# AMERICAN LANGUAGE REPRINTS

VOL. 31

# HECKEWELDER'S VOCABULARY OF NANTICOKE

by

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Evolution Publishing Bristol, Pennsylvania

#### Extracted from:

Peter Stephen Duponceau. Indian Vocabularies. Manuscript in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

The editor gratefully acknowledges the American Philosophical Society, who granted permission to reprint from its collections.

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This book was electronically typeset and printed on archival quality 24 lb. paper.

Manufactured in the United States of America

ISBN 1-889758-30-2 ISSN 1540-34750

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Heckewelder, John Gottlieb Ernestus, 1743-1823.

Heckewelder's vocabulary of Nanticoke / by John Heckewelder.

p. cm. -- (American language reprints, ISSN 1540-3475; vol. 31)

"Extracted from: Peter Stephen Duponceau. Indian vocabularies. Manuscript in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia."

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 1-889758-30-2 (alk. paper)

1. Nanticoke language--Glossaries, vocabularies, etc. 2. Nanticoke language--Dictionaries--English. 3. English language--Dictionaries--Nanticoke. I. Title. II. Series: American language reprints; v. 31.

PM2001.H43 2004

497'.3--dc22

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#### Preface to the 2004 edition

The Nanticokes were an Algonquian-speaking people located on the Delmarva Peninsula, along the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay. In its most restricted and earliest sense, Nanticoke was the name of a local subgroup along the Nanticoke river who appeared on the 1612 map of John Smith as "Nantaquack" (Smith 1612). They were regarded as distinct from their neighbors the Wicomiss, Choptank, Assateague, and Pocomoke. During the late 1600s, however, land pressure from the English colonies caused some of these neighboring groups to consolidate with the Nanticoke, a process that was only hastened during their move north to Pennsylvania in the 1740s. By the 1830s Albert Gallatin could acknowledge that "all the Indians of the Eastern Shore of Maryland have been embraced under the general designation of Nanticokes," a usage that persists to this day (Gallatin 1836:52).

Most closely allied to the Nanticoke in language and culture were the Conoy across Chesapeake Bay, who lived along the Patuxent and the Potomac rivers. Nanticoke chief Robert White believed the Conoy were an offshoot of his own tribe, and a Conoy tradition recorded in 1660 traced the origins of their ruling family to the Eastern Shore 13 generations previous (see page 13; MD Arch 3:402-403). Both tribes had a more distant but still obvious kinship with the Delawares and the Powhatans, the Nanticokes' coastal neighbors to the north and south. These peoples all spoke Eastern Algonquian languages,

descended from a single common language spoken around 2000 years ago (Goddard 1978).

Because the extant Nanticoke data is largely from mixed, scattered and dislocated remnants, it is very difficult to establish any internal dialect boundaries. The most southerly tribes on the Delmarva peninsula were said to have been very close to Powhatan linguistically, while a different language, presumably Nanticoke, was spoken to the north of them (Feest 1978:240). The most northerly Nanticoke bands like the Tockwogh and Wicomiss disappeared early and no direct recordings of their speech have survived. Consequently, whatever new we learn about Nanticoke dialectology will have to be gleaned from an exhaustive analysis of the extant vocabularies, considered against the history of the bands whence they came.

The largest remaining sample of the Nanticoke language numbers a little over 300 words, and was recorded by William Vans Murray in 1792 at Locust Neck town along the Choptank River. The Vans Murray vocabulary, published in Volume 1 of this series, is of the Choptank dialect and is the best data that survives from the homeland of the Nanticoke-speaking tribes (Salvucci 1996).

Next in size is the roughly contemporary 146 word vocabulary printed here, recorded by the Reverend John Gottlieb Ernestus Heckewelder (1743–1823), an Englishborn missionary of the Moravian Brethren. The Moravians, named for the region in what is now the Czech Republic whence they originated, were an essentially Protestant religious body whose organization never-

theless predated the Reformation by half a century. Escaping persecution in continental Europe, Heckewelder's family ended up in England where John was born the year after their arrival. At the age of 11 they moved again to America, and by 1767 the young man with dreams of missionary work had become a traveling companion of Rev. David Zeisberger, and as equally devoted to the evangelism of the native tribes in Pennsylvania and Ohio (Wallace 1998).

