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A
VOCABULARY
OF
ROANOKE

From the writings of
Thomas Hariot, John White and Ralph Lane

and including the Pamlico vocabulary of
John Lawson



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Preface to the 1999 Edition

Once lumped together with the Powhatan Indians of the Virginia coast, the Algonquian tribes of North Carolina have in recent years come to be recognized as a cultural entity in their own right. Scholars particularly in the 1800's assumed the Carolina language to be equivalent with or merely a dialect of Virginia Algonquian, but historical testimony by Robert Beverley (1705) indicates otherwise:

“Mr. *Heriot* tells us of several others, which he found at *Pamtego*, and gives the *Indian* Names of them: But that Language being not understood by the *Virginians*, I am not able to distinguish what he means.”

At the time of European contact the Carolina Algonquians inhabited the islands of the Outer Banks and the corresponding areas of the mainland. Because of the scarcity of linguistic records for this region, it is not easy to ascertain exactly which of the tribes mentioned in historical sources belonged to this group. We can certainly include the Roanoke on Roanoke Island and along Alligator creek; the Croatoan along Cape Hatteras, and the Secotan at the mouth of the Pamlico river: all of these were often grouped together by the colonists (Feest 1978). The Pomouik along the Pamlico in the 1580's may be the same people as the Pamlico or Pampticough of 1708-9, and thus Algonquian. The Weapemeoc, north of Albemarle Sound, and the Chawanoke, along the Chowan river, were probably Algonquian, though no sample of their speech

has been preserved. More problematic are the Moratuc at the mouth of the Roanoke river, and the Neusiok along the Neuse river, who could conceivably be Iroquoian (Feest 1978).

It is assumed that Algonquian words collected on the Roanoke voyages are “mainly from the Roanoke, Croatoan, and Secotan dialects” (Feest 1978). This is not to say that the characteristics of these dialects, or even the fact that they *had* any distinct characteristics, are established. But the inference is justified considering these are the three tribes with whom the colonists had the most contact. The term “Roanoke” is used here in this broad linguistic sense, a convenient way to distinguish this variety of Carolina Algonquian from the Pamlico recorded later.

This edition compiles all the linguistic data collected by the talented scientist and scholar Thomas Hariot (sometimes spelled Harriot) from the famed “lost colony” of Roanoke in the 1580’s. Intriguingly, Hariot seems to have compiled a good deal more on the language than is extant today, perhaps even a small dictionary. We know he at least developed a special alphabet for the task, including two letters that were expressly used for unfamiliar Indian sounds (Goddard 1996, p.18). But any such Roanoke materials he prepared have all been lost, and we can today rely only on scattered hints of Hariot’s linguistic work among a few surviving sources.

First and foremost are the Roanoke words given in Hariot’s *A brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, first published as a small quarto edition in Lon-

don 1588, then republished as a folio in Frankfurt 1590. This latter edition was brought to press in Latin, English, French and German editions by Theodor De Bry, the engraver and publisher. It featured a brand new section entitled “The true pictures and fashions of the people in that parte of America now called Virginia” featuring numerous engravings which De Bry had cut himself, based on original watercolors made by the Roanoke colony artist John White.

Facsimiles of both the rare 1588 quarto (Harriot 1951) and the 1590 folio (Harriot 1972) have been published in the last half century. This vocabulary is based on the De Bry folio: the slight discrepancies between the words there and those of the earlier 1588 quarto are marked in the Roanoke—English section.

Also included in this section is an isolated three-word phrase preserved on a Harriot memorandum (additional MS 6788, 417, British Museum; printed in Quinn 1970) of preparations for the 1602 voyage of Samuel Mace, who was sent by Sir Walter Raleigh in search of the Lost Colonists. Amidst a list of supplies needed for the voyage occurs the following line: *What is this. Kecow hit tamen. What is your name*; Harriot seems here to have been refreshing his knowledge of the language as well as preparing himself to learn more of it.

The second major source of Roanoke is a collection of watercolors made by the colony’s artist and cartographer John White, whose artistic abilities marvelously complemented the intellectual gifts of Harriot. White painted vari-

ous native personalities and cultural scenes, as well as Carolina flora and fauna, with a natural accuracy which is appreciated even today.

