

Saponi Vocabulary from Colonial Virginia¹

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The Siouan identity of numerous tribes named in 17th and 18th century documents from Virginia and North Carolina has been a subject of debate since Mooney's compilation of the relevant literature and tribal synonymy of 1894. Two separate linguistic groupings are involved; Catawban, which is distantly related to the Siouan family as a whole, and Siouan proper. In this paper I will deal only with the latter group. (For Catawban, v. Carter (1980) on Woccon and Catawba.)

Tutelo, identified as Siouan by Hale before 1872, provides the bulk of available data for the Virginia (Siouan) languages, thanks to field work by Hale, Dorsey, Hewitt, Frachtenberg and Sapir. It is one of three reasonably well attested languages grouped together as Ohio Valley Siouan, the others being Biloxi, identified as Siouan by Gatschet in 1886 and Ofo, identified as Siouan by Swanton in 1908. But even the linguistically uncontested affiliation of Tutelo was challenged by Carl Miller (1957), so the debate continues.

Several observers writing between 1670 and 1883 mention other Virginia tribes whose languages were mutually intelligible with Tutelo. Among those mentioned by two or more independent observers are the Saponies, the Occaneechies, and the Steukenhocks (Lederer, Byrd, Nikonha).

About the Steukenhocks we have only the statement by Byrd that, along with the other two tribes, they were "formerly a distinct Nation, or rather a several clan or Canton of the same nation, speaking the same language, and using the same customs." (Miller, 1957, 128) (Byrd, 1929, 310)

The Occaneechi were said by numerous observers to have lived in close association within the Saponies and Tutelos, and to have spoken the same language. In addition, Robert Beverley, writing before 1705, states in a widely cited passage that Occaneechi was the *Lingua Franca* of Virginia, used not only as a trade language but as the language of religious ceremony as well. Speaking of the Virginia tribes generally he wrote (1705, repub. 1947):

¹ A version of this paper was read before the Conference on American Indian Languages in 1980 with the title "Another Look at Virginia Siouan".

"Their Language differs very much, as antiently in the several parts of Britain; so the Nations at a moderate distance, do not understand one another. However, they have a sort of general Language, like what Lahontan calls the Algonkine, which is understood by the Chief men of many Nations, as Latin is in most parts of Europe, and the Lingua Franca quite thro the Levant.

The general language here us'd, is said to be that of the Occaneeches tho they have been but a small Nation, ever since those parts were known to the English; but in what this Language may differ from that of the Algonkines, I am not able to determin." (p. 191)

"The Priests and Conjures... They perform their Adorations and Conjurations, in the general Language before spoken of, as the Catholicks of all Nations do their Mass in the Latin." (p. 201-2)

I shall return to the matter of the Occaneechi Lingua Franca below.

There is at least one other Virginia Siouan tribe whose name alone is revealing. Maj. General Abraham Wood wrote to John Richards in 1674, "Now ye king must goe to give ye monetons a visit which were his friends, mony signifiying water and ton great in their language. Ye monyton towne situated upon a very great river att which place ye tide ebbs and flowes...." (Alvord and Bidgood, 1912, 221) Although there are few other references to this tribe, it is clear that they were Siouan, since *manj*•, *mɔni*• is Tutelo for 'water' while *ithá*• is 'great', with an equally good Siouan pedigree. And, lastly, we should mention the Tomihitans. They were associated with the Virginia Siouan tribes, and their name most likely means 'great town' or 'great clan', from **tama* 'town, clan' and *ithá*• 'great'. The intervening *-h-* is a reflex of the boundary marking glottal stop, ʔ, and it replaces glottal stop in Biloxi (v. Rankin, 2011).

This brings us to the Saponi tribe and language about which there is much to say. Both the Saponi and Occaneechi (Akenatzy and other spellings) are mentioned several accounts from the 1670's. According to John Lederer, Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam and James Needham and Gabriel Arthur, the Saponies had lived in the western part of Virginia in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The Tutelos were some distance farther to the west, and the Occaneechi to the southwest.