As a group the Moravian missionaries in America were justly appreciated for their linguistic scholarship, and sought after by such eminent scholars as philologist Peter Stephen Duponceau. They have preserved for us an extensive and reliable body of language data, including grammars and dictionaries of Delaware, Mahican and Onondaga, all distinctively written in a German spelling which was more regular than that of English and was better adapted to capturing certain aspects of native pronunciation. Heckewelder's long and fruitful exchange with scholars like Duponceau proved extremely valuable for language study in that many of the missionary's manuscripts—including several copies of this vocabulary wound up in the collections of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, of which Duponceau would eventually become President.

The original of this Nanticoke vocabulary seems to have been among the Society's collections as well; however, it is apparently no longer there and we have to make do with various copies that were made before the 1820s (Speck 1927:66). We know of four of these, named here

for the manuscript collections in which they appear: two "Duponceau" copies, and two "Heckewelder" copies.

The most important of all of these is the Duponceau XIII, so named because it is the thirteenth vocabulary copied into a manuscript book formerly belonging to him labeled "Indian Vocabularies, Collected September 1820." The Duponceau XIII is the most complete copy, and is the only one which reproduces the format of the original: a comparative table with the English on the left followed by a column of Nanticoke, and a column of Chippeway (i.e. Ojibwa). It also includes a very important explanatory note which details where and when it was collected (see page 5).

The next most important copies are the two in Heckewelder's hand. They are both incomplete, since in each case it was the author's intention not to recopy the vocabulary entire, but merely to fit examples from it into already-existing tables. Heckewelder A is a six-page multi-language table, with 71 Nanticoke words. Heckewelder B is a shorter three-page multi-language table with only 14 Nanticoke words. These two were for a time bound next to each other in the same volume, but they are cataloged as separate manuscripts today; Speck, working from the earlier collation, lumped them both under the name "Vocabulary A". All of the words found in Heckewelder A and B occur also in the Duponceau XIII with one notable exception: guiuchseens "a young man" occurs only in Heckewelder B and in no other copy. The word was probably in the original but may have been accidentally omitted when the Duponceau XIII was made.

The least important manuscript is the Duponceau XXXVII, found later in his same "Indian Vocabularies" book mentioned above. Unlike the others, the Duponceau XXXVII was not made from the lost original but is actually a copy of the Heckewelder A manuscript.

The entries in this modern edition follow those of the Duponceau XIII, since this is the most complete version. Anywhere the two Heckewelder manuscripts differ from it, I have included those variants in order to provide the fullest possible set of data and minimize any copying errors which may have crept into the text. Variants from the Duponceau XXXVII, however, have not been included since this was recopied from Heckewelder A, and any new variations there are copyist's errors.

From these various manuscripts came several later printings. Selected Nanticoke terms from Heckewelder first appeared in an extensive comparative table compiled by Albert Gallatin (1836), and Daniel G. Brinton supplemented his publication of Vans Murray's list with the occasional entry from Heckewelder (Brinton 1893). E. N. Horsford (1887) printed Heckewelder A in its entirety, but not until Frank Speck's monograph were all the various sources collated and printed in full (Speck 1927).

The vocabulary's provenance is described in the following brief but very valuable note in the Duponceau XIII copy:

"A Vocabulary of the Nanticoke & Chippeway Languages, taken down in 1785 in upper Canada, from a Nanticoke chief who spoke both languages. By the Rev. John Heckewelder."

The author's other writings help fill in the context. During 1784–5 Heckewelder was traveling back and forth between Detroit and the recently established New Gnadenhütten mission along Lake St. Clair, north of Detroit. New Gnadenhutten had been planted in Ojibwa territory following a militia's 1782 massacre of 90 Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten, Ohio (Rogers 1978:762; Wallace 1998:189–200). In 1785 a small Nanticoke band on the way to the Maumee River, paid a visit to their old chief Robert White (Wolahocremy) at New Gnadenhütten, who was apparently part of a single Nanticoke family there (Feest 1978:246; Wallace 1998:109, 411; Barton 1798, Appendix p. 4).

