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ELLIOT'S VOCABULARY OF MOHAWK

by
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Preface to the 2000 Edition

Perhaps most well-known of the Five Tribes of the Iroquois League or Confederacy were the Mohawks, who lived along the banks of the Mohawk River about fifty miles upstream from its junction with the Hudson River. With the other Iroquois tribes to the east of them, and the Eastern Algonquians immediately to their west along the Atlantic coast, the Mohawks were known as the “Keepers of the Eastern Door” to their confederate allies. The full import of this location could not have been evident when the League was first founded: but when European explorers, missionaries and traders began to frequent the Atlantic coasts, the “Keepers of the Eastern Door” found themselves in a prime position to benefit.

Throughout the seventeenth century, when they are first encountered in the historical record, the story of the Mohawks is one of interwoven trade and warfare. The Mohawks launched wars against their northern neighbors such as the Algonquin, Montagnais, and probably also the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, who had all enjoyed a lively trade with the French, which the Mohawks wanted to participate in on their own terms. Similarly, they defeated the Mahican to the east in the 1620’s for direct access to the Dutch trading post at Fort Orange (later Albany NY and a British colony).

The Iroquois tribes were always known more for their military prowess rather than their trading ability, but after having handily defeated their enemies, the Mohawks grew

to be an exception to the rule. The new access to Fort Orange allowed them to become middlemen in the trade between the Dutch and the Iroquois, a lucrative position which was not particularly appreciated by the other Iroquois. But at the same time the Mohawks were prevented from exploiting this relationship, since they depended on their western allies, particularly the Seneca, for furs. So the balance of power between the members of the Confederacy held fast, creating a solid alliance that was respected and feared by European powers. As a whole the Iroquois profited, rather than suffered, from European colonialism (Tooker 1978; Wallace 1978); a state of affairs that lasted throughout the series of conquests known as the Beaver Wars of the mid-1600's until after the American Revolution, when the League's power (though not, significantly, the alliance) was finally broken forever by the newly independent "thirteen fires."

Mohawk is a northern Iroquoian language, most closely related to the other Five Nations languages and Susquehannock which was spoken along the Susquehanna river. Traditionally, these have all been assumed to have stemmed from a common ancestor which began to differentiate about 1000 to 1500 years ago (Lounsbury 1978; see also the classification table on pg. 45, reflecting the traditional view). But a more in-depth study of Cayuga, which shows evidence of branching off earlier, has made scholars more cautious about that assessment (Goddard 1996). We can say at least, that Mohawk and Oneida share an especially close bond, closer than any other two Five Nations languages.

French Jesuit missionaries in the 1600's were the first to come in regular contact with Iroquoian-speaking people, and noticed the strong similarities within that group. It was the Dutch however, settling along the Hudson River, who first recorded the Mohawk language in the middle part of that century. The 1700's saw a number of Mohawk texts published: remarkably for this early date, literacy became "widespread" among the members of the tribes (Goddard 1996. p. 24).

This vocabulary is one of a set of Iroquoian vocabularies collected at the request of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, an Indian agent who was appointed by Congress in 1847 to collect statistical and other data on the North American tribes. A letter from William McMurray to Schoolcraft, reproduced on page 13, indicates how the Mohawk terms were collected. Schoolcraft first devised a schedule or questionnaire containing more than 300 English words arranged topically—kinship terms, body parts, cultural objects, and so on. These schedules could be used to elicit equivalents for many different native languages, allowing not only for easier collection but also for more ready comparison.

One such schedule was sent to William McMurray no doubt with instructions to provide Mohawk equivalents for each word. McMurray in turn passed it onto the Rev. Adam Elliot in Canada, who provided equivalents in both Mohawk and Cayuga and sent it back. Elliot may have had some knowledge of the languages, though his remarks to McMurray suggest he did not—particularly "the difficulty of getting suitable persons to give him the Indian". We are

not given any information about who these suitable persons were.