More interesting from our immediate standpoint are the 41 Algonquian names accompanying the paintings, and occasional further notations which give the relative size of the animal, or identify it with a corresponding species familiar to Europeans. The native names were given to White by Hariot, who describes them as follows:

“Of all sorts of fowle I have the names in the countrey language of four score and sixe, of which number, besides those that be named, we have taken, eaten, and have the pictures as they were there drawen, with the names of the inhabitants, of severall strange sorts of water fowle eight, and seventeene kinds more of lande fowle, although we have seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose, could not be pictured” (Harrison 1964, p. 21).

White’s paintings were the models for Theodor De Bry’s 1590 engravings, although De Bry largely stylized them and brought them more in line with contemporary European tastes. White’s original sketches have been lost but some 2nd and 3rd generation copies (all incomplete) are known. Among the most important of these are the British Museum set painted by White himself, and the so-called Sloane copies “by another and less skilful hand” (Quinn 1955) which Dr. Hans Sloane rediscovered in the possession of White’s descendants sometime before 1709. While the former set may be more artistically important, it is in the Sloane copies that we find the Algonquian lin-

guistic data given here. All told, they provide us with 22 named birds, 15 fish, two reptiles, an insect and one plant.

The text in the Sloane copies was first published in the nineteenth century (Hale 1860a, Hale 1860b) though with a few transcription errors, which have been corrected in this current vocabulary. In this century more accurate transcriptions (Quinn 1955) have appeared, along with color reproductions of the paintings (Hulton 1984).

The Sloane copies can be supplemented slightly by a manuscript of a book prepared by Edward Topsell, the author of the *Historie of four-footed beastes* (1607) and the *Historie of serpents* (1608), the first English translations of volumes 1 and 5 of the *Historia Animalium* by the brilliant Swiss scholar Conrad Gesner.

Topsell's next book was to be called *The Fowles of Heaven*, and in it he was to tackle "the third part of liuinge creatures," namely the birds. He got about a fifth of the way through by 1614; details on subsequent work are sketchy. Legal action, probably by Topsell's son Abel, stopped an unauthorized posthumous edition in 1630; but there is evidence that an authorized edition of a Topsell book on birds was prepared two years later. It is not certain whether this was the *Fowles of Heaven* or some similar work, perhaps like the two previous a simple translation of Gesner. In any case, if publication did go forward all traces of the printed edition are lost, and the single manuscript given to Sir Thomas Egerton, Baron of Ellesmere, is the only Topsell book on birds available to us today (Harrison 1964).

Topsell's manuscript, dated to around 1614, was rediscovered in the 1930's after it had been in the possession of Baron Ellesmere's descendants for three centuries (Swanton 1934). But it was not until the 1950's that it became known that Topsell's watercolors had ultimately come from those of John White.

Happily, two bird paintings that are unnamed in the Sloane copies are given names in Topsell: the female towhee and the oriole. Where they coincide, the Topsell words differ slightly from those preserved in the Sloane copies; but it is harder to know what to make of the few drastically different names for what is pictorially the same bird: *aupseo/jachawanjes*, *aiussaco/quirucquaneo*, *peeáwkoo/chungent*. The editor of a modern color reproduction of Topsell (Harrison 1964) points out that some of these names—not all of them though—are in a different handwriting than the rest of the manuscript, but what implication this has for the words themselves is unclear.

Moreover, not all of the birds in Topsell's manuscript are pictured. There are seven Algonquian bird names listed in the index, their pictures obviously meant to be included later on. At least two of these, *kaiuk* and *poocqueo*, can be easily related to names found in the Sloane manuscript, but the rest of them are more problematic, and at present it is difficult to tell which birds these might pertain to.

Five additional words are preserved in the "discourse" of Ralph Lane—as he himself calls it, though its actual title is *An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia...* It was first published

in a collection by Richard Hakluyt in 1589; a more recent reprinting (Hakluyt 1904) is the version followed here. One can also find Lane's Discourse and several of his letters in Quinn's *The Roanoke Voyages*, pp. 255-294.

Again, we are most probably dealing with the Roanoke dialect, although Lane's travels and contacts are widespread enough that we might well wonder whether he may have picked up some bits of another Carolina dialect.

Most of the words associated with the Roanoke voyages have been analyzed in detail by Rev. James A. Geary in Appendix II of David Beers Quinn's "the Roanoke Voyages" (1955). These include some proper names, and all of the Roanoke words reprinted here excepting those from Topsell and the Mace memorandum. Quinn has identified many of the animals in White's drawings; I have rechecked these identifications with a field guide (Bull and Farrand, 1992) and included notes in brackets where the original definition needs clarification.