Could this Robert White be the "Nanticoke chief" who provided the vocabulary? It would be a natural assumption, but complicating the matter is a letter Heckewelder sent to Duponceau dated July 14, 1821 (Heckewelder 1821), where he describes the abbreviations that were included with an unspecified vocabulary:

"Where the letter "C." stands in the Vocabulary You alude [sic] to, it is for <u>Carver</u>. The Letter "S." stands for <u>Samuel White</u>, a Nanticok—an Indian Linguist, (if I may say so) a Man, whom I had known for near 30 Years, and who well understood, & spoke a number of Languages. Indeed, tho a Nanticok, he was one of our Chapel Interpreters, in the Del. Language."

These very abbreviations occur in Heckewelder A under the Chippeway column; and the terms marked S. there match those from the Duponceau XIII. This letter

therefore identifies "Samuel White" with the Nanticoke chief who provided the vocabulary. But the problem is matching that name to someone from the Moravian histories. If Samuel White is not some member of the chief's family who also served the Moravians, perhaps Heckewelder here accidentally mistook the first name for Robert, who knew English and served as a very prominent interpreter. Alternatively, we also know of a wellknown assistant named Samuel Nanticoke, who in 1766 became the first of his tribe to be baptized (Loskiel 1794, II:133 ff., III:14 ff.; Wallace 1998:435). The fact that the source was a "chief" narrows the field somewhat, but in Nanticoke usage this did not just mean a sole ruler but often a subordinate chief; for head chiefs more august terms like "emperor" or the later "king" were used (Weslager 1948:98, Weslager 1983:161).

An informal comparison of the Heckewelder and Vans Murray vocabularies shows, predictably, a close similarity between the two lists. Yet a small fraction of Heckewelder's words have closer equivalents in Delaware than in the Choptank Nanticoke that Vans Murray recorded. This closer association with Delaware might at first suggest a more northerly dialect such as that of the Wicomiss, but the Maryland colony claimed, the Wicomiss had been "wholly extirpated" by 1669 (MD Arch 35:366; Feest 1978 p. 243). Although no definitive statements can be made pending a thorough linguistic analysis, any "Delawarisms" in the vocabulary are likelier late borrowings or influences from the Delaware majority at the Moravian missions.

Historical evidence suggests that the Heckewelder vocabulary represents the dialect of the Nanticoke subgroup from Nanticoke River. Chief Robert White is described as "an old Inhabitant of Somerset," the county in Maryland whose territory in the early 1700s also included modern Wicomico and Worcester counties (Weslager 1948:74–75). White and his family were thus apparently part of the Broad Creek band which moved into Pennsylvania in 1744, and which coalesced in the 1670s, when the Nanticoke Emperor Unnacokasimmon, "with his Subjects and Confederate Indians mixt with them" held an unsurveyed territory along Nanticoke River, from which a formal reserve was established in 1711 (MD Arch 35:366 ff.).

When the Ojibwas extended the Moravians permission to settle above Lake St. Clair in the early 1780s, it was only on a temporary basis, and by the middle of the decade they were becoming increasingly "impatient" about continuing to host the mission on their lands (Wallace 1998, p. 206). Thus on April 20th, 1786, New Gnadenhutten was finally abandoned. The Indians inhabiting it, and Heckewelder along with them, traveled by boat across Lake Erie to the Cuyahoga River, now Cleveland, where other bands of Nanticokes had previously settled. A Nanticoke village on the Maumee River in 1792 later moved to the White River in Indiana, then during the 1810s followed the Delawares first into Kansas and then finally into Oklahoma (Feest 1978).

In ensuing years these western Nanticoke emigrants gradually merged with their Delaware hosts. By the 20th

century although there were still people who cherished their Nanticoke lineage, they were no longer a distinct cultural unit. Among the Iroquois their compatriots managed to preserve a few words of the language into the early twentieth century and in 1914 Frank Speck was able to collect the last fragments of linguistic data from members of the tribe at Six Nations Reserve (Speck 1927). The subsequent passing of these elders completed the last stages of Nanticoke's transformation from a living language to one of historical record.

