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ELLIOT'S VOCABULARY OF CAYUGA

by Adam Elliot



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Preface to the 2000 Edition

Among the five (later six) confederated nations of the League of the Iroquois, the Cayuga have historically been one of the lesser members, counted in characteristic terminology among its "Younger Brothers." However, even a somewhat less prestigious membership in the League meant the Cayugas were part of a formidable diplomatic, political and military alliance which was respected and feared by both Europeans and Americans alike for almost two centuries. Only in the late 1700's, after two successive defeats in the French and Indian War and then the Revolutionary War, was the predominance of this alliance decisively broken, although the League organization itself continues to exist to the present day.

It has been noted that political independence within the League was greater than is commonly assumed (Tooker 1978), leaving each tribe to pursue their own self-interests to some degree. On the other hand as a "Younger Brother" situated between two more powerful "Elder Brothers" the Seneca and Onondaga—the Cayuga must have felt it to their political advantage to act in concert with them on occasion.

During the late 1600's for instance, Iroquois external politics was dominated by the Beaver Wars, a series of impressive conquests for access to lands rich in beaver, whose skins were prized by European traders. As a member of the League, it was only natural that the Cayuga join in the task at hand. They participated in expeditions with the Seneca, the "Keepers of the Western door," in conquering the rich western hunting grounds of the Ohio Valley, displacing many of the original tribes and destroying towns as far away as Illinois. And they also lent warriors in support of the centrally-located Onondaga, who, having no direct access to the west, launched attacks southward into Pennsylvania (against the Susquehannocks) and in Maryland and Virginia (against Algonquian and Siouan tribes).

The political alliance of the five original Iroquois tribes can be traced in part to their common linguistic heritage they all spoke Northern Iroquoian languages which have traditionally been classed within a "Five Nations-Susquehannock" subgroup. Expectedly, "each language has more in common with its next-door neighbor, in the eastwest distribution of languages, than it does with the geographically more distant languages of the group" (Lounsbury 1978). The Five Nations languages seem to have been diverging from each other for about 1000-1500 years: a comparatively slight time frame and certainly short enough to allow even the earliest European explorers to recognize their essential commonality.

Given the degree of intelligibility of Seneca and Cayuga (75-80%: see Hickerson, Turner and Hickerson 1952) they have traditionally been classified as descendants of "a single undifferentiated speech community, one which split apart only a few centuries ago" (Chafe and Foster 1981). However, historical linguistic analysis has made Cayuga's relations with the other Five Nations languages less clear. To be sure, the undeniably close relationship between Seneca and Cayuga strongly suggests common origin. But there is some other evidence (Mithun 1979, Chafe and Foster 1981) that Cayuga may not have the same parentage as the other Five Nations languages. It may have actually been an early offshoot of the Tuscarora branch of Northern Iroquoian, splitting off soon after Tuscarora did about 2000 years ago. Even this model, though, admits that Cayuga must have had extensive historical development within a Five Nations context. The traditional classification is reflected in the table on page 47, though recent surveys (Goddard 1996, p. 8) have been more cautious about supporting these subgroupings.

Considering the length of time in which the tribe was known to Europeans, Cayuga's recorded history begins comparatively late, with some numerals recorded in the mid-1700's and a vocabulary recorded by Georg Loskiel in 1789. Most of the historical documentation of the language therefore is of the 1800's, though happily, since the language has survived to the present time, it has been able to be scrutinized with all the benefit of modern linguistics.

The Cayuga vocabulary printed here is one of the most extensive of the language taken during the 19th century, collected in 1845 by Rev. Adam Elliot of Canada, using a schedule or linguistic questionnaire prepared by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. As seen in the letter printed on pg. 13, Schoolcraft had sent unfilled vocabulary schedules to William McMurray with instructions to fill in native equivalents for the English terms. McMurray passed them along to Elliot, who provided at least two vocabularies—one of Mohawk and one of Cayuga, both of which were subsequently used by Schoolcraft in later publications.