Schoolcraft reprinted Elliot's vocabulary in three of his subsequent publications. It first appeared in his *Report to the Secretary of [NY] State* (1846), as a single vocabulary on pages 264-275. There are a total of 320 English words sequentially numbered, though a printer's error has the last seven words misnumbered as 214-220 instead of 314-320. Mohawk equivalents are given for all of these English words but five. A note after the vocabulary, obviously a direction to the collector, states "If there is no infinitive, insert verbs in their original form, as, He eats, &c."

A year later the Elliot vocabulary was printed as the first of seven Iroquoian languages in a table, on pages 393-400 of *Notes on the Iroquois* (1847). It is cited at the end as "(1) By Rev. Adam Elliot, Canada."

A slightly abridged version was then printed in volume II of Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States* (1851-1857), as the first column after the English in a four-language table on pages 482-493. A note at the beginning echoes that of the Notes: "Mohawk. By Rev. Adam Elliot, Canada." All of the numerals are missing in the *Indian Tribes* version, and there is a space between each syllable which is not found in the two earlier editions. Presumably these spaces did not occur in Elliot's original transcription, and were added later by Schoolcraft.

The headwords in this modern edition are taken directly from the version in the 1846 *Report*, but the other editions are cited whenever they differ. Citing all such

discrepancies has the advantage of minimizing the effects of printer's errors in any one version. The variant terms are marked in the Mohawk—English section only, with the abbreviations "Notes", "I.T." (Indian Tribes), or both when the sources agree.

I have not made it a point to cite the intersyllabic spacing that occurs in the *Indian Tribes*. Where it is necessary to include a word from the *Indian Tribes* because of some other, more important spelling variation, I have preserved it. But I have not thought it useful to include variants whose only difference is spacing, since it does not seem to be linguistically significant or even original to the vocabulary.

Today the largest groupings of Mohawks are in Canada and New York State. About two decades ago their language was still being spoken by a few thousand people (Mithun 1977). More recent surveys (Goddard 1996) have found it is spoken almost exclusively by adults; one of hundreds of ancient American languages which is likely to go from a living idiom to a historical treasure during the 21st century.

—Claudio R. Salvucci, series ed.

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Excerpt from Schoolcraft's "Notes on the Iroquois"

The *Mohawks* are supposed to be the eldest brother, in the symbolical chain of the Six Nations. Their own tradition assigns them this rank, and it appears to be consonant to other traditions.

When Tarenyawagon, their liberator from their subterranean confinement, bid them travel east, he gave them his personal conduct and care until they had entered the Mohawk valley. Some of their western brethren call this stream Tenonanatche, or a river flowing through a mountain. In due time, they went on into the valley of the Hudson, and thence, if we credit their annals, to the sea. The seat of their power and growth was, however, in the genial valley where they had first located. here they lived when the county was discovered, and here they continued to live and flourish until the events of the American revolution, and the determined cruelty which they exercised, under the authority and influence of the British crown, drove them out of it, and lost them the inheritance.

It does not appear, from any thing history or tradition tells us, or from any monumental remains in the valley or its immediate vicinity, that it had before been occupied by other nations. They do not speak of having driven out or conquered any other tribe. There are no old forts or earthern walls, or other traces of military or defensive occupancy, of which we have heard. Their ramparts were rather their own brawny arms, stout bodies and brave hearts. From the

earliest notices of them, they were renowned for wielding the war club and arrow with great dexterity. They raised corn on the rich intervals, and pursued the deer, bear and elk in the subjacent forests. Their dominion extended from the head waters of the Susquehanna and Delaware to Lake Champlain. They had pursued their forays into the territorial area of New England, as far, at least, as the central portions of the Connecticut, and had made their power felt, as temporary invaders, among the small independent tribes who lived about the region of the present city and harbor of New York. Wherever they went, they carried terror. Their very name, as we learn from Colden, was a synonyme for cruelty and dread.* No tribe, perhaps, on the continent, produced better warriors, or have ever more fully realized, as a nation, the highest measure of heroism and military glory to which hunter nations can reach.