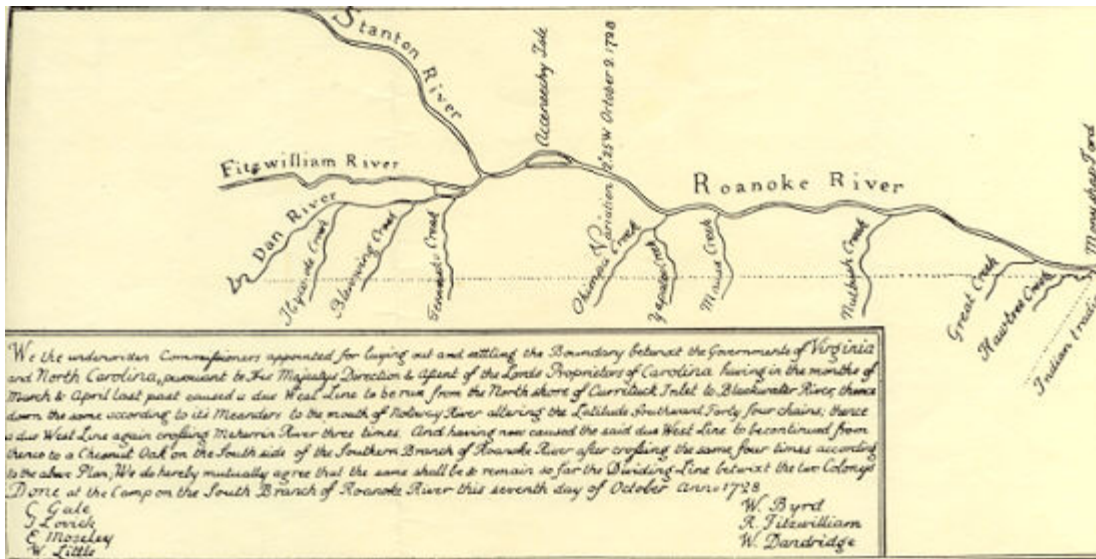
Between 1673 and 1700 both tribes had joined the Occaneechies and the three groups were encountered in North Carolina by John Lawson in 1701. The confederated tribes moved back into southern Virginia about 1711, and in 1714 they, along with other groups, settled in the vicinity of

Fort Christanna at the invitation of Governor Spotswood. At this point the name Saponi is applied to the entire group by Europeans at the fort, although Hale (1883) points out that Tutelos still thought of themselves as separate from the Saponies well over 100 years later, long after migrating north from Ft. Christanna c.1740. They recalled separating from them at Niagara Falls, the Tutelos going to Canada with General Brant and the Saponies remaining behind.

There are two sources of Saponi linguistic data for the period during which the tribes lived at Ft. Christanna. The first is the journals of William Byrd, who surveyed the boundary between the Virginia and North Carolina colonies in 1728, and who hired a Saponi speaking guide to accompany him. About 15 words were recorded by Byrd. Nearly all were toponyms and nearly all are clearly Siouan. The second is a word list containing both Siouan and Algonquian entries recorded in 1716 by John Fontaine, a Huguenot, who came to America from Ireland. These are our only attestations for any of the eastern Siouan languages before 1870 and represent one of the earliest recorded examples of any Siouan tongue. In the case of Byrd's toponyms, previous work is Mooney's (BAE-B22, 1894); in the case of the Fontaine list, previous work is that of Edward Alexander (1971).

I reproduce below the Siouan portion of both Byrd's and Fontaine's vocabularies. Each entry includes (1) The original spelling or spellings and the original translation; (2) Where possible, a morphemic breakdown in phonemic transcription, along with; (3) The Siouan cognates cited by James Mooney or by Edward Alexander, and; (4) The results of my own research and analysis.

My own results include (A) eight new Siouan etymologies from among the morphemes on the Byrd list, and, (B) perhaps thirteen new Siouan morphemes from the items on the Fontaine list. In addition, I believe that I have been able to bolster nearly all of the earlier work with new cognates from various Siouan languages.



(Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina, by William Byrd, published by Dover Publications, Inc. - 1967)

Fig. 1. The Byrd map of the Roanoke River and tributaries.

A. Toponyms, etc. from William Byrd (1929).

1. Yapatio (in Mooney, ex Carolina records)
Yapateo Creek (Byrd, Map)
Yapatoco, or Bever Creek (p. 165);
Yaypatsco (p. 164);
Yapatsco (p.164)
Yatapsco,... "the Beavers had dammed up the water." (p. 292)

a) BEAVER /yá•p, yáyp/

Mooney (1894, 46) cites: Tutelo *yāop*; Dakota *chapa*; Osage *shape* (sic).
Other cognates: Osage *žáape*; Winnebago *ráap*; Chiwere *ráawe*;
Dak. *čhápa*; Mandan *wárapa*²; Hidatsa *wírapa*; Crow *bilápe*.

b) LODGE, HOUSE /at^hi/.³ (v. also Turkey Buzzard (roost) River)

Mooney (1894, 46) cites: Dak, *tipi* or *ti*, Tut. and Biloxi *ati*.

² I have not updated the transcription of Hidatsa or Mandan cognates since the original 1980 version of this paper. They remain basically accurate.