-Claudio R. Salvucci, series ed.

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### **Excerpt from**

# An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations

#### THE NANTICOKES.

The Delawares say that this nation has sprung from the same stock with them, and the fact was acknowledged by White, one of their chiefs, whom I have personally known. They call the Delawares their grandfathers. I shall relate the history of the Nanticokes, as I had it from the mouth of White himself.

Every Indian being at liberty to pursue what occupation he pleases, White's ancestors, after the Lenape came into their country, preferred seeking a livelihood by fishing and trapping along the rivers and bays, to pursuing wild game in the forest; they therefore detached themselves, and sought the most convenient places for their purpose. In process of time, they became very numerous, partly by natural increase, and partly in consequence of being joined by a number of the Lenape, and spread themselves over a large tract of country. Thus they became divided into separate bodies, distinguished by different names; the Canai, they say, sprung from them, and settled at a distance on the shores of the Potomack and Susquehannah, where they lived when the white people first arrived in Virginia; but they removed farther on their account, and settled higher up the Susquehannah, not far from where John Harris afterwards established a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See, in Loskiel's History, part II., ch. 10, his account of the visit of this chief to the Christian Indian Congregation at Bethlehem.

ferry. The main branch, or the Nanticokes proper, were then living in what is now called the Eastern shore of Maryland. At length, the white people crowded so much upon them, that they were obliged to seek another abode, and as their grandfather was himself retreating back in consequence of the great influx of the whites, they took the advice of the Mengwe, and bent their course at once to the large flats at Wyoming, where they settled by themselves, in sight of the Shawanos town, while others settled higher up the river, even as high as Chemenk<sup>2</sup> (Shenango) and Shummunk, to which places they all emigrated at the beginning of the French war. White's tribe resided there until the Revolutionary war, when they went off to a place nearer to the British, whose part they had taken, and whose standard they joined. White himself had joined the Christian Indians at Shechschequon, several years previous to the war, and remained with them.

Nothing, said White, had equalled the decline of his tribe since the white people had come into the country. They were destroyed in part by disorders which they brought with them, by the small pox, the venereal disease, and by the free use of spirituous liquors, to which great numbers fell victims.

The emigration of the Nanticokes from Maryland was well known to the Society of the United Brethren. At the time when these people were beginning their settlement in the forks of the Delaware, the Rev. Christopher

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> [In 1726, John Harris, a Yorkshireman, settled at the mouth of the Paxton Creek, traded largely with the neighboring Indians, cleared a farm, and kept a ferry. John Harris, Jr., his son, born on the Paxton in the above-mentioned year, inherited from his father 700 acres of land, on a part of which Harrisburg was laid out in 1785.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zeningi, according to Loskiel.

Pyrlæus noted down in his memorandum book, "that on the 21st day of May, 1748, a number of the Nanticokes from Maryland, passed by Shamokin in ten canoes, on their way to Wyoming." Others, travelling by land, would frequently pass through Bethlehem, and from thence through the Water Gap to Nescopeck or Susquehannah, and while they resided at Wyoming, they, together with the Shawanese, became the emissaries of the Five Nations, and in conjunction with them afterwards, endeavoured to remove the Christian Indians from Gnadenhütten, in Northampton county, to Wyoming; their private object being to have a full opportunity to murder the white inhabitants, in the war which they already knew would soon break out between the French and English.

These Nanticokes had the singular custom of removing the bones of their deceased friends from the burial-place to a place of deposit in the country they dwell in. In earlier times, they were known to go from Wyoming and Chemenk, to fetch the bones of their dead from the Eastern shore of Maryland, even when the bodies were in a putrid state, so that they had to take off the flesh and scrape the bones clean, before they could carry them along. I well remember having seen them between the years 1750 and 1760, loaded with such bones, which, being fresh, caused a disagreeable stench, as they passed through the town of Bethlehem.