In passing over the country which they once occupied, there is little to stimulate historical interest, beyond the general idea of their power and military renown. Their history is connected with the rise and influence of one of

* The word Mohawk itself, is not a term of Mohawk origin, but one imposed upon them, as is believed, by the Mohegan race, who inhabited the borders of the sea. Among this race the Dutch and English landed, and they would naturally adopt the term most in vogue for so celebrated a tribe. The Dutch, indeed, modified it to Maaquas—a modification which helps us to decipher its probable origin, in *mauqua* (by kindred tribes, *mukwa*, &c.) a bear. By others, it may be traced to *mohwa*, a wolf, and *awki*, a country. The Mohawk sachems, who presented their condolence at Albany in 1690, on the taking of Schenectady, said “We are all of the race of the bear, and a bear, you know never yields, while one drop of blood is left. We must all be bears.”
—Colden.

our most distinguished anti-revolutionary citizens, Sir William Johnson. The influence he obtained over them was never exceeded, if equalled, by that of any other man of European lineage. He moulded them to his purposes in peace and war. They followed him in his most perilous expeditions, and sustained him manfully, as we know, in the two great contests to whose successful issue he owed his laurels, namely, Lake George and Niagara. So completely identified were they in feeling and policy with this politic and brave man, that after his death, which happened at the crisis of '76, they transferred their attachment to his family, and staking their all on the issue, abandoned their beloved valley and the bones of their fathers, and fled to the less hospitable latitudes of Canada, from which they have never permanently returned.

Some twenty or more persons of this tribe are mingled as residents of the villages of their brethren, the Senecas, Tuscaroras, and Oneidas. A much greater number exist with intermixture of other kindred tribes, in the St. Regis canton of St. Lawrence county; but the greater number of the parent tribe reside on lands appropriated for their use by the British government, at Brantford, on the Grand river of Canada West. To this place at the close of the war, they followed their distinguished leader, Thayendanegea, the Jeptha of his tribe, who, against the custom of birth and descent, and every other obstacle, after the failure of the line of wise and brave chiefs to lead them to battle, was made their *tekarahogea* and leader, and displayed a degree of energy and firmness of purpose, which few of the aboriginal race in America have ever equalled.

What light the examination of the ancient places of burial of this tribes in the valley would throw on their ancient history or arts, by entombed articles, cannot be told without examinations which have not been made. Probably the old places of Indian interment about Canajoharie, Dionderoga, and Schenectady, would reveal something on this head, conforming at least, in age and style of art, with the stone pipes, tomahawks and amulets of the Onondaga and Genesee countries. The valley of the Schoharie and that of the Tawasentha, or Norman's kill, near Albany, might also be expected to reward this species of research. A human head, rudely carved in stone, apparently aboriginal, was sent to the New York Historical Society early in 1845, which was represented to have been found in excavating a bank at Schenectady. If this piece of sculpture, which denoted more labor than art, be regarded as of Mohawk origin, it would evince no higher degree of art, in this respect, than was evinced by similar outlines cut in the rock, but not detached, by some of the New England tribes.*

—Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, 1847

* Rude carvings of this kind are represented to exist on the banks of the Connecticut, at Bellows' Falls. &c.

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 proof-sheets, he will have them corrected for you, and forwarded without delay. He is an amiable and most excellent man.

Yours, most faithfully,
WILLIAM McMURRAY.