The final sample of any Carolina Algonquian dialect was taken over 100 years after the Roanoke voyages; though it is unfortunately not any more extensive than previous documentations. A brief 37 word vocabulary of Pamlico was published in 1709 in John Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina*, along with two somewhat longer vocabularies from the unrelated Tuscarora and Woccon, both of whom lived nearby (see volumes 6 and 7 in this series). Lawson was surveyor-general in the Carolinas and had regular dealings with various tribes until 1711, when he was captured and executed by the Tuscarora.

The Pamlicos, who lived along the Pamlico River of North Carolina, were the most southerly tribe of Eastern Algonquian descent. Lawson refers to them as the “Pampticough”, which we find in later sources Anglicized into Pampticoke or Pamlico. There is little description given of them aside from the mention of an occasional member of their tribe. Apparently, the Pamlico were a fairly minor tribe: Lawson attributes to them only the town of “Island” and 15 warriors, compared with the Tuscaroras’ 15 towns and 1200 warriors. It is somewhat difficult to ascertain how different the Pamlico dialect was from that of Roanoke, since there is little overlap between the words preserved in each, but “there is no reason to presume that they do not represent the same dialect, or dialects of the same language” (Goddard 1978).

No further linguistic data from the Carolina Algonquians was taken, and their language died out completely sometime in the 1700’s (Goddard 1978). Even by collecting all the linguistic scraps available to us, the amount of documentation of the language remains quite small—but as often happens in poorly known languages, any small amount of documentation takes on a much greater significance than it otherwise would have had. We cannot go beyond what the passage of time has left for us to study, so we are motivated instead to more greatly treasure what little has been preserved.

— Claudio R. Salvucci, series ed.

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Of the nature and manners of the people

It resteth I speake a word or two of the natural inhabitants, their natures and maners, leaving large discourse thereof untill time more convenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared; but that they shall have cause both to feare and love us, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of Deere skins, & aprons of the same rounde about their middles; all els naked; of such a difference of statures only as wee in England; having no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend us withall, neither know they how to make any: those weapons that they have, are onlie bowes made of Witch hazle, & arrowes of reeds; flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither have they any thing to defend themselves but targets made of barcks; and some armours made of stickes wickered together with thread.

Their townes are but small, & neere the sea coast but few, some containing but 10. or 12. houses: some 20. the greatest that we have seene have bene but of 30. houses: if they be walled it is only done with barks of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed upright and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles made fast at the tops in rounde forme after the maner as is used in many

arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes covered with barkes, and in some with artificiall mattes made of long rushes; from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yardes long, and in other some wee have seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the countrey one onely towne belongeth to the government of a *Wiróans* or chiefe Lorde; in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, & more; the greatest *Wiróans* that yet we had dealing with had but eighteene townes in his government, and able to make not above seven or eight hundred fighting men at the most: The language of every government is different from any other, and the farther they are distant the greater is the difference...

—Thomas Hariot, 1588.

ROANOKE — ENGLISH

from Harriot's *Report*

Ascopo, *a kind of tree very like a laurel.*

Cháppacor, *little small roots.*

Coscúshaw, *a kind of root.*

Habascon, *a root of hot taste.*

Kaishúcpenauk, *a white kind of root.*

Kecow hit tamen, *what is this; what is your name.* (Mace)

Kewas, *image of a god, idol.* Quarto **kewás.**

Kewasowok, *images of gods in the forms of men.* Quarto
kewasówok.

Kiwasa, *an idol carved of wood.*

Machicómuck, *temples.* Also **mathicómuck.**

Macócqwer, *pumpkins, melons, and gourds.*

Mangúmmenauk, *acorn of their kind of oak.*

Mantóac, *gods.*

Maquówoc, *a kind of small beast greater than conies.*

Metaquesúnnauk, *a kind of pleasant fruit almost of the
shape & bigness of English pears, but they are of a
perfect red colour.*

Minsal, *small beads of smooth bone.*

Okeepenauk, *a kind of root of round shape, found in dry
grounds.*

Okindgíer, *beans.*

Openauk, *a kind of root of round form, found in moist and*

marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes.

