1676): The battle at Hadley, Massachusetts, on June 12, 1676, was one of the last of King Philip's War, and one in which the English colonists were victorious. As this image suggests, however, like so many of the victories of the war, that at Hadley was pyrrhic, and both sides suffered great violence and destruction.

Below is a well-known painting of the Wampanoag (Pokanoket) leader, likened as the 17th century Geronimo of the East.



Above—"King Philip", the Massasoit (Grand Sachem) of the Wampanoag Indian Nation; known variously as—King Philip, Metacom, Metacomet, Pometacomet⁹ & Wawesawanit¹⁰. Killed, beheaded and quartered in Bristol, RI on Aug. 12, 1676. His death and subsequent cessation of hostilities ended Indian armed resistance in New England, and their traditional way of life.

⁹ Trans.—of the Massasoits' house?

¹⁰ "Little spirit that circles and circles (like a fox)?".

One in ten soldiers on both sides were injured or killed during this 14th month New England Indian-White war. It has been estimated that 11% of the European population lost their lives; i.e., more people were killed proportionately than in any other war in the United States of America, including the American Civil War¹¹.

The outcome of King Philip's War was totally devastating to the traditional way of life for all tribes of American Indians in southern New England. For example, within a span of 60 years, only 400 (3%) Wampanoag people survived the earlier deadly foreign epidemics and King Philip's War. Hundreds of Indian warriors, who fought with Massasoit Pometacomet, along with their families, were sold into slavery in far away lands of the Americas and Europe. The other non-combatant survivors were rounded up, and confined to reservations, plantations & settlements within a Colonial culture and government throughout Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Then, little by little, the structure of traditional Indian culture was annihilated. The forces of disease, blood mixing, enactment of law, racist attitude, and isolation have disintegrated the looks, language and lore of the southeastern Indians. The essence of traditional Indian Spirituality—the Indian language—fell silent about 200 years ago on the mainland of Wampanoia¹². Others, especially women and children, were forced to become servants locally. As the traditional base of existence changed due to the Colonists' victory, the Wampanoag and other local Indian communities had to adapt certain aspects of their culture in order to survive. This is called in the scholarly literature, "acculturation" and "assimilation".

When warfare and conquest left the New England woods and plains in the 17th cent., and migrated "out west" coinciding with the expansion of the nation, dancing and "powwows" continued all through the long, bloody years of the "Indian Wars."

During this era, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian" [General Philip Sheridan, 1868, U.S. Union Army] was the war cry of America.

.... [E]very redskin must be killed from off the face of the plains before we can be free from their molestations. They are of no earthly good and the sooner they are swept from the land the better for civilization... I do not think they can be turned and made good law abiding citizens any more than coyotes can be used for shepherd dogs.
- Major John Vance Lauderdale, 1866.



When armed Indian resistance ended among the "Western" and "Plains Indians" in the late 19th century, powwows continued as an historic custom among American Indians. Never understood in their historic and traditional roles, powwows were eventually legally banned due to the fears mentioned above, and the now-prevailing post-bellum view that, to save the man, the Indian must be killed....

An Indian, a partridge, and a spruce tree can't be tamed.
(See Mieder, 1995, for other historical quotes of this era of The Indian Wars).

¹¹ The first Indian-White war took place in Connecticut against the Pequots in 1637. A recent PBS television documentary explores the causes and effects of this conflict; see <http://www.pequotwar.com/>

¹² The author summarizes this loss with his neologism, *Geistod*, from the German, "Spirit Death."
(Moondancer, *Neologisms*....)

In 1923¹³, powwows were all but banned by U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles Burke, who wrote,

...that something must be done to stop the neglect of stock, crops, gardens, and home...caused by these dances or celebrations...that take the time of the Indians for many days.

Burke's concern also focused on the custom of sharing.

No good comes from your 'give-away' customs at dances and it should be stopped, he wrote. You do yourself and your families great injustice when you give away money or other property, perhaps clothing, a robe, a horse or a team and wagon, and then after an absence of several days go home and find everything going to waste.

The ban on Powwows limited Indian dances to one celebration per district per summer, and nobody under age 50 could attend. For Native Americans, being deprived of public celebrations was another threat to their culture, which they handled by holding their gatherings in private. Ironically, Buffalo Bill's "Wild West Show" of late 1800s was at that time creating crowds of whites who wanted to see Native dances, and many young dancers got jobs with spin-off shows. Many young Indian boys in boarding schools were reported as wanting to run away and join these shows.

Restrictions on powwows were finally lifted in 1934 during the "Self Determination Era" of United States Government programs. It wasn't until the start of the great American Indian cultural renaissance in the late 1960s and early '70s that powwows became very popular, with people traveling the "powwow trail" during the summer throughout Indian Country.

Here is a photograph showing the tremendous renaissance of Indian pride in the 1930s, whereby the Plains' Indian clothing-style was very popular since traditional Algonquian language, culture and customs were all but unknown¹⁴.



American Indians at the Narragansett Indian Church,
Charlestown, RI (1930s?)

It is not well known, but only until relatively recently in the 20th century have local and State authorities allowed Powwows¹⁵. Apparently there was a fear that an "Indian

¹³ Following section selected from <http://www.prairiepublic.org/programs/datebook/bydate/04/0904/090104.jsp>.

¹⁴ See Kretch (1994) for other photographs from this era.

¹⁵ Some of the material from the following section is adapted from the proposal to the Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities for a "powwow grant," issued by the Rhode Island Indian Council.

uprising” by “the filthy savages” would occur, and this motivated the ban on this spiritual event¹⁶. Indians were warned continuously by missionaries and other authorities,

Apque matwâkesh ! = “Do not dance (the war dance)”!
[Cotton, *Vocabulary*]

Local New England old-timers remember those days in the earlier part of the 20th century when a powwow was not allowed in public. Gradually they resurfaced publicly, but with great caution. This is one of the reasons why weapons, “firewater” (*occupe, onkuppe* = alcohol) and drugs are strictly banned at Indian powwows. Public announcements and posters are pasted or stapled throughout the powwow grounds. We Indians know all too well of the stereotype of “firewater,” and the consequences to us and our families. Revisiting D. Gookin’s 17th cent. book,

Their drink was formerly no other than water, and yet it doth continue, for their general and common drink. Many of the Indians are lovers of strong drink [alcohol].... Hereby they are made drunk very often; and being drunk, are many times outrageous & mad, fighting with and killing one another; yea sometimes their own relatives. This beastly sin of drunkenness could not be charged upon the Indians before the English and other Christians nations ... came to dwell in America. (Gookin, 1674, p. 11)

Thus, the New England American Indian powwow returned. In Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut, numerous powwows occur every weekend starting in the Spring and continuing into Fall. Thousands of people, Indian and non-Indian alike, attend these events throughout New England. Some of the poorer Indians make their living as seasonal, traveling vendors at powwows, and sell merchandise that varies considerably in quality and authenticity.

Although a powwow, as described earlier, is not indigenous to the New England region (but the term Algonquian “powwow” is), these religious, social and cultural events are nonetheless very important to the regional community for many reasons. It is important to the general public, for their presence testifies to the hunger that people have to “learn about Indians”. The available public sources of information on southern New England Indians are quite sparse, sketchy, of questionable validity, and not very accessible to many people. Also, many people prefer an “in-the-flesh” approach to knowledge and cultural appreciation. Powwows across the Nation appear to attract larger and larger crowds, of both Indian and non-Indian alike.

In a sense, a Powwow seems to be a unique educational opportunity for the Native American community to teach the general public about Native American culture, from language and customs to clothing and foods and folkways.

Powwows are very important to Native peoples. To Native Indian peoples of northeastern North America, a 'Powwow' (*pauwau* or *powwâw*, in Eastern Algonquian language) was originally a revered tribal man—*ninnu*—with special abilities to cure or offer advice from the spirit world. J. H. Trumbull (*Natick Dictionary*, 1903) defines the word 'pauwau' as having these properties,

¹⁶ *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England*, Vol. I, 1636-1663. Printed in 1856, Providence, RI: A. Crawford Greene and Brother, State Printers.

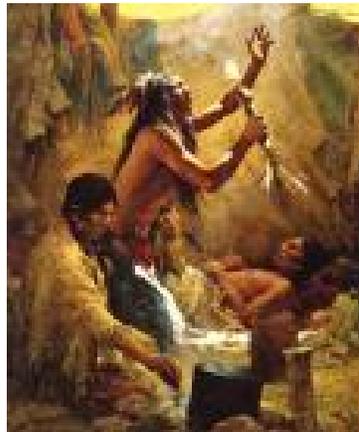
"he practices magic or sorcery" ... "witchcraft"... "a wizard or diviner"
(p. 121),

but this is a poor translation from the American Indian cultural perspective.

Powwaûog (plural form of *pauwau*), as individuals, were revered for their knowledge; the southeastern Algonquian related word for "a wise speaker" is *Taupówau* (*Understanding Algonquian Indian Words (New England)*, 1996/2001; *Introduction to the Narragansett Language*, (2001), Aquidneck Indian Council).

A *pauwau* (various spellings exist due to non-standardized orthography) was sought out by his tribal people to drive away "evil spirits" causing sickness or poverty, to ensure success in battle, interpret dreams¹⁷, or to help individuals or tribes in other ways.