The Elliot Cayuga vocabulary first appeared in Schoolcraft's *Report to the Secretary of State* (1846), printed in its entirety beginning on page 271. There are 320 English words and phrases on the left and their Cayuga equivalents across the page, and the letter to McMurray is also reproduced therein.

The same vocabulary was reprinted the following year in Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois* (1847), this time in a multi-language table with vocabularies of the other Five Nations languages and also Tuscarora and Wyandot.

Lastly, the Elliot vocabulary appeared in Schoolcraft's great *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1851-1857). This time the Cayuga words were printed in a four-language table (with Mohawk, Oneida and Onondaga) labeled "Iroquois Group" on pages 482-493 of volume 2. This printing regrettably does not contain the whole vocabulary—all the numerals, for instance, are omitted—and each word has spaces between syllables that do not occur in the previous versions.

The headwords in this new edition are based on the vocabulary as it appears in the 1846 *Report*. Naturally, there are slight discrepancies between the words in this source and the other two: in the interest of completeness, almost all such discrepancies have been included here except for the inter-syllabic spacing of the *Indian Tribes*. These discrepancies are listed, in the Cayuga–English sec-

tion only, with either the designation "Notes" for *Notes on the Iroquois* (1847), or "I.T." for variations from the *In-dian Tribes* (1851-7).

Only two such textual variations have not been specially noted: the words given for 80 and 90 in the *Report*, listed there as "Tekroniwagshea" and "Tyohtoniwagshea" respectively. It is evident by comparison with the other multiples of 10 in the *Report*, and with the numerals given for 80 and 90 in the *Notes*, that the h and the s have been accidently transposed. The correct ending for these forms is "-waghsea", and in this reprinting they have been so amended.

During the early 1700's, their political power as yet undiminished, the Iroquois adopted remnant populations of tribes who fled to them for protection. The Tutelo and Saponi for instance, linguistically Siouan nations from Virginia, were allowed to settle amongst the Cayugas. But fortunes were soon to change drastically for the Iroquois, when their alliance with British during the Revolutionary War cost them devastating losses to the American army in 1779. The villages around Cayuga Lake were destroyed, and many of the remaining Cayuga fled to Canada.

By the first two decades of the 1800's, other Cayuga were joining the "Mingos", a band of independent Iroquois (mostly Senecas) who were living in Ohio along the Sandusky river. They supported the American side during the War of 1812, and shortly afterward were granted 30,000 acres along the Sandusky River, to which another 10,000 acres were later added. By 1831, however, the Cayuga had

sold this land and departed for Indian Territory, now Oklahoma; by 1838 what little land they still owned in New York State had also been sold, although throughout the century Cayugas continued to live on the Seneca and Onondaga reservations there (White, Engelbrecht and Tooker 1978).

Today the largest body of Cayuga is located in the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario; with a few also residing in northeastern Oklahoma. Their ancestral language is still spoken by adults (Goddard 1997). Two dialects have survived on the Six Nations Reserve, namely Upper Cayuga and Lower Cayuga; and a third dialect survives among the Oklahoma Cayuga (Sturtevant 1978, Mithun 1979).

-Claudio R. Salvucci, series ed.

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Excerpt from Schoolcraft's "Notes on the Iroquois"

The history of the Cayugas does not stand out prominently among the Iroquois, while it will be found that as one of the inclusive tribes who carried their name and fame so high amoing the aborigines, they have performed their due part, and produced warriors, sages and speakers of eminence. Were every thing else, indeed, blotted out of their history, the fact of their having produced a Logan* would be sufficient to rescue their memory from oblivion. In their early search after a place to hunt, fish and plant corn, as an independent tribe, they, on the assumption of their own traditions, passed up the Seneca river, into the sylvan and beautiful lake which bears their name. In visiting this lake the present year, in search of their ancient sites, it was not without a melancholy interest, that I surveyed, within the boundaries of Aurora, the remains of one of those apple orchards, which were ruthlessly cut down by a detachment of the army of Gen. Sullivan, in his severe but necessary expedition in 1778. Many vestiges of their ancient residence still remain in Cayuga county, nor has local memory, in its intelligent and hospitable inhabitants, dropped from its scroll the names of several of its distinguishing chiefs, and their places of abode. They point to a spot at Springport, now entrenched on by the road, where lie the remains of Karistagea, better known by his

^{*} Logan was the son of Skellelimus, a Cayuga, and went early to the Ohio valley, if he were not born there.