They are also said to have been the inventors of a poisonous substance, by which they could destroy a whole settlement of people, and they are accused of being skilled in the arts of witchcraft; it is certain that they are

very much dreaded on this account. I have known Indians who firmly believed that they had people among them who could, if they pleased, destroy a whole army, by merely blowing their breath towards them. Those of the Lenape<sup>1</sup> and other tribes, who pretend to witchcraft, say that they learned the science from the Nanticokes; they are not unwilling to be taxed with being wizards, as it makes them feared by their neighbors.

Their national name, according to the report of their chief, White, is *Nentégo*. The Delawares call them *Unéchtgo*, and the Iroquois *Sganiateratieh-rohne*. These three names have the same meaning, and signify *tide water people*, or the *sea shore settlers*. They have besides other names, by-names, as it were, given them with reference to their occupation. The Mohicans, for instance, call them *Otayáchgo*, and the Delawares *Tayachguáno*, both which words in their respective languages, signify a "bridge," a "dry passage over a stream;" which alludes to their being noted for felling great numbers of trees across streams, to set their traps on. They are also often called the *Trappers*.

In the year 1785, this tribe had so dwindled away, that their whole body, who came together to see their old chief, White, then residing with the Christian Indians on the Huron River,<sup>2</sup> north of Detroit, did not amount to 50 men. They were then going through Canada, to the Miami country, to settle beside the Shawanos, in consequence of an invitation they had received from them.

#### -John Heckewelder, 1819.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Loskiel, part I., ch. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> [Now the Clinton, on whose banks New Gnadenhütten was built by David Zeisberger in the summer of 1782.]

# NANTICOKE—ENGLISH

Achmonnaheck, a knife.

Achsin, a stone. A achsin.

Ackquechkq, sun. A aequechkkq.

Alum, a dog. A alúm.

Amé, yes.

Angel, death. Also ángel.

Ap, bread.

Aquahaag, a woman.

Aschscheiju, empty.

Assiquandu, light (not heavy).

Attukw, a deer.

Auwan, fog. A auwán.

Auwechsch, thunder.

Awaantind, child. A awaantind (boy), B awantind.

Axkeisu, wet.

Eachuney, a blanket.

Echgieyu, low. A echgieju.

Echgindindisch, to fall.

Echschgook, a snake.

Echsup, a raccoon.

Echtakquatscht, ice. A echtákquatscht.

Echtupananahenk, moon. A echtupquanahenk.

Eéhgi, earth. A echgi, acki.

Emattachquet, straight.

Emukquattin, a hill.

**Ennuk,** there. [Dup. XIII has "these" —ed.]

Ewesch, wind.

Gechtanettowit, God. A Gichtschi Manitto.

Gichtschi Manitto, God. (A only)

Gilso, false (not true).

**Guiuchseens,** a young man. (B only)

Guno, snow.

Hischkenemank, needle.

Hisqueiju, dry (not wet).

Huppoon, winter.

Huppunĕiju, north.

Ickamachgt, a cloud. A ickemachqt.

Ihn, an Indian.

Iin, an Indian.

Jahaak, a house.

Kiké, life.

Kíkeu, life. A kíke.

**Kikschqua**, *virgin*. B **kĩkschqua** (a young woman).

Kischelemuquank, God.

Kisucku, day.

Ktahend, sea. A k'tahend.

Kusukquan, heavy.

Mangeyu, large. A mángeiju.

Mathwé, a Delaware Indian.

Mattit, bad. A máttit.

Matwé, a Delaware Indian.

Mechkissins, shoes. A mechkisins.

Mechschakwápan, summer.

Mechski, grass.

Mengippak, leaves.

Mettá, no.

Méttit, ugly.

Mettoon, mouth. A mettoon.

Michsch, a canoe.

Michsch, wood. A michséh.

Minnecht, an island.

Mintsch, hand.

Mischkeiju, hard.

Mīschku, hair. A mischku.

Mist, foot.

Mukschkintsch, the eye. A mukschkintschk.

Naampechscheiju, narrow.

Nãap, a man. A "N.B. from Lennape".

Namãtschtschu, small.