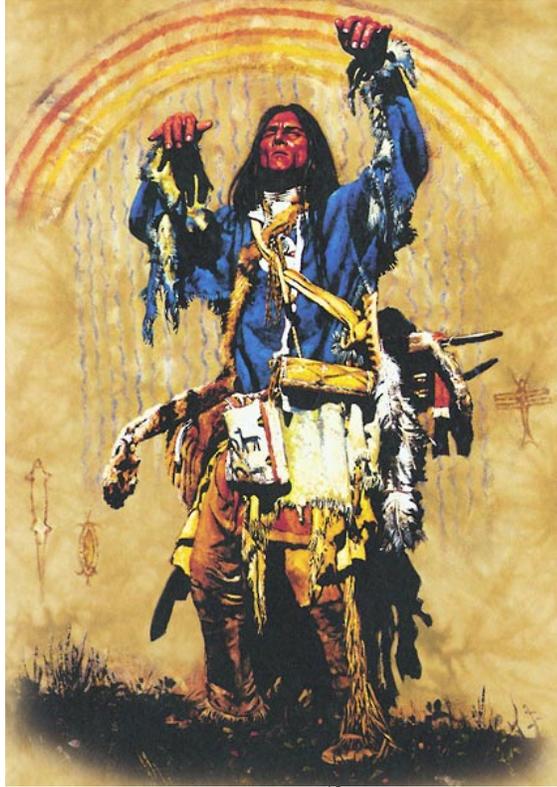
The following graphics attempt to depict Indian beliefs and practices from the preternatural and supernatural realms of Being and Doing, all of which Colonists found very scary and threatening, and further enhanced their perceptions that Indian culture, including singing and dancing, were very detrimental to their reasons for their being here in this strange, awesome wilderness that provided a new life and boundless opportunities, derived from iron-clad irrefutable Christian Biblical Scripture.



Maunêtu— A Medicine Man Healing

From, "Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittówock in that Part of America Called New-England,"
Aquidneck Indian Council, 2005.

¹⁷ Apparently there was a belief in two types of souls. *Cowwéwonck* ("sleeping") is the "dream soul" which traveled at night in dreams, and appeared as a light while one slept. During illness, the dream soul left the body. *Michachuck* is the "clear soul" thought to reside in the heart, the "life force" of every person. The dream soul is believed to have returned to *Kautántowwit*'s house in the southwest after death to live a life very much as on earth. Evil persons were forced to roam forever for their punishment. Dreams and visions (with fasting) were undertaken to appeal to Manitou through the dream soul for a more successful life, protection, strength and balance (from *Intro. Narr. Lang.*, Moondancer *et al.*, Ch. 21).



*Rain Dance*¹⁸

From, "Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittówock in that Part of America Called New-England," Aquidneck Indian Council, 2005



Yotáanit auntau ~ Fire Spirit Speaks

From, "Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittówock in that Part of America Called New-England," Aquidneck Indian Council, 2005



The Fire God, *Yotáanit*, Narragansett religion

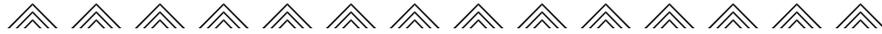
When I argued with them about their Fire-God: can it, say they, be but this fire must be a God, or Divine power, that out of a stone will arise in a Sparke, and when a poore naked *Indian* is ready to starve with cold in the House, and especially in the

¹⁸ Non-Algonquian painting.

Woods, often saves his life, doth dresse all our Food for us, and if he be angry will burne the House about us, yea if a spark fall into the drie wood, burnes up the Country ? (though this burning of the Wood to them they count a Benefit, both for destroying of vermin, and keeping down the Weeds and thickets)".

—Roger Williams [1643], *A Key into the Language of America*, p. 125.

Prayers, singing, dancing and drumming were all used by powahs in those ceremonies; and wherever Native American people gathered there was feasting, socializing and trading. So, the gatherings themselves came to be called Powwows. In addition, today a Spiritual Leader may be called a *Powwas* (probably an inadvertent Anglicization for plural of "powah"). The female counterpart of the male *pauwau* is indicated in the Vocabulary below.



New England Colonial Europeans partially understood some of this Algonquian spirituality. To quote a well-known historic source, Roger Williams, who wrote the following in 1643—

Powwáw ~ A Priest

Powwaûog ~ Priests

These doe begin and order their service, and Invocation of their Gods, and all the people follow, and joyne interchangeably in a laborious service, unto sweating, especially of the Priest, who spends himselfe in strange Antick Gestures, and Actions even unto fainting.

In sickness the Priest comes close to the sick person, and performes many strange Actions about him, and threaten and conjures out the sickness. They conceive that there are many Gods or divine Powers within the body of a man: In his pulse, his heart, his Lungs, &c.

— [Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America*, [1643], p. 127

Roger Williams deserves special recognition. His famous book *A Key into the Language of America* is by far then most useful text on New England Indians in and around Rhode Island. The following image shows him apparently meeting the Narragansett Indians after he was banished from Massachusetts Bay Colony, and he migrated to RI.



Roger Williams sheltered by the Narragansetts. IMAGE ID: 806876, New York Public Library.

The Historical Significance of Drumming, Singing and Dancing

In order to understand the relationship of the Powwow and the drum to the humanities, it is important to provide a brief overview of the Native Peoples of this region and their past.

The origin of the drum in New England Indian culture as an instrument of communication and expression is recounted by one of our more learned Elders, the former Princess Red Wing of the House of Seven Crescents. In the local Algonquian language, the drum, as mentioned, is called *popowuttáhig*, which is derived from the loud popow sound of this instrument when it is played.

Aquidneck Indian Council, Newport, RI <> April, 2005

Origin of the Drum

[As Narrated on audio-tape by Princess Red Wing and Mary Benjamin (© 1986)]



Now, it's a beautiful day today, and I'm reminded of a young Indian who stood on a hilltop with all the glories of nature around him. He felt so good that his heart beat and he heard 1-1-1-1.

And when he realized how close he was to Mother Nature, he settled upon the grass, and he fed from the berries on the bushes, and the fish from the sea, and he heard 1-2, 1-2, 1-2, 1-2.

And he realized everything his eyes beheld —the high trees, the green grass, the hills, the rocks, the rushing waters, and even himself —was created by a good and great and unseen spirit. He heard the heartbeat of the Creator of the universe. He heard 1- 2-3, 1-2-3, 1-2-3, 1-2-3.

As soon as he recognized his Creator, he looked beside him and saw his brother. Then he heard the heartbeat of mankind and he heard 1-2-3-4, 1-2-3-4, 1-2-3-4, 1-2-3-4.

Then he made up his drum and beat out that rhythm. And all of his business meetings and all of his ceremonies are called together by the beat of the drum. And when the drum speaks people come, sit in a circle and are quiet until they are asked to speak.

[From *Wampanoag Cultural History: Voices from Past and Present*, Moondancer ⊗ Strong Woman, Aquidneck Indian Council, 1999, p. 37]



Many years ago the regional indigenous peoples did not have the large drums (*popowuttáhig*¹⁹) one sees at modern Powwows today. However, the significance of communal rituals is well attested from Colonial American sources. To quote once again the Colonial historian Daniel Gookin, Superintendent of the Indians, Massachusetts Bay Colony, who wrote in 1674,

They delight very much in their dancings and revelings; at which time he that danceth ... will give away in his frolick all that he hath, gradually some to one, and some to another, according to his fancy and affection. And then ... another [person] succeeds and doth the like; so successively, one after another, night after night [they do this give away ceremony] ... which are mostly at their harvests.

[From *Wampanoag Cultural History: Voices from Past and Present*, Moondancer ⊗ Strong Woman, Aquidneck Indian Council, 1999, p. 33.]

Still, another observer, Samson Occum (1723-1792), of the Mohegan Tribe wrote:

Naming the Children (Long Island)

They use to make great dances ... They make great preparations for these dances, of wampum, beads, jewels, dishes, and clothing, and liquors, &c. Sometimes two or three families join in naming their children.... When they have got all things ready, they will call their neighbors together, very often send to other towns of Indians, and when they have all got together, they will begin their dance, and to distribute the gifts, and every person that receives the gifts or liquors, gets up and pronounces the name that a child is to be called by, with a loud voice three times. But sometimes a young man or woman will be ashamed to pronounce the name, and they will get some other person to do it. Very often one family will make small

¹⁹ The linguistic analysis of this Narragansett language word suggests to the author—"the thing that goes 'pow-pow', like his heart."

preparations, and call few old people to name a child; and it was common with them to name their children two or three times over by different names, and at different times, and old people very often gave new names to themselves.

[From *Wampanoag Cultural History: Voices from Past and Present*, Moondancer ⊗ Strong Woman, Aquidneck Indian Council, 1999, p. 22.]



Modern Powwows

The Powwow is one of the most meaningful ways in which Native American traditional values and culture can be presented to contemporary peoples, Indian and non-Indian alike. While the colorful and exotic ceremonies may appear to be merely a form of entertainment with unusual regalia, drumming, singing and dancing, the Powwow is a re-enactment of certain spiritual and emotional aspects of the Native American humanity. Through the Powwow, respect is paid and honor given to the forefathers, the elders, and the families, famous American Indians, armed-forces Veterans and historic events. It preserves Native American traditions of sharing, hospitality and generosity, and expresses a hope for a bright future world bound by brotherhood, love and mutual respect for all races and creeds.