English name appellative of Steeltrap, one of their noted chiefs and wise men, who extended the hospitalities of his lodge to the first settlers on the Military Tract. The nation itself, although they had fought strenuously under the Red Cross of St. George in the Revolutionary war, appeared to be composed of mild and peaceable men, of friendly dispositions toward the settlers. They brought venison, fish and wild fruits for sale to the doors of families, whose elder branches yet dwell upon the shores of the Cayuga.

Yet their history is a melancholy one, and their decline, on the settlement of western New York, was probably one of the most striking instances of the rapid depopulation of a tribe in modern days. Their first cessation of land to the state was in 1789. This was confirmed at the general treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1790, and such had been the pressue of emigration into that quarter, that in 1795, at a treaty held at Cayuga bridge, they ceded their reserve of one hundred miles square in the valley of the Seneca outlet and the basin of Cayuga lake, reserving but four miles square. In these treaties they deemed themselves wise to change into large money annuities,* a territory which was no longer useful for hunting, and which they did not cultivate.

Experience has shown, however, throughout America, that Indian tribes, who live on annuities, and not by agricultural labor, are in the most dangerous condition of rapid decline. To render the danger eminent, it needs but the close proximity of a European population, who present the means of indulging selfish gratifications. Among these

^{*}A perpetual annuity of \$2,300 was secured by one of these treaties.

means, so seductive to the Indian mind, ardent spirits have ever been the most baneful. It proved so at least with the Cayguas, for within sixteen years after the treaty of Fort Stanwix, they had all emigrated west. Some of them had rejoined their brethren, who followed Brant and the Mohawks to Canada. Some had migrated to Sandusky, in Ohio, and others found a refuge among the Senecas, near Buffalo. With the Senecas they have ever been on the most intimate terms. Whilst they lived on the Cayuga lake, and the latter on the Seneca, they were separated by a midland range of forest, little more than sixteen miles broad. They intermingled freely in their hunting parties, and even in their villages. The inhabitants still point to a large tree near Canoga, on the banks of Cayuga lake, where the celebrated orator, Red Jacket, was born.

In investigating the Indian population of New York, under the provisions of the census act, I found 114 Cayugas residing in twenty families, on the Cattaraugus reservation. These families cultivate 316 acres of a land, and during the year 1845, they raised 1,970 bushels of corn, 210 of wheat, 955 of potatoes, and 277 of buckwheat, besides esculents and small articles. They were found to possess 43 milch cows, 39 horses, 40 sheep, and 109 hogs. Besides the Cayugas residing on the Cattaraugus, there were found, dispersed among the other cantons, 83 persons; making the whole number within the boundaries of New York, 197. The style of their dwellings is, generally, that of square timber, plainly but comfortably furnished, with glass windows, and plain common furniture. Sixteen of the number are members of protestant churches. The males dress exclusively in the European fashion, and their condition and prospects are, like those of the Senecas, among whom they dwell, in a high degree encouraging to the friends of humanity. Of the number out of the bounds of the state, there have been no accurate means of judging. The vocabulary of their language denotes a close affinity with other tribes of this family.

From a remark made to me by a daughter of Brant, (the late Mrs. Kerr,) at her house near Wellington square, Canada, in 1843, I am inclined to think, that in the early wars waged by the Iroquois against the Virginia Indians, the Cayugas defeated and made prisoners the remnant of the Tuteloes, whom they brought and settled among them, in the Cayuga country.

-Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, 1847.

Letter from Rev. Wm. McMurray to H. R. Schoolcraft

Dundas, November 11th, 1845.

My DEAR SIR—I have just received the vocabularies, with the Indian words, from the Rev. Adam Elliot, of Tuscarora, to whom I sent them for the translation. The cause of the delay was his severe illness, and the difficulty of getting suitable persons to give him the Indian. He says, before you publish, if you will send him, through me, the proofsheets, he will have them corrected for you, and forwarded without delay. He is an amiable and most excellent man.

Yours, most faithfully,

WILLIAM McMURRAY.

CAYUGA — ENGLISH

Adota. how. Aghseanewane, chief. Aghseghskaie, thirteen. Akaniago, beaver. Aksaa, boy. Aoha. he. Aohase, he is. Asohe, *night*. Ataghkwa, shoe. Aterotsera, friend. Atokea. axe. Atrakwenda, flint. Atsiokwaghta, pipe. Atstegwadi, without. IT. astegwadi. Atyatawitra, coat. Aweahevea, dead. Aweanaghsa, tongue. Ayeshaondak, to tie. Avohonk, to hear. Ayonontonio, to think.

Drahtaea, green. Drinaea, blue.

Eayontatea, to give. Eeanot, singing. Eghea, yes . Eshoghne, back. Eshoghtage, hand. Ethogh, on. Ewatsia, to burn. Exaa, child. Exaa, girl. Eyegoheg, to stride. Notes, I.T. "to strike." Eyeha, to carry. Eyehnikiha, to drink. Eyohteanti, to walk. Eyondatriyo, to kill. Eyondikoni, to eat. Eyonteandi, to go. Eyontreanote, to sing.

Goghteandiahandia, *walking*. Gotwesia, *liver*. Gwegon, *all*.

Hetgea, *above*. I.T. ketgea. Honkak, *goose*. Notes, I.T. honkah. Honta, *ear*.

I, *i*. Ihani, *my father*. Ihihawog, *my son*. Ii, *I am.* Notes si. Ikhehawog, *my daughter*. Iknoha, *my mother*. Ino, *far off.* I.T. eenoo. [eenoo seems to be miscopied from an adjacent Oneida vocab. —ed.]
Iongiahisko, *my wife*.
Ionkniniago, *my husband*.
Ise, *thou*.
Ishaie, *fox*.
Itekyatehnonte, *my brother*.
Iyaihhe, *to die*.
Iyakoyonde, *to laugh*.
Iyatage, *heel*.
Iyeghtaea, *to speak*.
Iyohea, *tomorrow*. I.T. iorhana. [iorhana seems to be miscopied from an adjacent Oneida vocab. —ed.]
Iyontkaghto, *to see*.

Jakota, to sleep. Jakowa, pigeon. Jatak, seven. Notes jatah. Jatakniwaghsea, seventy. Jatakskaie, seventeen. Jatego, retreat cry. Jikonsis, pike. Jiskoko, robin. Jiteae, bird. Jiteae, bird. Jitkwa, yellow. Johha, you, ye. Joniskro, squirrel. Jutedro, otter.

Kaaghkwa, sun. Kaghka, crow. Kaghsigwa, spear. Kagwetijiha, spring. Kahago, forest. Kaheantae, plain. Kahoweva, ash. Notes, I.T. kohoweva. Kainatra, knife. Kaisra, legging. Kajhista, sturgeon. Kajihwaodriohta, war club. Kakata. oak. Kakenhage, summer. Kanadsia. kettle. Kananagene, autumn. Kanatae, town. Notes, I.T. kanetae. Kanewageha, polecat. Kanhoha. door. Kaniaghtengowa, turtle. Kaniantasa. beak. Kaniawasa. iron. Kanikanawis, lead. Kanoh. arrow. Kanosiod. house. Kanvataeni, lake. Kanyateowaneghne, sea. Kaoha. she. Kaohyage, heaven.