Osámener, *a kind of berry or acorn.*

Pagatowr, *maize.*

Popogusso, *a great pit or hole which is a place of torment after death.*

Pummuckóner, *a kind of berry or acorn.*

Rakíock, *a kind of trees that are sweet wood.*

Sacquenumener, *a kind of berries almost like capers but somewhat greater which grow together in clusters upon a plant or herb that is found in shallow waters.*

Sagatémener, *a kind of berry or acorn.*

Sapúmmener, *a kind of berry or acorn which being boiled or parched doth eat and taste like unto chestnuts.*

Saquenúckot, *a kind of small beast greater than conies.*

Seekanauk, *a kind of crusty shellfish about a foot in breadth, having a crusty tail, many legs like a crab and her eyes in back. Quarto seékanauk.*

Tangomóckonomindge, *a kind of bark or tree.*

Tsinaw, *a kind of root much like that which in England is called the China root.*

Uppówoc, *tobacco.*

Wapeih, *a kind of earth.*

Wasewówr, *an herb.*

Wickonzówr, *peas.*

Winauk, *sassafras.*

Wiróans, *chief lord.* Also **weroans**, **werowans**, **wiroance**.

ENGLISH — ROANOKE

from Harriot's *Report*

Acorn, a kind of, *osámener, sagatémener*. **Acorn of their kind of oak,** *mangúmmenauk*. **A kind of acorn like chestnuts,** *sapúmmener*.

Bark, a kind of, *tangomóckonomindge*.

Beans, *okindgíer*.

Beast, small beast greater than conies, *maquówoc, saquenúckot*.

Berry, a kind of, *osámener, sagatémener*. **A kind of berry almost like capers,** *sacquenummener*. **A kind of berry like chestnuts,** *sapúmmener*.

Bone, small beads of smooth, *minsal*.

Earth, a kind of, *wapeih*.

Fruit, pleasant fruit the shape and bigness of English pears, *metaquesúnnauk*.

Gods, many, *mantóac*.

Gourds, *macócqwer*.

Herb, an, *wasewówr*.

Idol, *kewas*. **Idol carved of wood,** *kiwasa*.

Image of a god, *kewas*, plural *kewasowok*.

Lord, chief, *wiróans, weroans, werowans, wiroance*.

Melons, *macócqwer*.

Pumpkins, *macócqwer*.

Root, a kind of, *coscúshaw*. Little small roots, *cháppacor*.

Root of hot taste, *habascon*. White kind of root, *kaishúcpenauk*. Root of round shape, *okeepenauk*. Root of round form, *openauk*. A kind of a root much like the China root, *tsinaw*.

Peas, *wickonzówr*.

Sassafras, *winauk*.

Shellfish, a kind of crusty, *seekanauk*.

Temples, *mathicómuck, machicómuck*.

Tobacco, *uppówoc*.

Tree, like a laurel, *ascopo*. A kind of trees that are sweet wood, *rakíock*. A kind of bark or tree, *tangomóckonomindge*.

ROANOKE — ENGLISH
from White's watercolors

Aiussaco, *bird* (Topsell). [yellow-shafted flicker. Named **quurúcuaneo** in Sloane MS.]

Arasémec, *fish some 5 or 6 foot in length*. [gar-fish or needlefish]

Artamóckes, *the linguist; a bird that imitates and uses the sounds and tones of almost all birds in the country; as big as a pigeon*. Topsell **artamokes**. [blue jay]

Asanamáwqueo, *bird as big as a goose*. [common loon]

Aupseo, *a bird* (Topsell). [eastern bluebird. Named **jackáwanjes** in the Sloane MS.]

Aushouetta, *a bird* (Topsell). [female rufous-sided or red-eyed towhee. Depicted but unnamed in the Sloane MS.]

Chacháquises, *a woodpecker*. [downy woodpecker]

Chaham, *the herring; 2 feet in length*. [alewife]

Chawankus, *a bird* (Topsell). [oriole, perhaps Northern or “Baltimore” oriole?. Depicted but unnamed in the Sloane MS.]

Chigwusso, *fish some 5 or 6 foot in length*. [channel bass]

Chungent, *a bird* (Topsell). [common loon. Named **peeáwkoo** in Sloane MS.]

Chúwhweeo, *bird something bigger than a blackbird*. Topsell **chuwheeo**. [male rufous-sided or red-eyed towhee]

Chuwquaréo, *the blackbird*. Topsell **chuquareo**. [red-winged blackbird]

Coppáuseo, *the sturgeon, some 10, 11, 12 or 13 foot in length*.

Jackáwanjes, *bird of this bigness*. [eastern bluebird]

Jawéepuwes, *bird somewhat bigger than a duck*. [surf scoter]

Kaiauk, *gull as big as a duck*. Topsell **kaiuk**. [undepicted in Topsell]

Keetrauk, *fish some 2 & a half foot in length*. [catfish]

Kokohockepúweo, *the lamprey; a foot in length*.