The Powwow is a natural bridge bringing together Indian and non-Indian relationships in a modern post-bellum New Millennium setting. Indian dancing and singing can be enjoyed and appreciated by both participants and spectators. Outstanding singers and dancers serve as role models for the youth. The Powwow thus provides one of the principle settings by which these artistic traditions may be learned, valued and preserved. It also is an ideal setting for promoting intercultural exchange. Perhaps the most important part of the Powwow is the drum. It is vital as life to the American Indians and has been likened to the heartbeat of the American Indian people. It must be approached with dignity and respect.

Giving gifts is one way of honoring certain individuals or groups among Indian people. The gesture of giving is far more important than the value of the gift. It is an honor both to receive and to give gifts. The Powwow provides an opportunity for people from different cultures to come together for mutual understanding and friendship, and to keep artistic and cultural traditions alive.

In summary, then, The Drum is the educative *medium*, which allows native Indian people to communicate with the Spirit World in a sacred space. The drum provides for the dancers a means to pray individually, for dancing is a manner of praying. Native peoples dress in their “regalia” which expresses to the outside world their spiritual presence by means of wearing natural objects from the four Kingdoms arranged in a manner that expresses the dancers’ rootedness in his, her history and culture.

Drumming, singing and dancing go way back in the culture to the days of the Algonquian Powah whose ability to influence, tap, or control invisible powers of the world for the benefit or ill of all mankind was accomplished through extraordinary visionary experiences achieved through trances, assisted by drumming, dancing, chanting and sometimes, hallucinogenic drugs.

The general public is educated on these things simply by their presence and instruction from the emcee and Drum Leaders throughout the Powwow.

Events at a Powwow

The Powwows of this region follow a fairly well defined structure, although each has its own beauty and character. A local Native American, Linda Coombs, Director, Wampanoag Indian Program, Plymouth Plantation, Massachusetts, has authored a book on the modern Powwow—*Powwow*. Cleveland, OH: Modern Curriculum Press, Inc., 1992.

The spiritual center of a Powwow is THE CIRCLE²⁰ and in the middle of the CIRCLE burns the fire around which the dancing occurs²¹. The CIRCLE is a place to be respected and honored for it is a sacred place that is blessed by a spiritual leader. The CIRCLE is entered only from the East (where there is an opening) and dancers travel in the same direction as the sun signifying their re-birth and journey of life.

The singing is a gift and praise to the Creator; and the drum is the heartbeat of our People. The singers and drummers together are called THE DRUM.

Sometimes there is a parade through the town like they did in the beginning of Powwows, but now it is the Powwow participants usually just into the arena. Everyone is asked to stand as flags such as the US flag, the tribal flag and the Powwow flag are brought in, carried by veterans. The US flag is a symbol of both the ancestors who fought against the US and is also a portrait that they are now a part of the country²². Behind them the tribal chiefs, princesses, elders and the Powwow organizers follow. Next in line are the male dancers and finally the female dancers who bright up the rear. When everyone is in place, they give credit to the veterans and the flag with a song, say a prayer, and only then does the dancing begin.

Ceremonies start with a GRAND ENTRY of the dancers to pay respects to our Creator and to greet one another. Honoring songs and dances for veterans and our ancestors follow. The Grand Entry begins all powwows. It is the important first song, bringing all the dancers into the arena. The dancers enter in a certain order, often as follows: Flag bearers first, and then Head dancers, veterans, royalty, men's Northern Traditional, Southern Traditional, Women's Northern, Women's Southern, Grass dancers, Jingle, Men's Fancy, Women's fancy shawl, and then the children.

Many types of dances at the Powwow are seen, such as Honor dance, Round Dance, Crow Hop Dance, Men's & Women's Traditionals, Intertribals, and many more. When an "Intertribal" or "Round Dance" is announced, everyone—Native and non-Native alike—is invited to participate. Other key elements, besides the dance itself, are songs and the drum. Without these, the dancer would lose the backbone, so to speak, of the dance.

Throughout the Powwow may be an Honor Song. An Honor Song is sung for individuals for different reasons. For example, one may have performed honorable service for one's Nation, Tribe, community, or one may have just graduated, lost a loved one, gained a new family member, or is starting a new style of dance. During this song and dance, no audio or visual recording of any kind is allowed. After the dancer and his or her family and friends encircle the arena once, everyone is invited to come in and pay their respects, and then take their place behind them to finish the dance.

²⁰ Notice the similarities in geometric shape of a circle



and THE CIRCLE, *qua* a circle, and the right-

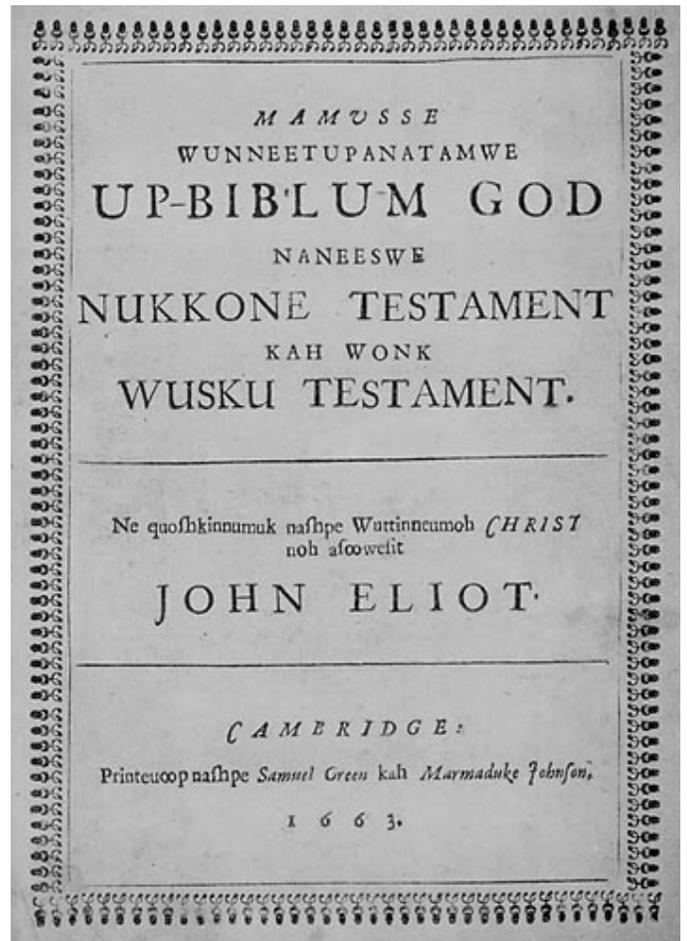
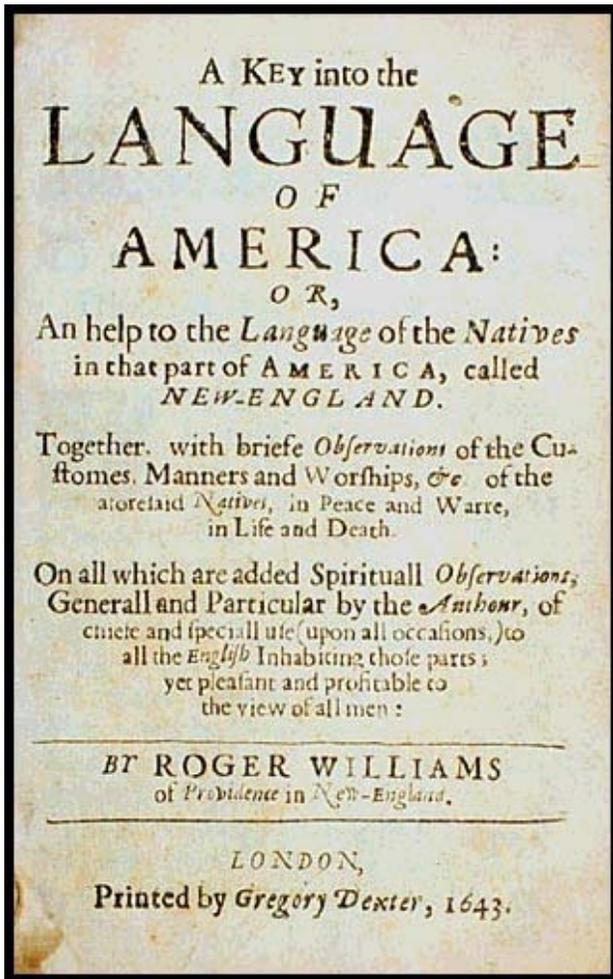
cylindrical shape of a drum , which is a set of concentric circles layered in three-dimensional space.

²¹ In ancient times the village fire (*Yòteg* or *Nòteg*) burned 365 days a year (Bragdon, 1996).

²² See <http://www.defenselink.mil/specials/indianheritage/>

“Giveaways” usually go hand-in-hand with Honor Songs. Gifts of any size are given for any of a number of reasons. Maybe apparently for no reason at all, just to give. Gifts are often given to complete strangers, which not only make the giver feel good, but also shows their generosity. If an individual does not have much money, his or her family and friends will donate gifts.





Figures above—Facsimile title pages of John Eliot’s 1663 *Bible* (R) and Roger Williams’ 1643 *A Key* (L)—the main primary sources for the following brief Dictionary of Powwow terms. [From *Understanding Algonquian Indian Word*, 2001, by permission of the Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Univ. of Pennsylvania]



INDIAN VOCABULARY

The powwow-related vocabulary words below are taken primarily from the extinct American Indian Algonquian languages of southeastern New England, Narragansett and Massachusetts. Each language had different local dialects, which were mutually intelligible.