MOHAWK — ENGLISH

- Aeana**, *bow.*
- Aghsea**, *three.*
- Aghseaniwaghsea**, *thirty.*
- Aghseanteane**, *night.*
- Aghseyaweweare**, *thirteen.*
- Aghsikwe**, *spear.*
- Aghta**, *shoe.*
- Agwegen**, *all.*
- Akaraji**, *elm.*
- Akeanhage**, *summer.*
- Akyatakeaha**, *my brother.* I.T. **ak ya tat cke a ha.**
- Akyatoseaha**, *my sister.* I.T. **ac ya tat o se a ha.**
- Anokyea**, *muskrat.*
- Anowara**, *turtle.*
- Aonha**, *she.*
- Aonskwena**, *breast.*
- Arosea**, *squirrel.*
- Asare**, *knife.*
- Atearosera**, *friend.*
- Atokea**, *axe.*
- Atstenongati**, *without.*
- Atyatanha**, *sash.*
- Atyatavit**, *coat.*
- Aweanaghsa**, *tongue.*
- Aweri**, *heart.*

Canonta, *cow.* Notes, I.T. **kanonta.**

Ea, yes.

Eanekeri, wheat.

Easka, one.

Easkateweanyawe, one hundred.

Easkayaweare, eleven.

Eawatsha, to burn.

Eayaighheye, to die.

Eayakotawe, to sleep.

Eyakoyeshough, to laugh.

Eayehhawe, to carry.

Eayehnekira, to drink.

Eayenereanke, to tie.

Eayeyeanti, to strike.

Eayhorheane, tomorrow.

Eayonontonyeawe, to think.

Eayontatea, to give.

Eayontatenorronkwe, to love. Notes, I.T.
eayentatenorronkwe.

Eayontateriyo, to kill.

Eayontati, to speak.

Eayonteanti, to go. Notes, I.T. eayonteant.

Eayonteanti, to walk.

Eayontereanotea, to sing.

Eayontkaghtho, to see.

Eayloronkhe, to hear.

Eghnisera, day.

Eghnita, moon.

Eghnoyotea, to be.

Eghnoyotea, *to exist.*

Eghsa, *ash.*

Ehrhar, *dog.*

Enegea, *above.*

Ethogh, *on.*

Exaa, *child.*

Iighse, *I am.*

Iih, *I.*

Ino, *far off.*

Ise, *thou.*

Isteaha, *my mother.*

Iyeaha, *my son.*

Jatak, *seven.*

Jatakniwaghsea, *seventy.*

Jatakyaweare, *seventeen.*

Jighnanatak, *toad.* Notes, I.T. **jighnanatah**.

Jikonsis, *pike.*

Jirasakaronte, *mouth.*

Jiskoko, *robin.*

Jiteaha, *bird.*

Jitsho, *fox.*

Jiyoha, *you.*

Jiyoha, *ye.*

Jokawe, *crow.*

Jonitough, *beaver.*

- Kaghore**, *gun.* Notes, I.T. **kagaore**.
- Kaheanta**, *plain.*
- Kahnhia**, *flint.*
- Kahonji**, *black.*
- Kahontaxa**, *weed.*
- Kahoweya**, *boat.*
- Kahoweyakowa**, *ship.*
- Kaieriniwaghsea**, *forty.* Notes **kaierininaghsea**.
- Kaihoghha**, *river.*
- Kaiyeriyawear**e, *fourteen.*
- Kakare**, *breechcloth.* Notes, I.T. **kahare**.
- Kanata**, *town.*
- Kanatarok**, *bread.*
- Kanhoha**, *door.* I.T. **kan ho ho**.
- Kanonage**, *autumn.*
- Kanonawea**, *pipe.*
- Kanosa**, *house.*
- Kanyatare**, *lake.*
- Kanyaterakekowa**, *sea.*
- Karaghkwa**, *sun.*
- Karaghkwakeanjiea**, *sunfish.*
- Karhago**, *forest.*
- Karhakoha**, *hawk.*
- Karis**, *legging.*
- Karistaji**, *iron.*
- Karistanoro**, *silver.* Notes, I.T. **karistanora**.
- Karonghyage**, *heaven.*
- Kashatste**, *strong.*

Kawenote, *island*.

Kaweras, *thunder*.