Kaondanenkwi, horse. Kaota, gun. Kaowa. boat. Kaowagowa, ship. Kashatste, strong. Kaskwa. stone. Katrotaa, breechcloth. Kawaondes. wind. Kawaontes. wing. Kaweanotatias. thunder. Kaweghnod, island. Notes, I.T. kaweghnoa. Kawesea, patridge. Kawiaghsa, heart. Kawistanoo, silver. Keaankea. white. Keahevea, death. Kei, four. Keiniwaghsea, forty. Keiskaie, fourteen. Kekeaha, my sister. Kihade. river. Kohsreghne, winter. Konheghtie, woman. Kotshetot, navel. LT, katshetot. Kowanea, great. Krael. tree. Kwaa, woodpecker. Kwiskwis, hog.

Nagon, under. Nagongwadi, within. Najina, man. Naskwagaonta, toad. Nataongowa, eagle. Neangea, this. Nethonanyohtohaag, to be, or exist. Nikaheha, shirt. Niwaa, small. Niyoea, near. Niyoh, God.

Oaghkwaonio, sunfish. Oahsia. breast. Oats. oats. Odjiwagea, bitter. Notes, I.T. odjiwage. Oeanja, earth, land. Oghnawaot, spring. Oghnesia, shoulder. Oghsena, leg. Oghyakwea, toe. Oghyeanto, stream. Ogoneghwa, skin. Ogwenida, copper. Oheao. duck. Ohonda. shrub. **Ohotra**. basswood. Ohowa, windpipe.

Oidriondio. hail. Oitre. ice. Ojeighta, nail. Ojihougwa, ankle. Ojinohyada, sinew. Ojinohyada, vein. Ojishonda, star. Ojista, fire. Okaasa, evening. Okaghha, eve. Okao. sweet. Okonsa, face. Okontsha, knee. Okosteaa. beard. Okteha, turnip. **Onada**, bread. **Onajia**, wheat. **Onata**, *potato*. Ondateswaes, enemy. **Ondiadakwa**. seat. **Oneantsa**. arm. **Oneha**. *maize*. **Oneha otetra**. Indian meal. Onekreanda. stomach. I.T. onnekreanda. Onesoono, devil. Ongwehowe, an Indian. Ongwetasea, young. **Onhe**. *alive*.

Onhe, life. Onheha. bladder. Onhosia, egg. Notes, I.T. onhonsia. **Onhoska**, *thigh*. **Onia**, finger. Onieye, snow. Onikanos, water. **Onisrate**, day. Onoha, scalp. **Onoha**, they. Onojia, tooth. Onoksa. bass. Ononkia. hair. Onontae, hill. Notes, I.T. onontea. **Onontowanea**, mountain. Onoskwataa, infant. Onowaa. head. Onyaa, neck. Onvohsia, nose. Osaista. snake. Osea, fat. Osgeagehta, warrior. Oshita, foot. Oshkra. elm. Ostaa, pine. Ostaondion. rain. Ostea. old. Osteaha, rock.

Ostienda. bone. Ostotra, feather. Otaiho. hot. Otetra, flour. Otgweasa, blood. Otkoa, wampum. Otkwenjia, red. Otowi. cold. Otshata, sky. Otsinowa. insect. Otsionda, fish. Otsiouhta. claw. Otsta, scale. Oukyoha, we. Ouraghta, leaf. Owa, owl. **Owaho**, *flesh*. **Owahon**. meat. Owaia, fin. Owajista, bark. Oweanjanawe, bog. Oweha, flower. Owenoghkra, grass. **Owenokrasod**, weed. Owhesra, nettle. Notes, I.T. owhestra. Oyanri, good. **Oyanri**, handsome. Oyatakeaheyo, weak. I.T. oyatakeahyeo. Oyeanda, wood. Oyeangwa, tobacco. Oyeonta, body.