Language and cultural references and sources are given lastly. One important document (Trumbull's *Natick Dictionary*, 1903) is available on the Internet as a PDF document (can view book as it is written). In addition, it has been brought to my attention recently that many Algonquian language texts are now available (as ASCII files; not as originally written) at the following address: <http://www.people.umass.edu/aef6000/Texts/Algonquian/Algnqn.html>. The Goddard & Bragdon (1988) 2-volume work is important for linguistic theory.

The following vocabulary listing is presented alphabetically as a table of three columns. On the left is the English language term being translated, as translated in the middle column (with language/dialect identified except for Massachusetts dialects), and any useful comments on the right side (including etymology²³). Numerous footnotes are provided to enhance understanding of the Algonquian vocabulary/grammar, taken mainly from the author's *Introduction to the Narragansett Language* (abbreviated, *Intro. Narr. Lang.*), and *Indian Grammar Dictionary for N-Dialect*. (abbreviated, *Ind. Gram. Dict.*)

The main contributing languages are Massachusetts²⁴ (John Eliot, Josiah Cotton and James H. Trumbull [1903] references) and Narragansett (Roger Williams).

The abbreviation "Narr." refers to the Narragansett language as recorded by Roger Williams (1643). The abbreviation "Cotton" refers to the 18th cent. manuscript of Josiah Cotton (Massachusetts language-Plymouth dialect). "Pequot" references the 1904 glossary of Prince & Speck. The abbreviation "Wm. Wood" refers to the vocabulary compiled by William Wood in 1634. William Wood wrote an expository work of his 17th century experiences in the New World, entitled *New Englands Prospect*, which summarized his experiences among the *Massachusêuck* (Massachusetts Indians, "People of the Great Hills). The abbreviation "Native Spelling" means we quote old, original writings of Wampanoag Indians (compiled in Goddard and Bragdon, 1988). "Reconstructed" refers to the authors guess or hypothesis. The WWW address <http://www.etymonline.com/> is a reference to an online etymology dictionary.

Typically, words with diacritical marks such as "ˆ", "ˊ" &c indicate vocabulary word from Cotton's *Vocabulary* manuscript (Plymouth dialect of Massachusetts language), and those without such accent marks are most likely from the highly similar Natick dialect in J. Eliot's *Bible* (and in Trumbull's *Natick Dictionary*, 1903), unless specified in brackets as arising from ["Narr."], ["Pequot"] or ["Wm. Wood"].

Pronunciation of individual words is not attempted at this time owing to the scanty knowledge of this language²⁵. For technical guidelines, see Goddard & Bragdon (1988). The

²³ For "spirit names," see the author's "Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittôwock in that Part of America Called New-England," 2005, Aquidneck Indian Council. For prayers, see "Algonquian Prayers And Other Miscellaneous Algonquian Indian Texts," 2005, Aquidneck Indian Council.

²⁴ John Eliot translated the entire Old & New Testament of the Christian Bible into the Boston-region Natick dialect of the Massachusetts (or Wampanoag) language, the first such translation in America.

author has completed recently a brief paper on the spellings-sounds in the regional languages. See “Guide to Historical Spellings & Sounds in the Extinct New England American Indian Languages Narragansett-Massachusetts,” 2005, Newport, RI, Aquidneck Indian Council. Future works will focus on topical vocabularies for other areas.

My personal interest and commitment to this fugitive area of research has always been guided by my spiritual vision, which I have put as a poem:

On What American Indians Want Today

They want to dry the tears that drowned the Sun
They want laughter to return to their hearts
They want to go home—to Mother and Grandmother
They want to hear their Ancestral Voices ‘round the Fire

—Moondancer, *Wampumpeag* (1996). Newport, RI: Aquidneck Indian Council.

While Mastagoitch still dwells within my aging heart, I will continue to sing the praises of the Great Spirit and God Almighty.



²⁵The author has created his own “style” of word pronunciation, based on 10 years of lone-wolf effort. My extinct Massachusetts-Narragansett pidginized “dialect” is largely intuitively-derived, and based on (A) several paradigms of “similar” “living” Algonquian languages (Maliseet [Tobique Reserve], Western Abenaki and Munsee Delaware, abstracted from fluent speakers and listening to Internet wave files), and (B) the works of Aubin (1972), Goddard (1981 &c) and Goddard and Bragdon (1988), to mention a few scholarly works studied. But, because no living speakers now exist, it is impossible to validate the correctness of the reconstruction. The PBS documentary, “Mystic Voices: The Story of the Pequot War,” [<http://www.Pequotwar.com/>] allowed a test of this hypothetical reconstruction. It met with mixed reaction from the local Indian community, although my Maliseet friends of Tobique Reserve could follow about “one-half” of it [I thank my friend Edward ___ of Tobique for his assistance patience guidance at The Aquidneck Indian Council]. A compact disk (CD) containing the written-spoken translations for “Mystic Voices” have been donated to various regional historical societies, such as the Rhode Island Historical Society Library.

—Powwow Speech—

In Historical and Reconstructed Narragansett
American Indian Language²⁶
2000 Rhode Island Indian Council Powwow,
Roger Williams Park, Providence, Rhode Island



ENGLISH	NARRAGANSETT
Greetings	as cowequáassin
Today I speak Indian	nutteenàntowam anamakeésuck
I am called Waabu ²⁷	ntússaweitch Waabu
We welcome all tribes !	yeuyeu neenáwun wunnégin wáme ninnimissinûwock !
Listen to me !	kúkkita !
I speak very truly !	achie nonaûmwem !
Let us cease this warring !	aquêtuck !
We gather in peace	kummoúwinneem aquéne–ut
We pray today	nuppeeyauntâmmumun anamakeésuck
The DRUM speaks truly	popowuttáhig wunnaûmwaw naugum
Let the DRUM speak !	popowuttáhig mishaûntowash !
Let the DRUM speak truly !	popowuttáhig nanátowash !
My heart is pure	wunnêtu ntá
Peace !	aquène ²⁸ !
Aho !	aho !



[Powwow Grant Funded by The Rhode Island Council [Committee] for the Humanities/National Endowment for the Humanities, Expansion Arts, a joint program of the Rhode Island Foundation and the Rhode Island Council on the Arts, Rhode Island Indian Council, and Aquidneck Indian Council].

²⁶ Not delivered publicly due to time....

²⁷ Original text read “Moondancer,” former Indian name.

²⁸ More likely a passive verb, “there is a cessation of [intertribal] hostilities” (See Moondancer, et al., *Ind. Gram. Dict.*)

VOCABULARY

(alphabetical)

—At the Powwow—

ENGLISH	ALGONQUIAN (∞ = “oo” as in “food”)	COMMENT
a dress (modern cloth, european)	wâwāmek ²⁹	“garment that wraps around”?
alcohol ³⁰	occape, onkuppe	“firewater”
ancient ways	nukkône mayash	“old paths”
animal skin (tanned), in general	ohk∞ununk ³¹	from “a dressed skin”
animal skin garment, in general	auk∞onk	related to “deer hide”
arrowhead	kôühquodt	“sharp point at end”
bad, naught, or evil	machit [Narr.]	“It is bad, naught, or evil”
bad, he/she is a bad man/woman	machíssu ewò [Narr.]	From mache [matche] = “bad, evil”
bad people, thieves	kamóotakick [Narr.]	-ick, -chick implies the third person plural form—“they who _____”
bad people, liars	pupannouwâchick [Narr.]	
bad people, unclean persons, fornicators (“promiscuous”)	nochisquanónchick [Narr.]	
bad people, idle persons	nanompaníssichick [Narr.]	
bad people, murders	kemineíachick [Narr.]	
bad people, adulterers	mammaúsachick [Narr.]	
bad people, oppressors or fierce ones	nanisquégachick [Narr.]	
bag, my bag	nippêtunck [Narr.]	from pêtunck = “drop in”
basket	manoot	“lifts up, puts on back”
beans, kidney	tuppuhqumash ³²	“they roll or turn”

²⁹ Typically, words with diacritical marks such as “^”, “-” &c indicate the word is from Cotton’s *Vocabulary*, and those without are most likely from J. Eliot’s *Bible* (and in Trumbulls’ *Natick Dictionary*, 1903) unless specified as arising from “Narr.” “Pequot,” or “Wm. Wood”.

³⁰ Aquie wuttâtash ! = “You—do not drink !” [Narr.]. *Aquie* means “do not do” in commands.

³¹ Nouns ending in *-onk -unck* are typically **abstract nouns** (indicating a collection or classification, state of being or action or abstract ideas <justice, love, truth, strength, foods &c.). Try to locate other “abstract nouns.”