³ *ati* 'lodge' is derivable from two of the variant spellings. Byrd refers to the beavers' having dammed the water with their lodge. Reference to 'lodge' would account for the lack of any word for 'creek' (*moni*) here. Other variant spellings *-(a) tscó* etc. are not readily identifiable. Rankin (1981) shows that Virginia Siouan had an aspiration distinction.

Other cognates: Ofo *athí*, *atxi*; Dhegiha *ttíi*; Winn. *číi*; Chiwere *číi*; Dak. *thi*; Man. *oti*; Hid. *atí*; Cr. *aši*.

c) The apparent suffix with the shape *-o* at the end of the toponym remains unidentified. It may be one of the gender-specific declaratives, or other modal particles, v. 2b below.

- 2.** Tewaw-homini (p. 290);
Tewahominy or Tuskarooda creek (p. 166)
Tewakominy (p. 291);
Tewa-ho-mony Creek (p. 323);
Teewawho Creek (map).⁴ So called . . . "because one of that (Tuscarora) nation had been killed thereabouts, and his body thrown into the Creek." (p. 166)

a) DIE, DEAD /té•/; /té•wa/ 'he dies, is dead'

Cognates: Tutelo *te-wa* 'he dies or is dead' (Dorsey) *te*, *tēolāha* 'dead' (Hale); Ofo *thě*; Bil. *ṭe*; Dheg. *tʔee*; Winn. *tʔee*; ch. *cʔee*; Dak *tʔe*; Man. *te*; Hid. *tee*; Cr. *šée*.

b) MALE DECLARATIVE (?) /-ho/.

This particle is not identified by Mooney. It may be related in form and usage to the particle *-hau* 'male declarative' found in Dhegiha languages.

c) WATER, CREEK /maŋí•/

Mooney (1894, 46) cites: Dakota, Tutelo forms.

Cognates: Tutelo *maní* (Hale), *meníʔ* (Fracht.), *meníʔ* (Sapir), *mini* (Hewitt); Moniton *moni*; Ofo *aní*; Bil. *aní*; Dheg. *níi*; Winn. *níi*; Ch. *níi*; Dak. *mní*; Man. *mini*; Hid. *wirí*; Cr. *bilí*.

3. ". . . a Ford, . . . called by the Indians *Moni-seep*, which signifies in their Jargon, Shallow Water." (p. 158)

Moniseep (Byrd, index)
Mony Shap

a) SHALLOW /sep, se•p/⁵

⁴ There is no direct reference to Tuscarora in the name, only to the fact that a death occurred at the creek.

⁵ Both *seep* and *shaap* have cognates with an initial velars, *xy* ~ *x*. Conceivably these could be instances of "fricative ablaut", of the sort common in Siouan languages. However, complete absence of corresponding forms containing velars in the Virginia

Mooney (1894, 46) erroneously cites terms for 'ford': Dak. *chopa*; Kansa (sic) *jupshe* 'ford' as cognates for both *seep* and *shap*.

Cognates: Biloxi *xyépi* 'shallow, dry'; Dheg. *xépe*; Winn. *yéep* 'be shallow'. Cf. Tutelo *sa•p* 'level, flat'

b) SHALLOW, LEVEL, LOW /sa•p/

Cognates: Tutelo *sa•p* 'flat, level' (Hewitt); Biloxi *xyap-ká*, *xap-ká* 'low, flat'.

4. ". . . another creek, call'd, in the Saponi Language, *Ohimpa-moni*, Signifying Jumping Creek, from the frequent Jumping of fish ..." (p. 164).

Ohimpamony Creek, . . . which signifies Fishing Creek." (p. 165)

Ohimpa-mony Creek (p. 292);

Uhimpamory Creek (p. 293);

Ohimpanny Creek (Byrd, index);

Ohimpa Mony (Byrd, map).

a) FISH /hó•/⁶

Cognates: Bil. *o*; Ofo *ho*; Tutelo *wihōi* (Hale), *wihó^oq* (Hewitt); Dheg, *hóo*; Winn. *hoo*; Dak. *ho-*.

b) FALL DOWN /hɪp^hé/

Cognates: Tutelo *him-pé-wa* (Hw); Kansa *hiphé* 'fall'; Osage *hiphé* 'stumble and fall, 'trip'

5. "...'twas a River called *Hicootomy*, or Turkey Buzzard River, from the great Number of those unsavoury Birds that roost ... near its banks." (p. 168).

Hico-ottomony Creek (p. 323);

Hico-ott-mony Creek (p. 169); The

Hico-River (p. 168);

Hyco-ote Creek (map).

languages, or forms containing sibilants elsewhere, leads me to believe that we are dealing with true phonetic change rather than ablant: *xy* > *š* > *s*. The latter shift, *š* > *s*. is characteristic of Tutelo; there are many examples.

⁶ Identification of *o* as 'fish' is tentative, but probably correct. The missing initial *h-* is a problem however.