Kawistanawis, *lead*.

Kaxaa, *girl*.

Kayonkwere, *arrow*.

Keahyea, *death*.

Keaikea, *this*.

Keankwetene, *spring*.

Keantsiea, *fish*.

Kearakea, *white*.

Keaweante, *today*.

Keyeaha, *my daughter*.

Kherhite, *tree*. Notes, I.T. **kherite**.

Kieri, *four*.

Koghserage, *winter*.

Kowanea, *great*.

Kwarare, *woodpecker*.

Kwiskwis, *hog*.

Nikakwerasa, *shrub*.

Nikeanjiakowa, *sturgeon*.

Nityoyeaha, *young*.

Niwaas, *small*.

Niyoh, *God*.

Niyorea, *near*.

Odare, *fin*.

Oghkvari, *bear*.

- Oghkwesea**, *partridge*.
- Oghna**, *skin*.
- Oghnagea**, *back*.
- Oghneahsa**, *shoulder*.
- Oghneanata**, *potato*.
- Oghnehta**, *pine*.
- Oghnekanos**, *water*.
- Oghnitsa**, *thigh*.
- Oghsina**, *leg*.
- Oghsita**, *foot*.
- Oghyakwe**, *toe*.
- Oginigwar karistaji**, *copper*.
- Oginigwur**, *yellow*.
- Oginohyaghtough**, *vein*.
- Oginohyaghtough**, *sinew*.
- Ogistok**, *star*.
- Ohonta**, *ear*.
- Ohonte**, *green*.
- Ohonte**, *grass*. I.T. o hon.
- Ohosera**, *basswood*.
- Ohowa**, *owl*.
- Ohrhes**, *nettle*.
- Ohrhonkene**, *morning*.
- Oise**, *ice*.
- Ojiera**, *nail*.
- Ojjija**, *flower*.
- Ojikakwara**, *bass*.
- Ojikeweyeanta**, *beak*.

- Ojikwa**, *turnip.*
- Okara**, *eye.*
- Okeasteara**, *beard.*
- Okonsa**, *face.*
- Oksteaha**, *old.*
- Okwaho**, *wolf.*
- Okwitsa**, *knee.*
- Onagon**, *under.*
- Onagounonga**, *within.* Notes **onagounnonga**.
- Onasakeara**, *goose.*
- Onawi**, *tooth.*
- Oneasti othesera**, *Indian meal.*
- Oneasti**, *maize.*
- Oneaya**, *stone.* Notes, I.T. **onehya**.
- Onegorha**, *wampum.*
- Onegweantara**, *red.*
- Onegweasa**, *blood.*
- Onekereanta**, *stomach.*
- Oneraghte**, *leaf.*
- Oneritsta**, *navel.*
- Onesohrono**, *devil.*
- Ongwehowe**, *an Indian.*
- Onheno**, *something.*
- Onhonsa**, *egg.*
- Oninheaghata**, *bladder.* I.T. **o nin he agh ka ta.**
- Onitskwara**, *seat.*
- Oniyehte**, *snow.*
- Onka**, *who.*

- Onkyoha**, *we.*
- Ononkwis**, *hair.*
- Onontsa**, *arm.*
- Onontsi**, *head.*
- Onora**, *scalp.*
- Onowarori**, *head dress.*
- Onta**, *kettle.*
- Onyara**, *neck.*
- Onyare**, *snake.*
- Onyataraa atyatawit**, *shirt.*
- Onyohsa**, *nose.*
- Orata**, *heel.*
- Orite**, *pigeon.*
- Oronya**, *blue.*
- Osinegota**, *ankle.*
- Oskoneantea**, *deer.* Notes, I.T. **oskoneantia**.
- Osnosa**, *finger.*
- Osnosa**, *hand.*
- Ostiea**, *bone.*
- Ostosera**, *feather.*
- Oteanyea**, *eagle.*
- Othesera**, *flour.*
- Otjiera**, *claw.*
- Otsenown**, *insect.* Notes, I.T. **ostenown.**
- Otshata**, *sky.*
- Otsta**, *scale.*
- Otsteara**, *rock.*
- Otweahsa**, *liver.*