Nammæs, fish.

Nat, belly. A nal or nat.

N'daan, daughter.

N'dechschamandamen, to feel.

Nep, water.

Néppis, a lake.

N'guttandamen, to taste.

**Ni,** *I. ego.* 

Nichsums, sister. A níchsums.

Nik, mother. B nīk.

Nimat, brother.

Niu, wife. B níu.

N'mellamen, I smell.

Noohseh, father. A nochsch.

Nowilé, joy.

N'tsinginak, hatred.

Nuktauchk, the ear.

Nundamen, I hear.

Nuppennaman, I see.

Pachgecht, blood. A páckgecht.

Pattechkeiju, soft.

Pduck, tree. A p'duk.

Péchgau, flesh. meat. A pechgeu.

 ${\bf Pech schachta}, {\it full}.$ 

Pechschquieweiju, blue.

Pechsechkamúkat, a valley.

Pechtschtschu, near.

Peemtuk, river.

Pemettenäichk, a mountain. A pemettenaiehk.

Pikquechschuind, a girl. A pikqueckschuind, B pīkquechschuind.

Pimalo, a hog.

Pissix, a bird.

Poaneiju, broad.

Pschqueiju, red.

Pumwije, star.

Quammosch, love. A quámmõsch.

Quischaasch, fear. A quischaasch.

Sapi, lightning.

Schpumend, high. A schpummend.

Schquenik, a hen.

Sokelaan, rain. A sokelaan.

Spummend, heaven. A spummend, eschpummink.

Techgeju, cold.

**Techgupk,** a spring (of water).

**Tind,** *fire*.

Tsammi, a white man.

Tsawanneiju, south.

Tschun, cow.

Tsiwan, sour.

Tuméhek, ax. A tummehek.

Tuppukku, night. A tuppucku.

Ũschkeiju, black.

Ukschkeendk, the forehead.

Ukse, son.

Wachschuwit, far. A wachschúit.

Wakeju, crooked.

Wapannéju, east.

Wapeju, white.

Wapesch, a shirt.

Wáschey, skin. A waschey. [Dup. XIII has "shin" —ed.]

Weáku, evening.

Wéchsiki, husband. B wechsiki.

Wéschpa, morning. A weschpa.

Weúscheu, heart. A weáscheu.

Wichtoney, beard. A wichtóney.

Wihlhamen, the head. A wihlhammen = "hand".

Wiht, pretty.

Wiipt, tooth.

Wiit, good, pretty.

Wikgkiu, the nose. A wikqkiu.

Wilanno, tongue. A wilánno.

Wingan, sweet.

Wingeuchs, a wolf.

Winkpen, a bear.

Wisaweiju, yellow.

Wulamoe, true.

Wuskeweiju, west.

# **ENGLISH—NANTICOKE**

#### Ax, tuméhek.

Bad, mattit.

Bear, a, winkpen.

Beard, wichtoney.

Belly, nat.

Bird, a, pissix.

Black, ũschkeiju.

Blanket, a, eachuney.

Blood, pachgecht.

Blue, pechschquieweiju.

Bread, ap.

Broad, poaneiju.

Brother, nimat.

Canoe, a, michsch.

Child, awaantind.

Cloud, a, ickamachgt.

Cold, techgeju.

Cow, tschun.

Crooked, wakeju.

Daughter, n'daan.

Day, kisucku.

Death, angel, ángel.

Deer, a, attukw.

Delaware Indian, a, mathwé, matwé.

Dog, a, alum.

Dry (not wet), hisqueiju.

Ear, the, nuktauchk.

Earth, eéhgi.

East, wapannéju.

Empty, aschscheiju.

Evening, weáku.

Eye, the, mukschkintsch.

Fall, to, echgindindisch.

False (not true), gilso.

Far, wachschuwit.

Father, noohseh.

Fear, quischaasch.

**Feel, to**, *n'dechschamandamen*.

Fire. tind.

Fish, nammæs.

Flesh, meat, péchgau.

Fog, auwan.

Foot, mist.

Forehead, the, ukschkeendk.

Full, pechschachta.