Now known as the *Hyco* or *Hycootee* River (Mooney, 1894)

a) BUZZARD /híka/

Cognates: Ofo *éskha*; Bil. *ěxka*, *hě'xka* Dheg. *héeka*; Winn. *heek*; Ch. *hegara*; Dak. *hečá*

b) HOUSE and WATER (v. above)

6. ". . . *Massamoni*, Signifying, in their language, Paint Creek, because of the great Quantity of Red ochre found in its banks,:" (p. 164);

Massamony (p. 323);
Mossamory Creek (p. 163);
Mausa Creek (map).

a) RED EARTH, RED PAINT /má-sa/⁷

Mooney (1894, 46) cites: Dak. *máⁿza*, Tutelo *mas*, *maⁿs*; Biloxi *masi* 'mineral, metal'.

Further cognates: Ofo *amōⁿfī*; Bil. *amasí*; Dheg. *máqze*; Winn. *máas*; Otoe *máqǽ*.

Alternative analysis:

b) EARTH /má•/

Cognates: Catawba *mą*. Tut. *amāi*; Ofo *ámą*; Bil. *amá*; Dheg. *máq-*; Winn. *máq*; Ch. *máq*; Dak. *mą-*; Man. *wą-*; Hid. *amá*; Cr. *awá*. All mean 'earth'.

c) RED /sa/

Cognates: Dak. *sa* 'red', *wasé* 'vermillion, red earth' cf. Winn. *-za* 'shining, light colored'.

7. ". . . we passed over Wicco-quoi creek, Named so from the Multitude of Rocks over which the water tumbles . . ." (p. 314).

⁷ *Massa* 'red earth' may indeed be cognate with Dakota *mąza* 'iron, metal'. More likely it is the compound of **amą* 'earth' and **sa* 'red'. Indeed, Dakota *wase* 'red earth' and *mąza* 'iron' and closely related forms in other Mississippi Valley languages, may be doublets arising from old compounding of these same two roots EARTH and RED.

Wicocon, *Wicocon* Creek (p. 11). (Not on Byrd's maps.)

a) ROCK (?) /wi/ No clear cognates in any eastern language.

Possible cognates: Man. *wi-*; Hid. *mi'*, *wia*; Cr. *bii*. All 'rock'.

The remainder of the toponym, *-cocon* is opaque.

8. *maosti* 'turkey cock beard' (Mooney, 1894, 47)

a) FOWL, TURKEY /ma•-/⁸

Cognates: Biloxi *ma*, *mani* 'turkey'; Ofo *amáⁿ* 'turkey'; Dak. *mayá* 'goose'; Man. *wąrek* 'big bird'. Tutelo; *mayutkai* 'pigeon'; *mastetkai* 'pheasant' (Hewitt); *maneasei* 'duck'; *maneasaⁿ* 'goose'; *māndāhkāi* 'turkey'.

b) WATTLE, UNDER LIP /isti, osti/

Cognates: Tutelo *istihioi* 'beard'; Dakota *išti* 'underlip' (Riggs).

9. *Cohunks* (Byrd, p. 206) 'wild goose' ". . . an onomatope." (but a borrowing all the same.)⁹

Algonquian: Powhatan *kahaugoc* 'geese', *kahauge* 'goose'. uD. *kha•k* 'Canada goose'; Np *kank* 'outarde' (Aubin)

B. Word list of John Fontaine, originally written down at Ft. Christanna in 1716. Edited from a copy made by Fontaine's great-grandniece, Ann Maury (Alexander, 1971). The list is inserted immediately following a section of Fontaine's journal devoted to marriage customs. No information is given as to the original source or sources of the word list. We don't even know whether his immediate source was Indian or White.

⁸ PS **awá-* is the ultimate source of this word. The nasalized form refers to game birds. The form without nasalization occurs with the diminutive ending **yika* 'little' and refers to non-game birds, songbirds, etc. Dhegiha *wa-žika*; Winn. *wanignik*; Ch. *wayije*; Tutelo *mayik*. The fact that the older form referred to game birds explains why all other kinds of birds require the diminutive suffix in so many Siouan languages; something I had never understood.

⁹ This seems clearly to be an Algonquian word despite its onomatopoeic origin; such words are still passed from generation to generation and community to community. "Onomatopoeic" vocabulary is not coined anew with each generation of speakers, although the model may "reinforce" the pronunciation and, at times, render the word immune to certain changes.

Alexander (1971, 308) feels that Fontaine may well have gotten the list from the Rev. Charles Griffin, the teacher at the Ft. Christanna Indian School. Alexander determined possible Siouan sources for about sixteen of the 46 words and phrases in the vocabulary which begins simply, "Here are some of the Indian words."