³² Plural marker *-ash* on nouns always means the noun is “inanimate”.

bear, black	mosq [Narr.]	“licker”
bear hide	mosquáshunck	reconstructed word
beaver’s hide	tummóckquashunck [Narr.]	“beavers skins”
belt or girdle of wampum (worn around waist, chest or shoulder) ³³	máchequoce [Narr.]	
blanket (see "cloth")	qunnânock	“long covering”
blanket, red	musganute [Pequot]	Reconstructed
blanket, white	wumbanute [Pequot]	
boy	nunkomp	
bow and arrows	ohtomp kah kóuhquodtash	ohtomp = bow, “that which belongs to man”
bracelet	kehtippitténâb	“large thing that remains on the arm”
bread, a cake (or bread) ["long and round thing"]	puttuckqunnége ³⁴ [Narr.]	“round long thing”, made from corn, fruits, etc. Plural form is Puttuckqunnêgunash, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Puttúckqui = “cakes or round loaves”
breechcloat (apron)	aútah (or) aútawhun [Narr.]	from “he, she hides (private parts)”; made of deer skin
cedar	chikkup	“chip”
chief, indian	sachim ³⁵	Sachem, Indian village leader, “Prince” [Indian “chief”]
child’s hide	muckíis áuhaqut [Narr.]	“child’s dress of deer skin”
circle (where we dance)	petúk’qui	“circle, round”
claws (long, as a bears)	onkqunnésog	“long things”
cloak, outer garment, in general	petashqushàonk	related to “round”
cloth (coat, shawl, blanket etc.)	mônak	from “much”
come in !	petites ! [Narr.]	Command to one person
corn [in general]	ewáchimineash [Narr.]	many kinds, colors exist
cradle board	kóunuk	“a carriage”

³³ Possibly something to do with “everlasting” or “long strap”. Can be up to 6 inches in width (about 24-30 beads). Such belts were worn by Sachims and other important people around the arm, waist or shoulder. Such a belt of 1 Fathom long would have about 360 x 30 or over 10,000 beads ! Now, if 3 dark & 6 white beads traded for 1 English penny, then such a belt would be worth from 75-150 English pounds. Other estimates saying 4 beads/inch would mean that such a belt would be worth 56-112 English pounds. How do these figures translate into modern US dollars?

³⁴ *Puttuki* = "(it is) round" (see Ch. VI, p. 7, *Intro. Narr. Lang.*). *Qunni* = "(it is) long, extended". Final *-ge* means "the thing that" ("the thing that is long and round", applied to cakes, breads, etc.)

³⁵ In historic times, Europeans recorded the word "Sagamore". They thought a Sagamore was lesser in rank than a Sachem, but in fact they may have simply misunderstood the language. The Algonquian word *sagimau* means "He is the Sachem". It is this word the Europeans may have heard and mistakenly misinterpreted.

dance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> nüppumükkom [Cotton] kuppümukkom [Cotton] nuppapomukkõmun [Cotton] nuppapomukkõmunnõnup [Cotton] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> dance, I dance or did dance dance, you (singular) dance dance, we dance dance, we danced <p>NOTE: War Dance called: mattwakkâonk</p>
dance, dancers	pummukkõmchick	Dancers, they who dance; Reconstructed from Cotton
dance, war dance	mattwakkâonk	Apque matwâkesh ! = "Dance, do not dance (the war dance)"!, a warning; Cotton, <i>Vocab.</i>
deer	attuck ³⁶ [Narr.]	
deer skin (hide) shirt	acõh [Narr.]	
deer skin (recently cut off)	caúskahunck	from "cut-off skin"?
dish, plate, bowl	õgk	
dog	anúm [Narr.]	"takes hold by mouth", "howls"
drink, I am thirsty	niccàwkatone [Narr.]	Nip <i>or</i> Nipéwese ³⁷ = "Give me some water"
dream catcher ("spider web")	âshâp	not New England item
drum	popowuttáhig ³⁸ [Narr.]	"pow-pow", heart beat of drum sound ; frequentative form
drum, drummers	popowuttáhchick [Narr.]	"they who drum"; reconstructed as third person plural verb, -chick
eat, have you eaten yet ?	as cúmetesímmis ³⁹ ? [Narr.]	
eat, what do you eat ?	teáqua cumméitch ?	
eat, I am hungry	niccattuppúmmin [Narr.]	
eat heartily!	meneehtipwish ! [Narr.]	A command to one person

³⁶ "At the tree" or "he hunts", Also spelled *ahtukq*, *ahuhquog* (plural)—pronounced "ah-tuhkw" (a qu sound like in queen is at end of word). This and many words ending in a k have the kw sound when the plural has this kw sound (one reason it is important to know the plural for a word).

³⁷ The ending *-ese* (or *-wese*, *-s*, etc.) for nouns means "little", "small". Thus, *Nipéwese* means "a little water". But for verbs an ending "-ese" does not mean this; e.g., see Ch. VII, pg. 52: *Cummínnakese* ("You are strong"). The *-ese* here is a part of the conjugation of this verb "strong". Compare also the verb *ntússawese* ("I am called _____"). The pronunciation of *-ese* is probably "ees" (last e is silent).

³⁸ The repetition of the first syllable *po-* is a common feature in the Algonquian Indian languages, referred to as **frequentative** or **reduplication**. It is a way of describing or emphasizing something that is going on repeatedly or habitually. For example, in *Popowuttáhig* ("drum") is one example—emphasizing the repetition of the *popow* sound of a drum. Look for other examples of frequentative nouns in Vocabulary. The middle fragment *-wuttah-* may be "his heart".

³⁹ Three different words are known for "eat". First *meech* (**Type V** verb) means "he eats 'inanimate' food" like fruit & vegetables. *Meech* is used as a transitive, inanimate verb ("he eats it"). Second, the root *moowhau* or *mohowau* (**Type C** verb) means, "he eats that which has life" (including cannibalism); used as a transitive animate verb ("he eats him") as Williams discusses in the text. Lastly, the root *metesi*, *meetzu* (**Type II** verb) means "eats food (in general)"; used as an intransitive, inanimate verb. ("he eats"). Other verbs for "eat" included *cattup* ("hungry") & *assame* ("to feed") & *natup* ("feed, graze").

eagle feather	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wómpissacuk méquin [Narr.] wompsacuskquâog méqununog [Narr.] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> one feather more than one feather, plural on “eagle” & “feather”
earring	sogkussohou	from “catches hold of, cuts”
englishman’s waistcoat	pétacaus [Narr.]	from “round, little”?
fan (feathers)	mequnne wunnūppoh	“feathered tail”
feather	méquin	“long, firm thing”
feathers	méqununog	
fire (in circle)	yóte [Narr.]	“this thing of life,” basis for “Fire Spirit” = Yotáanit
fire, Let’s build a great one !	maumashinnaunamaûta ⁴⁰ ! [Narr.]	Let us make a good fire !
fire-log	quttōw	
fire-wood	mishash [Narr.]	
fire, let us make a fire	potouwássiteuck [Narr.]	
fire, light a fire!	wequanántash ⁴¹ ! [Narr.]	
fish	naumaûs ⁴² [Narr.]	Fish in general
friend, my friend	nétop [Narr.]	Netompaûog = “my friends”
flint (to make fire)	môshipsk	“iron stone”
food	meetsuonk	Abstract noun
fox	wonkquássis	“circler” <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mishquáshim^{43, 44} = “A red fox” [Narr.] Péquawus^{45, 46} = “A gray fox” [Narr.]
gift, a gift, gifting	mag∞ónk	abstract noun; gift, conveyance

⁴⁰ We see root *-mash* = “big,” and perhaps the first two syllables *mauma* suggest the “frequentative” or emphatic function (perhaps iterative action of piling on the wood for the fire). We don’t see a root/stem for fire, so we assume the word means “let’s make a very big one”.

⁴¹ For some verbs, ending *-ash* is a command to one person (see authors’ *Intro. To the Narr. Lang.*)

⁴² “Water animal”. Look for the root for “fish” (*-am-* & *-aum-* & *-om-*) which implies fishing with a hook. A general term for large fish in Natick is *mogkam*, plural=*mogkommaquog* (*mogke* = “great, large”). In Pequot, “little fish” is *peamaug*; plural adds a *-suck* (Prince & Speck, 1904). “Fish of the sea” is *kehtahnanaquog* (recall *kitthan* is “the sea”). Other terms for fish are in author’s, *Intro. To the Narragansett Language*.

⁴³ “mihs-KWAH-shim” (we don’t say “sh” in words with *-sh-* before a consonant). Roger Williams mentions a black fox (no name recorded) which the natives prized and adored but could rarely catch. Perhaps one way to say “black fox” is *moáshim* (literally, “black animal”) modeled on the form for “red fox”; plural *mooshimwock*.

⁴⁴ “Red animal”. Plural is *mishquáshimwock*.

⁴⁵ Plural is *Pequáwussuck*. Why not said *pequáshim*, we do not know, but perhaps it is from another dialect; for example, in Pequot we see *mucks* for “wolf” (derived from *mogkeóaa*s, meaning “great animal”, where *-eoaa-* is not spoken in the Pequot dialect). Different tribes sometimes had different names for the same animals; rivers, etc. even though they spoke closely related dialects of the same language.

⁴⁶ *-awus* = “animal”. *Wonkus* is a Natick word for “fox” (“he doubles, winds” + “animal”). This is the name of the family Uncas of the Mohegans (Speck, 1928). *Wonkus* was used to describe King Philip and his tactics— attack and double back.

gift, he gifts	magou (mag [∞])	of giving, gift (“he gives, offers, presents”); e.g., mag [∞] mag [∞] ónk = “he gives offerings”; e.g., nummag = “I offer, give”.
girl, a little	squásese ⁴⁷	
good	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wunni [Narr.] • wunnêtu [Narr.] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is good • He/she is good, proper, right <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Wunnêtu nittà⁴⁸ = “My heart is good (true)”
gourd, flask	asq	
gourd, a long one	quon [∞] ask	"a long vessel"
grandfather, my	nummissoomis	Native spelling
grandmother, my	nokummus	
Great Spirit	keihtanit ⁴⁹	
Great Spirit, I offer this tobacco	keihtanit, nummag ne wuttamâuog	
girl	nunksqua	
gun (old flintlock)	péskunck [Narr.]	“thunder stick”
gun powder (for flintlock)	saûpuck [Narr.]	“lights up”
handsome, it is very handsome	weneikinne [Wm. Wood]	Probably from root “-wunni-” = “it is good, fair, pleasing, handsome”
hatchet, tomahawk (see “warclub”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • chichêgin [Narr.] • tockucke [Wm. Wood] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “pierces, penetrates” • see “warclub”
hawk	wushówunan ⁵⁰ [Narr.]	
hawk feather	mashquanon méquin	long-tailed hawk
hawk feathered-fan	mashquanon mequnne wunnūppoh	long-tailed hawk
hawk feathers	mashquanonnog méqununog	long-tailed hawk
headdress (one type, feathered-fan)	onkqueekh [∞]	“that which covers the face”
he cooks, roasts meat	apwou	

⁴⁷ “Little squaw”.