Sedetsiha, morning. Segh, three. Seniwaghsea, thirty. Shigea, that. Shoas, dog. Sishakaent, mouth. Skat, one. Skateweaniawe, one hundred. Skatskaie, eleven. Soheghkakaaghkwa, moon. Sohout, turkey. Sonaot, who. Sweandaea, black. Swegeha, by and by.

Tahioni, wolf. Tawistewi, snipe. Te out, muskrat. Teah, no. Teankate, to fly. Teaskoutea, nothing. Teatniagwistrista, sash. Tedea, yesterday. Tekayatakwa, hawk. Tekni. two. Tekniskaie. twelve. Tekniteweaniawe. two hundred. Tekro, eight. Tekroniwagshea, eighty. Notes tekroniwaghsea. Tesental. to run. Tewadisto, part. Tewaghsea, twenty. Teweaniaweetsaghsea, two thousand. Teweanihos, lightning. Teyagotkwea, dancing. Notes yeyagotkwea. Teyetasta, lodge. Teyodinekaondoa, sheep. Teyohate, light. Teyohyojis, sour. Tevondatnoonk, to love. Teyontkwa, to dance. Teyoseanthou, to cry. Tevoseantwas, crving. Teyostowento, valley. Tiadatsea. trout. Tidoskwaout. cow. Tikaweaniyoh, something. Tikroskaie, eighteen. Tiodnaawonhasta. headdress. Tiyotasontage, darkness. Notes, I.T. tiyotsontage. Tokatgisa, perhaps. Toutaend. hare.

Tyohto, nine. Tyohtoniwagshea, ninety. Notes tyohtoniwaghsea. Tyohtoskaie, nineteen.

Ustondriakta, meadow. Notes, I.T. ostondriakta.

Waetgea, bad. Waetkea, ugly. Waghsea, ten. Waghseanateweaniawe, one thousand. Wahontes, deer. Wanewanisade, today. Wis, five. Wiskaie, fifteen. Wisniwaghsea, fifty. Notes wisninaghsea.

Yei, six. Yeiniwaghsea, sixty. Yeiskaie, sixteen. Yekwai, bear. Yontskwaeonio, war cry.

ENGLISH — CAYUGA

Above, hetgea. Alive, onhe. All, gwegon. Am, I, ii. Ankle, ojihougwa. Arm, oneantsa. Arrow, kanoh. Ash, kahoweya. Autumn, kananagene. Axe, atokea.

Back, eshoghne. Bad, waetgea. Bark, owajista. Bass. onoksa. Basswood, ohotra. Be, to, nethonanyohtohaag. Beak. kaniantasa. Bear, yekwai. Beard. okosteaa. Beaver, akaniago. Bird, jiteae. Bitter, odjiwagea. Black. sweandaea. Bladder, onheha. Blood, otgweasa. Blue. drinaea. Boat, kaowa.

Body, oyeonta. Bog, oweanjanawe. Bone, ostienda. Bow, adota. Boy, aksaa. Bread, onada. Breast, oahsia. Breechcloth, katrotaa. Brother, my, itekyatehnonte. Burn, to, ewatsia. By and by, swegeha.

Carry, to, eyeha. Chief, aghseanewane. Child, exaa. Claw, otsiouhta. Club, war, kajihwaodriohta. Coat, atyatawitra. Cold, otowi. Copper, ogwenida. Cow, tidoskwaout. Crow, kaghka. Cry, retreat, jatego. Cry, to, teyoseanthou. Cry, war, yontskwaeonio. Crying, teyoseantwas.

Dance, to, teyontkwa.

Dancing, teyagotkwea. Darkness, tiyotasontage. Daughter, my, ikhehawog. Day, onisrate. Dead, aweaheyea. Death, keaheyea. Deer, wahontes. Devil, onesoono. Die, to, iyaihhe. Dog, shoas. Door, kanhoha. Drink, to, eyehnikiha. Duck, oheao.