1. *My* 'The Sun'

Alexander: ". . . clearly Siouan." Cites: Dhegiha, Hidatsa, Tutelo cognates.

SUN /mí•/

Cognates: Tutelo *mīn*; Ofo *ila*; Bil. *iná*; Dheg. *mīj*; Winn. *wii*; Ch. *bi*; Dak. *wi*; Man. *mīnaki*; Hid. *midi*; Cr. *biri*. Woccon *wittapare*

2. *Kihoe* 'Come here'

Alexander: ". . . probably Siouan." Cites numerous correct cognates.

RETURN HITHER /kihu/ (v. Taylor, 1976)¹⁰

a. VERTITIVE /ki-/.

Cognates: Tutelo *ki-*; Ofo *ki-*; all other Siouan *ki-* ~ *k-* ~ *gi-*.

b. COME, BE COMING /hu•/

Cognates: Tutelo *kihuwá* 'be returning hither'; Ofo *kiu*; Biloxi *hu*, *u*; Dheg. *hū* ~ *hi*; Winn. *huu*; Ch. *huu*; Dak. *u*; Man *hu*; Hid. Cr. *huu*. Catawba *hu?*

3. *Monotisnock* 'Stay'

Alexander: ". . . probably Siouan." Cites numerous cognates for *-nock*. *Monotis-* remains unidentified for the present.

STAY, SIT /-ná•k/

¹⁰ This form, along with the unpublished Tutelo form *kihuwá* 'be returning hither' obtained by Hewitt, confirms the authenticity of the Ofo cognate *kiu*, which was questioned (for lack of supporting evidence) by Taylor (1976). Ohio Valley Siouan seems to retain the vowel of *ki-*, lost in the rest of Siouan.

Probable cognates: Tutelo *maha-nañka*; Ofo *nōñki*; Bil. *náñki*; Dheg *đa*; Winn. *nąqk* Ch. *nąje* Dak. *yąká*; Man. *raq*; Hid. *daka* 'continue'; Cr. *dahkú* 'dwell'.

4. *Hodke tok ire chunkete posse* 'Is this the way to the horse head'.

Alexander: ". . . probable Siouan." Gives cognates for 'horse', 'head'.

a) ROAD /haŋk(ó)/¹¹

Cognates: Tutelo *hěⁿtko^oq* 'road (Dorsey, Hewitt) Biloxi *nětkohí* 'path, road, street' *nűtkuhi*, *natkohi*; Ofo *nąkhohi* 'trail, road'; Winn. *nąqú* 'road'

b) WHICH /itok, itak/¹²

Cognates: cf. Tutelo *ětok* 'which', *tokěnuñ* 'how many', *tokěnaq* 'when', *tokā* 'where'. Biloxi *tuká* 'that way'. Dakota *itoki-* 'whither, where', etc. Winnebago *jaagú* 'what', etc.

c) GO /re•/ YOU.SG GO /i-re/¹³

Cognates: Tutelo *la*, *le*; Ofo *te*, *ti*; Bil. *de*, *da*; Dheg. *đée*; Winn. *rée*; Ch. *re*; Dak. *ye*; Man. *reh-*; Hid. *de*; Cr. *dee*. N.B. Biloxi *í-de* ~ *i-dé* 'you.SG go' (Einaudi, 1974, 46)

d) DOG, HORSE /č^hóki-it^há•/

Cognates: Tutelo *tčoñki*, etc. 'dog', *ts'unğide^e* 'horse' (Sapir); Ofo *atčúgasi*; Bil. *čęke?* 'dog' (Haas); Dheg. *šóke* 'dog'; Winn. *šúuk*; Ch. *sųje* 'dog' Dak. *šúka* 'dog'; Hid. *wašúuka* 'dog'; Cr. *bishká* 'dog'.

e) BIG /it^há•/ the probable identity of the second part of 'horse'.

¹¹ The "Saponi" and Tutelo forms are clearly cognate. The other terms are surely related, but the sound correspondences present certain problems that will have to be worked out before I am completely satisfied.

¹² The cognates and other related forms show that this word is properly Siouan. The whole system of Siouan interrogative pronouns needs to be worked out in better detail before we can say more.

¹³ This item may be interpreted as containing a bit of evidence that this Siouan dialect -- which we are calling Saponi -- really was distinct from Tutelo. The reflex of PS **r* in Tutelo proper is generally *l*.

Cognates: Tutelo *ithá•* 'big'; Ofo *itháⁿ*; Monyton *ithá*; Dheg. *ttáka*; Dakota *tháka*.

f) HEAD /p^hasi/

Cognates: Tutelo *pasūi, pasūye*; Ofo *aphá*; Bil. *paa*; Dheg. *ppáa*; Winn. *páa*; Dak. *pha*; Man. *pa*; Hid. *apá* 'nose'; Cr. *ahpá*.