⁴⁸ A very solemn expression among Indian peoples—the ultimate promise that the truth is being told. Indians did not lie.

⁴⁹ The “Great Spirit” is *Kautan* (*Kiehtan*, *Keihtanit*; “chief, greatest”). The southwest is the origin and final resting place of Indians in old traditions. Roger Williams was told about 37-38 names for spirits. He records only about 12. For other (hypothesized) names, see “Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittówock in that Part of America Called New-England,” 2005, Aquidneck Indian Council. For prayers, see “Algonquian Prayers And Other Miscellaneous Algonquian Indian Texts,” 2005, Aquidneck Indian Council.

⁵⁰ Imitative sound? Other names included *mashquanon* (“large or long tail”); *owôhshaog* (imitative sound?).

hello, greetings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> quay as cowequáassin⁵¹ [Narr.] as cowequassunnúmmis⁵² [Narr.] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> quay is from Abenaki and other northern Algon. langs. See <i>Intro. To the Narr. Lang.</i> for derivation See <i>Intro. To the Narr. Lang.</i> for derivation
herbs	maskituash [Narr.]	
holy, sacred	peantamwe [Cotton]	Related to “pray”
holy man, see “MEDICINE MAN”		
hoof	moohkos	“smooth, sharp”
horn, animal antler	weewen	“curved”
hungry, I am hungry	niccattuppúmmín [Narr.]	•
Indians ⁵³	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> nnínnuock⁵⁴ [Narr.] ninnimissinnûwock⁵⁵ [Narr.] eniskeetompâûwog⁵⁶ [Narr.] Aberginian [Wm. Wood] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People of our Tribe⁵⁷ (“human beings”); see “tribesman”= ninnu Indian People not of our tribe⁵⁸ Indians in general “an Indian,” uncertain derivation ?

⁵¹ Rearranged spelling to show verb "cowequáassin".

⁵² The ending *-mis* may be the question form; perhaps meaning "Is your light (spirit) still shining?" It may also indicate the **Passive Voice** (see the *Ind. Gram. Dict.*). In Pequot (*co*)*wequassin*, translated "good morning," seems to mean "may you live happily" (from *week* = "sweet"). So, *As cowequáassin* may mean "may you continue to live happily ('sweetly')"

⁵³ “Indian” is applied to the native inhabitants of the Americas from at least 1553, on the mistaken notion that America was the eastern end of Asia. *Red Indian*, to distinguish them from inhabitants of India, is first attested 1831, but not commonly used in N.Amer. More than 500 modern phrases include *Indian*, most of them U.S. and most impugning honesty or intelligence, e.g. *Indian giver*, first attested 1765 in *Indian gift*: "An Indian gift is a proverbial expression, signifying a present for which an equivalent return is expected." [Thomas Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, 1765]; Meaning "one who gives a gift and then asks for it back" first attested 1892. WWW online etymology dict.

⁵⁴ From Author's *Intro. To the Narragansett Language*. Original text in *A Key* reads *Ninnuock*. The ending *-ock* (or *-ag* or *-uck* with a connective "glide" pronounced as "y" or "w") makes words plural (more than one) for the type of noun referred to as "animate" (creatures that are alive and move) plus others we can't understand the rule for at this time. The ending *-ash* is the plural for "inanimate nouns".

⁵⁵ *Missin* = "other *nmin* (captive people, inferior men)". Double consonants in the middle of a word (like nn in *Nnínnuock*, or hh, gg, ss, in other words, etc.) are pronounced like one letter—just as we do in English; for example the word "supper" is said with one "p" sound. Also, note that in Narragansett, the stress or emphasis in a word falls where we see any of the three stress marks used by Roger Williams—

- á
- à
- â (and so on for the other vowels—e, i o, u);
 - Aubin (1972) believes these diacritical marks are used indiscriminately.

So, for *Nnínnuock*, we might say "Nuh-NIH-nuh-wahck" with the "i" as in "hit" (the stress is on the second syllable NIN because that's where we see the stress mark). Often the cluster *-uock* seems to insert a "w" for speech ("wahck") (called a "glide").

⁵⁶ *Skeétomp* ("SKEE-dahb") = "a man", a common Algonquian word used among surviving languages like Maliseet. Some believe the word, *Eniskeetompâûwog*, means "original surface-dwelling people" (Iron

infant	papoòs [Narr.]	“papoose”
I, you, he (she)	neèn, keèn, ewò ⁵⁹ [Narr.]	
jewel, precious thing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nompakou + nash • numpakou + nash 	Singular + plural forms
kettle [traditional]	aúcuck ⁶⁰ [Narr.]	“earth thing”
knife	pennêtunck [Narr.]	only one type; maybe old style—rounded stone blade, wood handle
knife, very sharp	kenequog	
knife, two-edged	eiassunk	
knife-sheath	pechehuogkunk [Narr.]	“what he puts knife into”
leader	negonshâchick ⁶¹ [Narr.]	War leaders in battle
leggings	muttâssah	J. Cotton; also for "sandals"
love, I love you	cowâmmaunsh [Narr.]	
love, he/she loves you	cowammaûnuck ⁶² [Narr.]	
love, you are loving	cowâmmaus [Narr.]	•
man	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sanomp • skeetomp [Narr.] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unmarried ? • common Algonquian word, such as in Maliseet
medicine	mosketu	For plural, add -wash
Medicine Man	powwaw ⁶³ [Narr.]	A priest
medicine men (plural)	powwâuog [Narr.]	Priests (Shaman, Medicine people) [plural]
Medicine Man	taúpowaw ⁶⁴ [Narr.]	“Wise men and old men”
Medicine Man, the priest is curing him	powwâw nippétea ⁶⁵ [Narr.]	

Thunderhorse, 2000). *Wosketomp* is a similar word suggesting a "young warrior; (*woskehtau* = "harms or destroys" with perhaps root *-wash-* = "young." The key root is *-omp* = "free, unbound".

-wash- = "young." The key root is *-omp* = "free, unbound".

⁵⁷ “Those like us”; “We are all alike”. [*nmin* = "people, human beings of our tribe"]

⁵⁸ “Those not like us”.

⁵⁹ When a comma is used, the English translation is given in the same order (*Neèn* = "I," *keèn* = "you," *ewò* = "he, she."); *ewò* is often used for "him".

⁶⁰ Plural is *Aúcuckquock*. It seems this is one of the few words of its class (tools, instruments) that is "animate" in all of the related Algonquian languages (Trumbull, 1876, "Algonkin verb", p. 149). *Aúcuck* may be animate because in a kettle, so much is going on at once—all of the spirits of the natural, preternatural and supernatural worlds (air, wood, fire, stone, water) join together in the process of making food and fire for life.

⁶¹ “They who lead, are in front”.

⁶² **Objective-Indicative Mode**, I-You (singular), animate transitive verb (cf. Goddard & Bragdon, 1988).

⁶³ These words are next to impossible to define precisely since English and European dictionaries, meanings, and concepts dominate our culture. The term relates to analogous concepts such as—Shaman, Holy Man, Medicine Man, Healer, Priest, Prophet, Wise Man, Philosopher. Other words derived from Natick are *pauwâsq* (female priest) and *kehtepowwaw* & *kehtepowwawsq* (male and female “Chief Priest”). The word *Powwaw* has something to do with “knowledge, being wise, speaking the truth”; “holy” in some dialects. We get our modern day word POWWOW from this word. The English hated and were afraid of the Powwaw, calling them “devils”; their spiritual ceremonies became outlawed. A Powwaw was fined 5 Pounds (?) in Massachusetts Bay Colony for practicing their religion! One can only imagine what happened to those refusing to abandon their religion altogether. Compare with *Taupowau* below.

⁶⁴ Our modern word "Powwow" is based partly on this word. A "Powwau" is a Holy Man.

Medicine Man		
Medicine Man, great Medicine Man		See footnote on "Powwaw"
medicine woman	pauwauusq	Pauwauusquog = " Medicine women", plural
medicine woman, great medicine woman		See footnote on "Powwaw"
metal (iron) chain	mowâshak sausakkintumūuk	"black metal (iron) thing around neck"
moccasins	mocússinass [Narr.]	related to "chew" (to keep soft)
money	monêash ⁶⁶ [Narr.]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nitteaûguash = "My money",⁶⁷ Monêquand = "The God of Money" (reconstructed with semi-humorous intent for those who worship money as a god and end in itself)
money, I will pay you	cuppàimish ⁶⁸	
moose, skin	moôse [Narr.]	Moòs = "a Moose"; "he trims, smoothes (trees)"
mother earth, land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ohke aûke [Narr.] 	from " my mother"
name, what is your name ? [how are you called?]	tocketussawêitch ? ⁶⁹ [Narr.]	
name, I am called _____ [my name is_____].	ntússawese ⁷⁰ [Narr.]	
name, what is his name ? [how is it called?]	tahéna ⁷¹ ? [Narr.]	