Eagle, nataongowa. Ear, honta. Earth, oeanja. Eat, to, eyondikoni. Egg, onhosia. Eight, tekro. Eighteen, tikroskaie. Eighty, tekroniwagshea. Eleven, skatskaie. Elm, oshkra. Enemy, ondateswaes. Evening, okaasa. Exist, to, nethonanyohtohaag. Eye, okaghha. Face. okonsa. Far off. ino. Fat. osea. Father, my, ihani. Feather. ostotra. Fifteen. wiskaie. Fifty, wisniwaghsea. Fin. owaia. Finger, onia. Fire, ojista. Fish. otsionda. Five. wis. Flesh, owaho. Flint. atrakwenda. Flour. otetra. Flower, oweha. Fly, to, teankate. Foot. oshita. Forest, kahago. Forty, keiniwaghsea. Four. kei. Fourteen, keiskaie. Fox. ishaie. Friend. aterotsera. Girl, exaa.

Give, to, eayontatea. Go, to, eyonteandi. God, niyoh. Good, oyanri. Goose, honkak. Grass, owenoghkra. Great, kowanea. Green, drahtaea. Gun, kaota.

Hail. oidriondio. Hair, ononkia. Hand, eshoghtage. Handsome, oyanri. Hare, toutaend. Hawk, tekayatakwa. He. aoha. Head. onowaa. Headdress. tiodnaawonhasta. Hear, to, ayohonk. Heart, kawiaghsa. Heaven, kaohyage. Heel, iyatage. Hill. onontae. Hog, kwiskwis. Horse, kaondanenkwi. Hot. otaiho. House, kanosiod. Hundred, one, skateweaniawe. Hundred, two, tekniteweaniawe. Husband, my, ionkniniago.

I, i. Ice, oitre. Indian, an, ongwehowe. Infant, onoskwataa. Insect, otsinowa. Iron, kaniawasa. Is, he, aohase. Island, kaweghnod.

Kettle, kanadsia. Kill, to, eyondatriyo. Knee, okontsha. Knife, kainatra.

Lake, kanyataeni. Land, oeanja. Laugh, to, iyakoyonde. Lead, kanikanawis. Leaf, ouraghta. Leg, oghsena. Legging, kaisra. Life, onhe. Light, teyohate. Lightning, teweanihos. Liver, gotwesia. Lodge, teyetasta. Love, to, teyondatnoonk.

Maize, oneha. Man, najina. Meadow, ustondriakta. Meal, Indian, oneha otetra. Meat, owahon. Moon, soheghkakaaghkwa. Morning, sedetsiha. Mother, my, iknoha. Mountain, onontowanea. Mouth, sishakaent. Muskrat, te out.

Nail, ojeighta. Navel, kotshetot. Near, niyoea. Neck, onyaa. Nettle, owhesra. Night, asohe. Nine, tyohto. Nineteen, tyohtoskaie. Ninety, tyohtoniwagshea. No, teah. Nose, onyohsia. Nothing, teaskoutea.

Oak, kakata.

Oats, oats. Old, ostea. On, ethogh. One, skat. Otter, jutedro. Owl, owa.

Part, tewadisto. Patridge, kawesea. Perhaps, tokatgisa. Pigeon, jakowa. Pike, jikonsis. Pine, ostaa. Pipe, atsiokwaghta. Plain, kaheantae. Polecat, kanewageha. Potato, onata.

Rain, ostaondion. Red, otkwenjia. River, kihade. Robin, jiskoko. Rock, osteaha. Run, to, tesental.

Sash, teatniagwistrista. Scale, otsta. Scalp, onoha. Sea, kanyateowaneghne. Seat. ondiadakwa. See, to, iyontkaghto. Seven, *jatak*. Seventeen, jatakskaie. Seventy, jatakniwaghsea. She, kaoha. Sheep, teyodinekaondoa. Ship, kaowagowa. Shirt. nikaheha. Shoe, ataghkwa. Shoulder, oghnesia. Shrub, ohonda. Silver. kawistanoo. Sinew, ojinohyada. Sing, to, eyontreanote. Singing, eeanot. Sister, my, kekeaha. Six, vei. Sixteen, yeiskaie. Sixty, yeiniwaghsea. Skin, ogoneghwa. Sky, otshata. Sleep, to, jakota. Small. niwaa. Snake, osaista. Snipe, tawistewi. Snow, onieve.