Kowabetteo, *fish some 5 or 6 foot in length*. [gar]

Mamankanois, *butterfly*. [tiger swallowtail]

Manassecnau, *a bird* (Topsell). [undepicted]

Manchauemec, *fish, some a foote in length*. [croaker]

Marangahockes, *fish 3 or 4 foot in length*. [bowfin]

Maraseequo, *woodpecker*.

Masunnehockeo, *the oldwife, 2 foot in length*. [sheeps-head]

Meemz, *bird of this bigness*. [blue-grey gnatcatcher]

Meesquouns, *bird almost as big as a parrot*. Topsell **meesenowns**. [cardinal]

Memeo, *bird as big as a crow*. [pileated woodpecker]

Meméksón, (*lizard*) *a foot in length*. [skink]

Mesíckek, *fish some 5 or 6 foot in length*. [striped bass]

Nahyápuw, *bald eagle*.

Pashockshin, *the plaice; a foot & a half in length*. [flounder]

- Peeáwkoo**, *bird as big as a goose*. Topsell **chungent**.
[common loon]
- Pockway**, *a bird* (Topsell). [undepicted]
- Pocqueo**, *bird bigger than a thrush*. Topsell **poucqueo**.
[thrasher?; undepicted in Topsell]
- Poppogottuweo**, *a bird* (Topsell). [undepicted]
- Quurúcuaneo**, *a woodpecker*. [flicker]
- Qvúnziuck**, *bird of the bigness of a duck*. [red-breasted
merganser]
- Ribuckon**, *fish a foot in length*. [white perch]
- Taráwkow**, *the crane*. Topsell **tarawkow konekautes**.
[sandhill crane]
- Teauh**, *a bird* (Topsell). [undepicted]
- Tesicqueo**, *a kind of snake; which the savages, being roast
or sodden, do eat; some an ell long*. [scarlet king-snake
or milk-snake?]
- Tetszo**, *the mullet; some 2 feet in length*.
- Tummai humenes**, *bird of this bigness*. [grackle]
- Weeheépens**, *the swallow*.
- Weewraamánqueo**, *bird as big as a duck*. [bufflehead
duck]
- Wisakon**, (asclepias?). [milkweed]
- Woanagusso**, *the swan*.
- Wundúñaham**, *the herring; 2 feet in length*. [alewife]

ENGLISH—ROANOKE
from *White's watercolors*

Alewife, *chaham*, *wundúñaham*.

Bass, channel, *chigwusso*. **Striped bass**, *mesíccek*.

Bird [undepicted], *manassecnau* (Topsell), *pockway* (Topsell), *poppogottuweo* (Topsell), *teauh* (Topsell).

Blackbird, *chuwquaréo*.

Bluebird, *jackáwanjes*.

Bluejay, *artamóckes*.

Bowfin, *marangahockes*.

Butterfly, see **swallowtail**.

Cardinal, *meesquouns*.

Catfish, *keetrauk*.

Crane, *taráwkow*; *tarawkow konekautes* (Topsell).

Croaker, *manchauemec*.

Duck, bufflehead, *weewraamánqueo*.

Eagle, bald, *nahyápuw*.

Flicker, *quurúcuaneo*; *aiussaco* (Topsell).

Flounder, *pashockshin*.

Gar, *kowabetteo*, *arasémec*.

Gnatcatcher, blue-grey, *meemz*.

Grackle, *tummai humenes*.

Gull, *kaiauk*.

Herring, see **alewife**.

Lamprey, *kokohockepúweo*.

Lizard, see **skink**.

Loon, *asanamáwqueo*, *peeáwkoo*; *chungent* (Topsell).

Merganser, red-breasted, *qvúnziuck*.

Milkweed, *wisakon*.

Mullet, *tetszo*.

Needlefish, *arasémec*.

Oldwife, see **sheepshead**.

Oriole, *chawankus* (Topsell).

Perch, white, *ribuckon*.

Plaice, see **flounder**.

Scoter, surf, *jawéepuwes*.

Sheepshead, *masunnehockeo*.

Skink, *memeskson*.

Snake, *tesicqueo*.

Sturgeon, *coppáuseo*.

Swallow, the, *weeheépens*.

Swallowtail, tiger, *mamankanois*.

Swan, *woanagusso*.

Thrasher, *poocqueo*.