⁶⁵ Perhaps something to do with "entering inside" (-pet-) the body (some powwows sucked out things from the body; see Bragdon, 1996).

⁶⁶ Derived from English word "money" + plural -ash.

⁶⁷ I.e., my valuables such as furs, skins, blankets, wampum, tobacco, etc.

⁶⁸ Based on English word for "pay".

⁶⁹ -itch suffix is confusing, appearing to be **Subjunctive** verb for nondirect inquiry. For *Tocketussawêitch*, the verb is underlined (*ketussawêitch*). When we add the "what" (pronounced *tah* or *taa*) to the verb, it sounds in speech like—*tocketussawêitch*. Williams often blends the verb with other words, we assume, because that's how it sounded to him. But, to understand the grammar, we must be able to pick out the verb. See the next entry, *Taantússawese* where we have underlined the verb (*ntússawese* = "my name is ____"). *Taa* means "what" as mentioned earlier. The next entry teaches us that *ntússawese* means "I am called ____" ("My name is ____").

⁷⁰ In the verb *ntússawese*, the final *e* is probably silent because similar dialects don't have an *e* for this type of word. Why Williams wrote words with letters not pronounced, we can only guess at, but in English a number of words have final *e* not said (drove, home, gone, etc.). So, *ntússawese* may be said as "nuh-DUH-sah-wees". A silent *e* also occurs on other words that end in -ese & -emes such as *nipèwese* ("a little water"). Words like *wuttòne* (said "wuh-DOON") have silent *e*. But other words (usually adjectives and other modifiers) do say final *e* such as *wâme* ("WAH-mee") & *aquie* ("ah-KWEE"). We think many (most?) words do not say the final *e*, except for adjectives, adverbs and one **Objective-Indicative** verb. This problem of "silent e" is one of the issues challenging us in the recovery of the language.

⁷¹ *Ta* means "what" in this and the next two lines. The verb follows upon *ta*. Perhaps **Passive Voice, Type II** ("How is he called?")

name, what is the name of it ?	tahossowêtam ? [Narr.]	What is the name of it ?
necklace	naumpacoûin	“to hang around the neck”
news, what news do you have ?	tocketeaunchim ? [Narr.]	Root/stem for this word is <i>aunchemok</i> (“He tells of himself; He Narrates his experiences”; “News”)
otter’s hide	nkéquashunck [Narr.]	“otters skins”; Nkèke ⁷² = “an otter” [Narr.]
painted (as designs on a hide)	wussuckhósu [Narr.]	from “write” or “say”
peace	wunnohteakonk	Abstract noun from wunni- = “it is good”; <i>wunnóhteahuau</i> = “he makes peace”—the peace maker)
peace	aquène ⁷³ (Narr.)	Still used today (“Ah-KWEH-nee”); from <i>ahque</i> = “not do something”; the modern term used by Native peoples
peace place, treaty camp	aquène ut (Narr.)	e.g., aquinnah = “peace camp”
pray, I am praying	nuppeeyaûntam ⁷⁴ [Narr.]	
pray, he is praying	peeyaûntam [Narr.]	
pray, they are praying	peeyaûntamwock [Narr.]	
pray, we are praying	kuppeeyaûntamumun [Narr.]	Reconstructed with Natick grammar
pure, my heart is pure	wunnêtu nittâ ⁷⁵ [Narr.]	My heart is good (true)
quahogs ⁷⁶	poquaûhock [Narr.]	
quiver for arrows	petan	“he puts into”
raccoon hide	mohéwonck [Narr.]	Aûsup ⁷⁷ = “a Raccoon”
rattle (gourd)	asq	
red painting on face, body, clothing, etc.	wunnàm [Narr.]	

⁷² “He scratches, tears”.

⁷³ “Peace is perhaps not the best translation, for this word seems to be a verb, a passive verb, with meaning, “there is a cessation of hostilities”

⁷⁴ The word comes from *pee-* (“small”) and *-auntam* (“minded”). Hence, praying is making oneself humble or “small minded” before the Creator.

⁷⁵ A very solemn expression among Indian peoples—the ultimate promise that the truth is being told. Indians did not lie.

⁷⁶ The dark purple wampum beads from this quahog shell were worth 3 to the English penny, or twice the value of the white beads. Research has shown that about 5 beads made one inch of wampum or 1 Fathom (6 ft.) of 360 beads (a single row). Some estimates say 330 beads made up 1 Fathom (in Haupmann & Wherry, 1990).

⁷⁷ “Hold with hands”; “face washer”?

ribbon shirt	black.....	m∞anak	names derived from above word—mōnak— plus names for colors Note: these words may be used to describe a ribbon shirt—a red ribbon shirt is called— músquonak &c
cloth colors	purple/ dark.....	súckanak	
	red.....	músquonak	
	white.....	wómponak	
	blue.....	∞nôagk	
	green.....	ash´kanak	
	yellow.....	wésanak	
	whitish (gray, etc.)...	wompequáhyi	
ring		pehtehhennutchab	
roast the meat!		appooish weyaus [Narr.]	Command
shoe string		mattokqu ∞nnape	“long string”
sing, he sings songs		unn∞ham	nunn∞ham = “I sing”
sing, they sings songs		n∞hamwock	reconstructed
sit down by the fire !		máttapsh yóteg [Narr.]	polite Command
sleeping		• cōwêwi [Narr.] • cōwêwock [Narr.]	• he/she is sleeping now • they’re sleeping
small smooth stones		m∞se quussuckquanē sash	literal translation
snake		askùg ⁷⁸	• Móaskug ⁷⁹ = black snake • Sések ⁸⁰ = Rattlesnake
spirit, it is a spirit		manittóo ⁸¹ [Narr.]	
spirit, “god”		manit ⁸² [Narr.]	
spirit, great spirit		cawtántowwit & cautántouwit	The Great Spirit <i>or</i> The Place of the Great Spirit (in the Southwest→sowanniyeu)
spirits, “gods”		manittówock [Narr.]	
spirit, the great spirit is angry with me?		nummusquanamúckqun ⁸³ manit? [Narr.]	
spirit, the great spirit smiles		manit wunniyeu	Great Spirit is happy
spirit, the great spirit is angry		musquàntum manit [Narr.]	

⁷⁸ Related to “raw, slimy”. Plural, *askùgog*.

⁷⁹ “Black” + “snake”. Plural, *moaskugog*. This word shows the process of combining two or more words into one word with the individuals words becoming contracted. *Moaskug* comes from “he is black” (*mowêsu*) + “snake” on previous line. The word *mowêsu* became contracted or shortened to *mo*. Thus, to construct a word “red snake”, we take animate form for “red” (*mishquêsu*) + snake, or *mishquáskug*. The most difficult aspect of analyzing compound words is locating the original contracted words; sometimes but a single letter representing the original root; cf. derivation for “cattle,” p. 102 or p. 144, “You will be hanged” in *Intro. Narr. Lang*.

⁸⁰ Imitative sound of tail-rattling. Said “SEE-sek^w”, the root word is *s-s-k* (where the—means letters go there to complete a word); plural, *sesekquáog*.

⁸¹ The Indian word is *mannitoo-oo*; the first two syllables mean “spirit”; the latter asserts the true existence of its being (“it is !”); from—Experience Mayhew (1722), “Observations on the Indian Language” (p. 15). Roger Williams was told about 38 names for spirits. He records only about 12 in *A Key* (1643). See the author’s “Prolegomena to Nukkône Manittówock in that Part of America Called New-England,” 2005, Aquidneck Indian Council.

⁸² Some say pronounced either “mah-nuh-doo” or “muhn-DOO”.

⁸³ Perhaps of form “He, she-us”; see Hagenau M.A. Thesis, 1962; Normalized Narr. He, she-me form is n’***uck (see *Ind. Gram. Dict.*)

spirit, evil spirit	matche manit	
spear or pole	qunutugk	“long wood”
spearhead	kenompsk	“sharp stone”
squirrel hide	mishannéquashhunck [Narr.]	“red squirrels skins”
stand firm, warriors, fight! [cf. “warrior, veterans”, below]	ayeuhtheáúash !	Famous words of Annawan ⁸⁴ , are still remembered by Native Americans: <i>Iootash !</i> which most likely means literally “You—fight !” (“ah-you-tee- <u>AH</u> -oo-ash) in Natick (interpreted commonly to mean “Stand firm !” but not grammatically correct).
stockings	muttāssh	“feet things”
stranger, foreigners	awaunagassuck ⁸⁵ [Narr.]	Englishmen in <i>A Key</i> (1643)
succotash [beans & corn meal]	m’sickquatash	“to mix” [beans & corn]
summer, it is hot today	kussúttah [Narr.]	It is hot weather
sweetgrass	wékinashquash	From "sweet reeds"; plural word
tail, animal	wussúkquin	“long thing at end”
tired, I am weary (tired)	nsowwushkâwmen [Narr.]	Nkàtaquaum = “I am sleepy”
thank you	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • taubot • taubotnee [Narr.] • taûbotne anawáyea⁸⁶ [Narr.] • taûbotne aunanamêan [Narr.] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "thank you" • “thanks for that”; modern pronunciation • I thank you for your words • I thank you for your love
tobacco, indian [mixed with herbs]	wuttamâuog [Narr.]	“what we smoke”, having very little nicotine
tobacco, will you drink (smoke) tobacco ?	coetop [Wm. Wood]	
tobacco bag	petowwassinug [Narr.]	“round thing hung around neck”
tobacco pipe	wuttamaûgon [Narr.]	“the thing we smoke with” [“truth pipe” to some people]

⁸⁴ King Phillip’s War Captain, said to be in his 70s at this time.