Girl, a, pikquechschuind.

**God**, kischelemuquank, gechtanettowit, Gichtschi Manitto.

Good, wiit.

Grass, mechski.

Hair, mīschku.

Hand, mintsch.

Hard, mischkeiju.

Hatred, n'tsinginak.

**Head, the**, wihlhamen. [A has "hand" —ed.]

Hear, I, nundamen.

Heart, weúscheu.

Heaven, spummend.

Heavy, kusukquan.

Hen, a, schquenik.

High, schpumend.

Hill, a, emukquattin.

Hog, a, pimalo.

House, a, jahaak.

Husband, wéchsiki.

I, ego, ni.

Ice, echtakquatscht.

Indian, an, ihn, iin.

Island, an, minnecht.

Joy, nowilé.

Knife, a, achmonnaheck.

Lake, a, néppis.

Large, mangeyu.

Leaves, mengippak.

Life, kiké, kíkeu.

Light (not heavy), assiquandu.

Lightning, sapi.

Love, quammosch.

Low, echgieyu.

Man, a, nãap. A "N.B. from Lennape".

Moon, echtupananahenk.

Morning, wéschpa.

Mother, nik.

Mountain, a, pemettenăichk.

Mouth, mettoon.

Narrow, naampechscheiju.

Near, pechtschtschu.

Needle, hischkenemank.

Night, tuppukku.

No. mettá.

North, huppunĕiju.

Nose, the, wikgkiu.

Pretty, wiit, wiht.

Raccoon, a, echsup.

Rain, sokelaan.

Red, pschqueiju.

River, peemtuk.

Sea, ktahend.

See, I, nuppennaman.

Shirt, a, wapesch.

Shoes, mechkissins.

Sister, nichsums.

**Skin**, wáschey. [Dup. XIII has "shin" —ed.]

Small, namãtschtschu.

Smell, I, n'mellamen.

Snake, a, echschgook.

Snow, guno.

Soft, pattechkeiju.

Son, ukse.

Sour, tsiwan.

South, tsawanneiju.

Spring (of water), a, techgupk.

Star, pumwije.

Stone, a, achsin.

Straight, emattachquet.

Summer, mechschakwápan.

Sun, ackquechkq.

Sweet, wingan.

**Taste, to**, *n'guttandamen*.

**There**, ennuk. [Dup. XIII has "these" —ed.]

Thunder, auwechsch.

Tongue, wilanno.

Tooth, wiipt.

Tree, pduck.

True, wulamoe.

Ugly, méttit.

Valley, a, pechsechkamúkat.

Virgin, kikschqua.

Water, nep.

West, wuskeweiju.

Wet, axkeisu.

White, wapeju.

White man, a, tsammi.

Wife, niu.

Wind, ewesch.

Winter, huppoon.

Wolf, a, wingeuchs.

Woman, a, aquahaag.

Wood, michsch.

Yellow, wisaweiju.

Yes, amé.

Young man, a, guiuchseens.

# CLASSIFICATION OF THE EASTERN ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES

#### EASTERN ALGONQUIAN

Micmac

Abenakian

Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

Eastern Abenaki

Western Abenaki

Etchemin

Southern New England

Massachusett-Narragansett

Loup

Mohegan-Pequot

Quiripi-Unquachog

Delawaran

Mahican

Munsee Delaware

Unami Delaware

Nanticoke-Conoy

Virginia Algonquian

Powhatan

Carolina Algonquian

Pamlico

Source: Goddard 1996.

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- 11 A Vocabulary of Stadaconan
- 12 Denny's Vocabulary of Delaware
- 13 A Vocabulary of Roanoke
- 14 Denny's Vocabulary of Shawnee
- 15 Cummings' Vocabulary of Delaware
- 16 Early Vocabularies of Mohawk
- 17 Schoolcraft's Vocabulary of Oneida
- 18 Elliot's Vocabulary of Cayuga
- 19 Schoolcraft's Vocabulary of Onondaga
- 20 Elliot's Vocabulary of Mohawk
- 21 Cummings' Vocabulary of Shawnee
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