So the actual translation of the sentence is, "Which road you go (to the) horse head." The sentence is verb-medial, not verb-final, and there are no grammatical particles to indicate location or direction. Yet the vocabulary is one hundred per cent Siouan. Unfortunately it is the only clearly Siouan sentence that we have in either of our "Saponi" vocabularies. It is difficult to speculate on matters of syntax and grammar with such a limited corpus.

5. *Ohenopse* 'Brother'

Alexander: "This word seems neither Algonquian nor Siouan."

BROTHER /okinɔpsi/¹⁴

Cognate: Tutelo: *owáginǔⁿbǎh* 'my elder bro. male spkr'. (Dorsey)

Phonemicized Tutelo: o-wa-k i n ɔ p a h

Saponi: o- -h i n ɔ p (se) 'brother' (h + k ?)

6. *Inking* 'Presently'

Alexander: ". . . seems neither Siouan nor Algonquian."

SOON /iki/

Cognates: cf. Tutelo *ĩnktei* 'near'; Bil. *ĩnkteáⁿhi* 'next to (her)'.

7. *Mihu mima Mikito* 'My dear wife'¹⁵

Alexander: "This phrase is definitely Siouan." Cites cognates for 'woman'.

a) WIFE, WOMAN /mihɔ/

¹⁴ This Saponi form is clearly related to the Tutelo forms recorded by Hale in 1870, and although the word may contain the numeral 'two', Tutelo *nɔp*, it is not otherwise relatable to the rest of Siouan.

¹⁵ The literal translation here is clearly 'I my wife'. 'Dear' is nowhere mentioned.

Cognates: Tutelo *-mihúⁿ-* (Hewitt); Ofo *iyáⁿ*; Bil. *yañki* 'female'; Kans. *mí-* 'female'; Winn. Ch. *-mí*; Dak *wíyq*; Man. *wíhe*; Hid. *wia*; Cr. *wíia*.

b) I /mí•ma/

Cognates: Tutelo; *míma* 'separable pronoun., I' (Dorsey), *mím* (Hale), *míma micúⁿtk* 'my younger brother (Dorsey). Dheg. *wíe* 'I'; Ch. *mí²e* 'I'

c) MY, ALIENABLE /míki•to/ or /míki•t^hawe/¹⁶

Cognates: Tutelo *migítöwi*, *mikítowe* 'my, alienable' but N.B. Tutelo *witāmiheñ* 'my wife'. (Hale, 1883, 24)

This term would seem to be cognate with Dakotan *-tháwe*. The ending *-o* in the Fontaine form may well simply be a contraction of *-awe*.

8. Moka 'snake'

Alexander: "Conceivably this word could be Siouan." Cites Hidatsa *mapoksa*, Tutelo *wageni*.

SNAKE /møk^ha, ma^kh^a/

Cognates in Ofo and Biloxi are genuine but obscured by several regular sound changes: "Saponi": m o k a 'snake'

Ofo: oⁿk -tefi 'snake+striped;

Biloxi: n -dése 'snake (striped)' (Haas)

Tutelo: w ā g eni¹⁷ 'snake'.

Other cognates: Winneb.: w a k á 'snake'

m a k á 'medicine'

Chiwere: w a k á 'snake'

These well attested Mississippi Valley Siouan words for 'medicine' and 'mysterious' seem to have become mixed semantically in Saponi. Saponi appears to have the phonology of the 'medicine' term but the semantics

¹⁶ In Hale's Tutelo (1883), as well as in Ofo, 'wife' is inalienably possessed. In fact, Hale uses 'wife' as an example of inalienable possession, giving an entire paradigm on page 24. In the Fontaine list 'wife' is alienably possessed. Since 'brother' is also inalienably possessed in Tutelo, but bears no bound possessive prefix in the Fontaine list, we might conclude that the only available means of possession in "Saponi" was the simpler and more widespread alienable system with its separate pronouns. This simpler but cumbersome phrase for 'my (dear) wife' is further marginal evidence that Fontaine's list represents a pidginized form of Virginia Siouan and possibly a remnant of the Occonechi trade language.

¹⁷ The listed Tutelo form, *wāgeni*, is likely phonologically *wa•kq-ni*, since nasalized *ɛ* is the regular reflex of earlier *q* in Tutelo, and *g* is, of course, underlying *k*.

of 'snake' as it developed in Chiwere and Winnebago. The Ofo and Biloxi forms are accounted for by the following rules:

(a) Loss of initial labial resonants, *m* and *w*, is regular in both Biloxi and Ofo. There are many examples.