Towhee, *chúwhweeo*; *aushouetta* (Topsell).

Woodpecker, *maraseequo*. **Downy woodpecker**, *chacháquises*. **Pileated woodpecker**, *memeo*. See also **flicker**.

A WORD-LIST OF THE
CAROLINA ALGONQUIANS

Excerpts from:
An Account of the Particularities
of the Employments of the
English Men Left in Virginia

First therefore touching the peculiarities of the Country, you shall understand that our discoverie of the same hath bene extended from the Iland of Roanoke, (the same having bene the place of our settlement or inhabitation) into the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West...

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countryes of great fertility adjoining to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

—Ralph Lane, 1586.

Crenepos, *their women.*

Renapoaks, *general name for all the inhabitants of the whole main, of what province soever.*

Wassador, *copper; any metal whatsoever.*

Weroances, *kings; all our principal officers.*

Weroanza, [*queen*].

PAMLICO — ENGLISH

Ar-rounser, *shot*.

Chuwon, *paint*.

Cosh, *ten*.

Gau hooptop, *gun*.

Gun tock seike, *gun-lock*.

Hinds, *flints*.

Hooh-pau, *tobacco*.

Maachone, *belt*.

Mattosh, *blankets*.

Mif-kis-'su, *ronoak*. [= disk-shaped beads, less valuable
than tubular *wampumpeak*—ed.]

Mish-cosk, *red*.

Moc-cose, *awl, needle*.

Mottau-quahan, *hat*.

Mow-cottowosh, *black, blue*.

Nau-haush-shoo, *eight*.

Neshinnauh, *two*.

Nish-wonner, *three*.

Nuppín, *Indians*.

Oonossa, *tree*.

Pach-ic-conk, *nine*.

Pungue, *gunpowder*.

Rappatoc, *a flap.*

Rig-cosq, *knife.*

Ronoak, *(wampum) peak.*

Rosh-shocquon, *a hoe.*

Taus-won, *coat.*

Tinda, *fire.*

Tomma-hick, *axe.*

Top-po-osh, *seven.*

Tosh shonte, *Englishman.*

Umpe, *water.*

Umperren, *five.*

Weembot, *one.*

Weesaccon, *rum.*

Who-yeoc, *six.*

Wop-poshaumosh, *white.*

Yau-ooner, *four.*

ENGLISH — PAMLICO

Axe, *tomma-hick.*

Awl, *moc-cose.*

Bead-string, *mif-kis-'su.*

Belt, *maachone.*

Black, *mow-cottowosh.*

Blankets, *mattosh.*

Blue, *mow-cottowosh.*

Coat, *taus-won.*

Eight, *nau-haush-shoo.*

Englishman, *tosh shonte.*

Fire, *tinda.*

Five, *imperren.*

Flap, *rappatoc.*

Flints, *hinds.*

Four, *yau-ooner.*

Gun, *gau hooptop.*

Gun-lock, *gun tock seike.*

Gunpowder, *pungue.*

Hat, *mottau-quahan.*

Hoe, *rosh-shocquon.*

Indians, *nuppin.*

Knife, *rig-cosq.*

Needle, *moc-cose.*

Nine, *pach-ic-conk.*

One, *weembot.*

Paint, *chuwon.*

Red, *mish-cosk.*

Rum, *weesaccon.*

Seven, *top-po-osh.*

Shot, *ar-rounser.*

Six, *who-yeoc.*

Ten, *cosh.*

Three, *nish-wonner.*

Tobacco, *hoo-pau.*

Tree, *oonossa.*

Two, *neshinnauh.*

Wampum, *ronoak.*

Water, *umpe.*

White, *wop-poshaumosh.*

Pamlico Numerical Table

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Weembot | 6. Who-yeoc |
| 2. Neshinnauh | 7. Top-po-osh |
| 3. Nish-wonner | 8. Nau-haush-shoo |
| 4. Yau-ooner | 9. Pach-ic-conk |
| 5. Umperren | 10. Cosh |

CLASSIFICATION OF THE EASTERN ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES

EASTERN ALGONQUIAN

Micmac

Abenakian

Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

Eastern Abenaki

Western Abenaki

Etchemin

Southern New England

Massachusetts-Narragansett

Loup

Mohegan-Pequot

Quiripi-Unquachog

Delawaran

Mahican

Munsee Delaware

Unami Delaware

Nanticoke-Conoy

Virginia Algonquian-Powhatan

Carolina Algonquian

Source: Goddard 1996.