⁸⁵ “Strangers”.

⁸⁶ We seem to see the root/stem *-anawa-* for “speak, words”, so *Taûbotne anawáyea* might mean “Thanks for your words” in the context of the dialogue. Mode is **Subjunctive**, of form *****ean**. “I thank you” in Natick is written *kuttabotomish* (**Objective-Indicative**, **k’***ish**). In Pequot, “TAW-buht-nee” is “thank you” (or “thanks for that” where *ne*= “that”)

tomahawk (see hatchet, war club)		1612, <i>tamahaac</i> , from Algonquian (probably Powhatan) <i>tamahack</i> "what is used in cutting," from <i>tamaham</i> "he cuts." Cognate with Mohegan <i>tummahegan</i> , Delaware <i>tamoihecan</i> , Micmac <i>tumeegun</i> . [online etymology dict.]
tribesman	ninnu	"he is one of us, one of the people of our tribe", from Nnínnuock; see "Indians"
tribes	Nanhigganêuck ⁸⁷ [Narr.]	Narragansetts
tribes	Massachusêuck [Narr.]	Massachusetts Indians
tribes	Wampanoag ⁸⁸	Wampanoag Indians
tribes	Pawkunnawkutts ⁸⁹	Pokanoket Indians
tribes	Cawasumsêuck [Narr.]	Cawsumsett Neck Indians ⁹⁰
tribes	Cowwesêuck [Narr.]	Cowweset Indians
tribes	Quintikóock ⁹¹ [Narr.]	Indians of the long river (Connecticut)
tribes	Qunniapiêuck [Narr.]	Quinnipiac Indians
tribes	Muhhekanêuck ⁹² [Narr.]	Mohegans
tribes	Pequtóog ⁹³	Pequot Indians

⁸⁷ Original text in *A Key* has ~ over the e (as do a number of other words). We use the circumflex ^ throughout the book. The plural ending *-êuck* ("ee-yuhck") is translated (incorrectly) "the people of". The endings *-ock*, *-og* for simple pluralization have the same meaning as *-êuck*. So, *Nanhigganêuck* ("Nah-hih-gah-NEE-yuhck") has been translated, "The People Of The Small Point Of Land". *Massachusêuck* is translated "People of the Great Hills". *Cawasumsêuck* means "People of the Sharp Rock". *Cowwesêuck* means "People Of the Small Pine Place". *Qunniapiêuck* = "People of the long-water place" (quinni-auke-pe) or "People of the place where the route changes". Pequtóog is translated usually "Destroyers". *Muhhekanêuck* means either "The Wolf People" or, in Prince & Speck, 1903, "People of the tide river".

This analysis of a word into its elementary units of root/stems is guided by the principal of *polysynthesis* (see the editor's book, *Understanding Algonquian Indian Words (New England)*). English-language words can be understood in a similar manner; e.g., the words <telescope, telephone, television, telegraph, telegram, telepathy, telemetry> all have in common the Greek root *tele* (far off, at a distance) which goes into these words. The other roots (-scope, -phone &c) all have their individual meanings which when combined with other roots give us new words such as <microscope, periscope, Dictaphone, microphone, &c). Our manner of teaching Algonquian is quite similar to the word-analysis we just presented for English-language words.

⁸⁸ Wôpanâak in modern terminology.

⁸⁹ Colonial spelling (one of many), derived from *pauqu'unahkeet*, meaning "where the land is clear and open".

⁹⁰ Probably Pokanoket/ Wampanoag of Sowams who occupied lands from Sowansett River to Pawtucket River within Cawsumsett Neck in Bristol & Warren, RI.

⁹¹ The recent book by Iron Thunderhorse is a good reference for Indian place names in southwestern New England.

⁹² Adopted and modified from an editorial footnote in *A Key into the Language of America*. Providence, RI: Narragansett Club, 1866 Edition, J. R. Trumbull, Editor. The Trumbull edition has many useful comments from historical sources.

⁹³ These are ancestors of the Modern Pequots, including groups known as Mashantucket, Paucatuck, Eastern Pequot Indians, *inter alia*, in and around Ledyard, Connecticut.

trading place	Paudowaúmset [Pequot-Mohegan]	"small place where we bring in things" • Anaqushaûog = "traders" [Narr.]
let us trade !	anaqushento ! ⁹⁴ [Narr.]	
trade, will you not trade ?	matta ka tau caushana [Wm. Wood]	
turkey feather coat	neyhommaûashunck [Narr.]	"turkeys"
turtle	tœnuppasog ⁹⁵	turtle/tortoises ("he is near water" or "he remains solitary on land")
wampam	wompam ⁹⁶ [Narr.]	White wampum beads collectively • Suckáuhock = "black beads"; "The black money"
wampam, the periwinkle ^{97, 98}	meteaûhock [Narr.]	
warrior, veteran (from one's tribe)	ayeuteanin [Narr.]	"one who fights"; <i>ayeuhteau</i> = "he fights"
warrior, young warrior	wosketomp	Suggesting a "young warrior"; <i>woskehtau</i> = "he harms or destroys" with perhaps root <i>-wask-</i> = "young." The key root is <i>-omp</i> = "free, unbound".
warrior , enemy fighter	matwaûog [Narr.]	Enemy soldiers, warriors; ❖ Chachépissu ⁹⁹ or nishquêtu ¹⁰⁰ = "He is fierce" [Narr.]
war, battle	matwaûonck ¹⁰¹	Abstract noun
warclub	togkunk	sound of contact on skull
warm yourself [by fire] !	awássish ! [Narr.]	Polite command
water to drink	nippe	
way to go	yò aûnta ¹⁰²	Let us go that way
wigwam, wetu	weetu, wetu ¹⁰³ [Narr.]	say "weeteuw" with a "ch" blend

⁹⁴ Narragansett Indians received many items in trade with local English colonists—brass pots, clothing, bells, thimbles, fishhooks, iron axes, knives, awls, hoes, spoons, glass bottles & beads, and, course,—alcohol, that ruinous scourge, the destroyer of Indian dignity and honor, a disease for which we can thank the English and other Europeans. Their guns came from the distant French, and the Mohawk Indians supplied them with the carved stone and wooden pipes.

⁹⁵ Appears as plural (-og & c is plural for "animate" nouns) form although Trumbull (1903) translates it as singular.

⁹⁶ Actually *wampumpeag* is the string or belt or girdle of wampum beads (*-umpe-* = "string"; *-ag* = plural)

⁹⁷ From the stem was obtained "white wampum" beads.

⁹⁸ Or "whelk".

⁹⁹ Akin to "wild" (He is wild); perhaps implying menacing actions.

¹⁰⁰ Akin to "raging" (He is raging), and related to a raging, violent storm.

¹⁰¹ In Natick, the word *matwakkâonk* may mean "war dance" (based on the same root, *matwau*)

¹⁰² Imperative (Us).

wildcat	pussôugh ¹⁰⁴	
wise, he/she is wise	waantam	
wolf, a wolf (in general)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • muchquashim^{105, 106} [Narr.] • mucks [Pequot] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Muchquashimwock = “wolves” [Narr.] • Moattôqus = “A black wolf¹⁰⁷” [Narr.]
wolves hide	natôquashunck [Narr.]	“wolves skins”
woman	squaw ¹⁰⁸	Used in traditional sense
woman’s hide	squáus áuhaqut [Narr.]	“woman’s dress of deer skin”



pakodjteau-un

it is finished, done, completed

¹⁰³ Some believe *wetu* is a verb ("he is at home," "he houses"). The Natick dialect words *weekuwout* or *weekuwomut* are the basis for the English word "wigwam", although Prince (1907) recorded *wigiwam*.

¹⁰⁴ Also, "panther, mountain lion," or animals making a hissing sound— "pussough".

¹⁰⁵ The word is probably said "muh-kwah-shim". One European observer (Josselyn, [1674, 1675], cited in Trumbull 1866 ed. of *A Key*) remarked that there were two types of wolves: one with a rounded ball-foot and one with a flat foot ("deer wolf" because they preyed on the deer). *Moattôqus* (and *noatôqus*—maybe "he feeds on deer") may be the "deer wolf" because we seem to see the root for deer -*attoq-*, -*atoq-*. The final -*us* may be a formative related to the Natick dialect word *ôâas* meaning "animal" or "animate being".

¹⁰⁶ "Animal that eats live flesh". The wolf was the most feared (especially by the English—"emblem of a fierce blood sucking persecutor") and respected animal; a clan animal

¹⁰⁷ Fur much valued by Native peoples. Plural is *moattûquussuck*.

¹⁰⁸ Today a controversial term which many prominent linguists claim is denotatively "harmless"; see Prince & Speck (1904) for another entirely different analysis, as a pejorative word, stemming from "prepuce" → c.1400, from O.Fr. *prepuce*, from L. *præputium* "foreskin," possibly from *præ-* "before" + **putos* "penis" (online etymology dict.); also: a similar fold investing the clitoris (Merriam online dict.)

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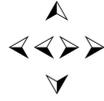
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