(b) Passage of #*a* to *n* / *_C* in Dorsey's transcription of Biloxi is regular. (What Dorsey heard and wrote as a syllabic nasal in 1st person *n̄k-* was most likely just the [*ɳ*] allophone of /*a*/ . RLR)

(c) Loss of stem final *-a* in composition in Biloxi, and Siouan generally, is regular (Einaudi, 1974, Rule 11). (Actually, this *-a* reconstructs as **-e* in Proto-Siouan. RLR.)

(d) *n̄k-* '1sg' becomes *n-*/*_d* in Biloxi, e.g., *n̄k-* + *-de* 'I go' > *nde* (*ibid.* p. 45).

(e) Rounding of *a* to *ɔ* is common throughout all of the more southerly Siouan languages. This crosscuts the genetic subgrouping and includes both OVS and Dhegiha Siouan.

9. *Mikta* 'Gun'

Alexander: ". . . probably Siouan." Cites non-cognates.

GUN /*m̄i•kte*/

Cognate: Tutelo *m̄iñktē* (Hale), *miñktēk* (Dorsey). Derived from the earlier word for 'bow', ultimately borrowed from Algonquian. Kansa *m̄jē*; Osage *m̄ice*; Dak. (*m*)*ita-*.

10. *Tabike* 'Powder horn'

Alexander does not identify. However, since *tabi-* is clearly 'ball', it is unlikely that this term really means 'powder horn'. Most likely it means 'shotbag', literally, 'ball carrier'.

a) BALL, SHOT /*t^hapi*/

Cognates: Tutelo *tapi*; Bil. *nitapí*; Dheg. *ttapé* 'ball'; Winn. *čáap-* 'lacross ball'; Dak. *thápa*; Man. *wipto*; Hid. *máotapi* 'ball'.

b) CARRY /*-ki*/

Cognates: Biloxi *ki*; All Mississippi V. *kʔi*; Hid. *ki*; Crow *chii*. The next line in the list, *miktoke*, is glossed 'shot bag', and I suspect a transposition of the two items, possibly when the list was copied by Fontaine's great grand-niece. Some reflex of **htape* is 'ball', including rifle balls, in nearly every Siouan language.

11. Miktoke 'Shot bag'

Alexander: Refers to *mikte* 'gun', which this incorporates. Again, however, there has been a mistranslation in the original list. The expression means literally *mikte* 'gun', *o-* 'within', *-ki* 'carry, pack', i.e.,

GUN CONTAINER, SCABBARD /mi•kt-o-ki/

Cognates: see 9 and 10b, above.

12. Honis 'Stockings'

Alexander: Does not identify as Siouan.

STOCKINGS /hatis/

Cognates: Tutelo *handis-ōnoi* 'shoes'. Cf. Biloxi *oⁿni* 'wear'. Full Tutelo form is probably *hət-'*?, *isi* 'foot' –*o•noi* 'wear'. Ft. Christanna Saponi *Honis* is evidently a casual contraction.

13. Lonoughte 'Breeches'

Alexander cannot identify.

a) Possibly *-noughte* refers to 'buttocks', Biloxi *nindi*; Dheg. *nīte*; Dak. *nīte*; Man. *nīta*.¹⁸

b) *lo-* is possibly related to Tutelo *olohi* 'tie'; Biloxi *du* 'tie' wrap around'. Syntax is wrong for this analysis, however, unless this variety of Virginia Siouan permits verb-object order (as, indeed, it seems to, cf. 4, above).

14. Opockhe 'Coat'

IT IS WARM INSIDE /o-poke/¹⁹ (?) Alexander cannot identify.

¹⁸ This is reasonable if the *-ou-* is due to assimilation or vowel harmony. It is common for 'trousers' to refer to wrapping or covering the buttocks, e.g., Quapaw *nītte odiši* 'trousers', lit. 'covers the buttocks'.

¹⁹ Use of the locative *o-* 'within' with articles of clothing is a common Siouan pattern, Kansa *ó-kkilaxla* 'shirt'; Biloxi *u-doxpe* 'clothing'.

Perhaps related to Ofo *pukě* 'it is warm' with the locative prefix *o-* 'inside'.

15. *Opockhe hassa* 'shirt'

WARM WHITE SKIN /o-poke ha asá/ (?) Alexander cannot identify.

a) *Opockhe* (v. 14, above)

b) *hassa*. Possibly *ha* 'hide, skin' and *asá* 'white', both with nearly identical cognates in nearly all Siouan languages. Also possibly Algonquian *-assay-* 'skin, pelt' (v. Siebert, 1975, 383).

16. *Machneto dufas* 'wig'

Alexander: "These words may be Siouan." Cites numerous correct cognates for 'hair'.

a) OUR HAIR /maḵ-naṭó, maḵnaṭó/

Cognates: Tutelo *maq-*, *mak*, *mañk* 'we, our'.