Something, tikaweaniyoh. Son, my, *ihihawog*. Sour, teyohyojis. Speak, to, iyeghtaea. Spear, kaghsigwa. Spring, kagwetijiha. Spring, oghnawaot. Squirrel, joniskro. Star, ojishonda. Stomach. onekreanda. Stone. kaskwa. Stream, oghyeanto. Stride, to, eyegoheg. Strike, to, eyegoheg. (Notes, I.T.) Strong, kashatste. Sturgeon, kajhista. Summer, kakenhage. Sun, kaaghkwa. Sunfish, oaghkwaonio. Sweet. okao.

Ten, waghsea. That, shigea. They, onoha. Thigh, onhoska. Think, to, ayonontonio. Thirteen, aghseghskaie. Thirty, seniwaghsea. This, neangea. Thou. ise. Thousand, one, waghseanateweaniawe. Thousand, two, teweaniaweetsaghsea. Three, segh. Thunder. kaweanotatias. Tie, to, aveshaondak. Toad, naskwagaonta. Tobacco, oyeangwa. Today, wanewanisade. Toe, oghyakwea. Tomorrow, iyohea. Tongue, aweanaghsa. Tooth, onojia. Town, kanatae. Tree. krael. Trout. tiadatsea. Turkey, sohout. Turnip, okteha. Turtle, kaniaghtengowa. **Twelve** . tekniskaie. Twenty, tewaghsea. Two. tekni.

Ugly, waetkea. Under, nagon.

Valley, teyostowento.

Vein, ojinohyada.

Walk, to, eyohteanti. Walking, goghteandiahandia. Wampum, otkoa. Warrior, osgeagehta. Water, onikanos. We, oukyoha. Weak, oyatakeaheyo. Weed. owenokrasod. Wheat, onajia. White. keaankea. Who, sonaot. Wife, my, iongiahisko. Wind. kawaondes. Windpipe, ohowa. Wing, kawaontes. Winter, kohsreghne. Within, nagongwadi. Without, atstegwadi. Wolf. tahioni. Woman, konheghtie. Wood, oyeanda. Woodpecker, kwaa.

Yellow, jitkwa. Ye, johha. Yes, eghea. Yesterday, tedea. You, johha. Young, ongwetasea.

Numerical Table

- 1. Skat
- 2. Tekni
- 3. Segh
- 4. Kei
- 5. Wis
- 6. Yei
- 7. Jatak
- 8. Tekro
- 9. Tyohto
- 10. Waghsea
- 11. Skatskaie
- 12. Tekniskaie
- 13. Aghseghskaie
- 14. Keiskaie
- 15. Wiskaie
- 16. Yeiskaie

- 17. Jatakskaie
- 18. Tikroskaie
- 19. Tyohtoskaie
- 20. Tewaghsea
- 30. Seniwaghsea
- 40. Keiniwaghsea
- 50. Wisniwaghsea
- 60. Yeiniwaghsea
- 70. Jatakniwaghsea
- 80. Tekroniwaghsea
- 90. Tyohtoniwaghsea
- 100. Skateweaniawe
- 200. Tekniteweaniawe
- 1,000. Waghseanateweaniawe
- 2,000. Teweaniaweetsaghsea

CLASSIFICATION OF THE IROQUOIAN LANGUAGES

NORTHERN IROQUOIAN

Tuscarora-Nottoway Tuscarora Nottoway Huronian Huron Wyandot Laurentian Five Nations-Susquehannock Seneca Cayuga Onondaga Susquehannock Mohawk Oneida SOUTHERN IROQUOIAN Cherokee

Sources: Lounsbury 1978, Mithun 1979, Goddard 1996.