Tutelo *natonwe*, etc. 'hair'; Ofo *nathû* 'brain'; Bil. *naṭón* 'brain'; Winn. *naḳḳu*; Ch. *naṭu*; Stoney *naḳdu*; Man. *naṭru* 'brain'

b) *dufas*²⁰ Cf. possibly Ofo *tufi* 'to buy', i.e., 'our hair is bought'.

17. *Apato Bokso* 'Hat'

Alexander refers to Siouan *pa*, *apa* 'head' (v. 4f, above).

-to *Bokso*. Unknown, but Cf. Tutelo *kotubö*'s, *loboc*, *lubus* all meaning 'hat'. The phonology of this term may have gotten Bowdlerized.

18. *agohele* 'shoes' (also listed, Algonquian *Makasoons*)

Alexander cites the Tutelo forms below.

SHOE /a•ko•he•le/

Cognates: Tutelo *añgohlēi*, *āgōre*, *āgōdē*; Other possible cognates: Winn. *waaguḣe* 'moccasins'; Ioway *aguḣe* 'footwear'.²¹

²⁰ This form (*dufas*) is really impossible to explain. /f/ is unheard of in any Virginia Siouan language. Elsewhere in Siouan it is found only in Ofo as a reflex of PS *s. But, of course, this could be the earliest attestation of the English word *doofus*. ☺

19. Mosnuke 'Otter'

OTTER /maʃnuke/ (?) Alexander does not identify as Siouan.

Cf. numerous partially similar words for various rodents in Siouan and other eastern languages. Ofo. *oⁿfnátka* 'mouse'; Dheg. *tošnaqe* 'otter'; Winn. *toošqnaq* 'otter'; Tutelo *munaqka* 'beaver'; Mohawk *onú:kote* 'weasel'; Choctaw *ošan*; Creek *osánna* 'otter'. Others: Biloxi *xanaxka*, *cínaxka* 'otter'. Also Tunica *nuhki* 'otter'. It is not uncommon to find widespread similarity of bird and animal names in the Southeast. "Buffalo" and "robin" are two such in addition to the rodent and *musteladae* terms cited. The source language is often very hard to identify.

20. Impough 'Sword'

SWORD /ipu, ipo/ Alexander does not identify.

Possible cognate: Biloxi *iⁿpuúdahí* 'to protect'. Cf. also Ofo *oⁿphi* 'sharp'. But see the next item in the list.

21. Mahinkt 'powder'

Alexander registers as "probably Siouan" referring to *mikta* 'gun'. This term is not related to 'gun' however.

Possible cognates, v. 6b. *mą-* 'earth'.²² The remainder is unidentified. This may possibly be another instance of inverted or otherwise misplaced translations. If the correct gloss were 'sword', *mąhi* 'knife' would provide good cognates in Dhegiha and other languages.

22. Mankey 'Shot'

Alexander states that, "This word is probably Siouan", but he refers only to non-cognates.

BULLET ARROW /máki/

²¹ There are problems with some of the consonant correspondences between the eastern languages and Chiwere-Winnebago. These will have to be worked out before the etymology is secure.

²² It is common in Siouan for the word for gunpowder to contain the word for 'earth' and/or 'ashes'.

Cognates: Tutelo *mañkōi*, *mañksī* 'arrow'; Ofo *ó'fhi* 'bullet'; Bil. *añksí* 'arrow, bullet'; Dheg. *mą* 'arrow, bullet'; Winn. *máq* 'arrow'; Ch. *mą* 'arrow'; Dak. *wą* 'arrow'; Man. *wąh*- 'arrow'; Hid. *waita*. Catawba *wą* 'arrow'.

23. Money 'water'

Alexander: "This word is probably Siouan." Cites cognates.

(v. 2b, above) in the Byrd listing.

To summarize, from these two early eighteenth century word lists we have established or reinforced about forty morphemes that are clearly Siouan. Whether they were literally Saponi, or one of the mutually intelligible Virginia Siouan dialects, or a pidginized mixture, we cannot be sure.

The single semi-grammatical sentence and the atypical possessive constructions in the Fontaine list leave us suspecting that we may be dealing with a simplified language. Tutelo, as documented by Hale and the others 150 years later, displays all the complexity that we expect of a Siouan language, complexity that this variety of Saponi apparently lacked.

The juxtaposed but separate list of Algonquian numerals and the apparently Algonquian seduction dialogue (which contains many of the same Algonquian words collected by Strachey much earlier) indicate to me that Fontaine did not obtain the entire list from one speaker, if, indeed, it was provided directly by Indians at all.

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