Otyake, *part.*
Owagehaseaha, *by and by.*
Owajiste, *bark.*
Owarough, *meat.*
Owarough, *flesh.*
Owera, *wind.*
Oweya, *wing.*
Owhensia, *earth.*
Owhensia, *land.*
Owiraa, *infant.*
Oyeangwa, *tobacco.*
Oyeante, *wood.*
Oyeri, *ten.*
Oyeriteweanyawe, *one thousand.*
Oyeronta, *body.*

Rakeniha, *my father.*
Rakowana, *chief.*
Raonha, *he.*
Raonhase, *he is.*
Ratoryehta, *windpipe.*
Raxaa, *boy.*
Rongwe, *man.*
Rononha, *they.*
Roskeahragehte, *warrior.*

Satego, *eight.*
Sategoniwaghsea, *eighty.*

Sategoyawear, *eighteen.*

Shagoswease, *enemy.*

Skawerowane, *turkey.*

Sora, *duck.*

Tahontanegea, *hare.*

Takoskowa, *polecat.*

Tawine, *otter.*

Tawistawis, *snipe.*

Teankatea, *to fly.*

Teayenonyakwe, *to dance.*

Teayontskahou, *to eat.*

Teayoraghtate, *to run.*

Teayoseanthough, *to cry.*

Tekeni, *two.*

Tekeniteweanyawe, *two hundred.*

Tekniyawear, *twelve.*

Teteare, *yesterday.*

Tewasea, *twenty.*

Tewanerekarawas, *lightning.*

Teweayawe eghtseraghsea, *two thousand.*

Teyakenitero, *my wife.*

Teyakenitero, *my husband.*

Teyakononyakwea, *dancing.*

Teyakononyakwea, *crying.*

Tyetasta, *lodge.*

Teyohrowe, *valley.*

Teyohyojis, *sour.*

Teyoswathe, *light.*

Teyotinakarontoha, *sheep.*

Tiyohto, *nine.*

Tiyohtoniwaghsea, *ninety.*

Tiyohtoyawear, *nineteen.*

Toikea, *that.*

Tokeaha, *oak.*

Tokul, *perhaps.*

Tontatsyatonek, *retreat cry.*

Tyokaras, *darkness.*

Tyotyaktea, *trout.*

Wahetkea, *bad.*

Wahetkea, *ugly.*

Waontskwararonyea, *war cry.*

Wisk, *five.*

Wiskniwaghsea, *fifty.*

Wiskyawear, *fifteen.*

Yaghotheno, *nothing.*

Yagohteantyohatyea, *walking.*

Yagosateas, *horse.*

Yahtea, *no.*

Yaweahyea, *dead.*

Yaweko, *sweet.*

Yayak, *six.*

Yayakniwaghsea, *sixty.*

Yayakyawear, *sixteen.*

- Yeanteriyohtha kanyoh**, war club.
- Yeheantyakta**, meadow. Notes, I.T. yeheantyykta.
- Yereanote**, singing.
- Yohnaweronte**, spring.
- Yohyohonto**, stream.
- Yoisontie**, hail.
- Yokeanorough**, rain.
- Yokoraskha**, evening.
- Yonanawea**, bog.
- Yongwe**, woman.
- Yonhe**, life.
- Yonhe**, alive.
- Yonohonte**, oats.
- Yononte**, hill.
- Yonontekowa**, mountain.
- Yorase**, handsome.
- Yoresea**, fat.
- Yotarihea**, hot.
- Yotekha**, fire.
- Yotore**, cold.
- Yotskara**, bitter.
- Yoyatakeaheyeh**, weak.
- Yoyawere**, good.

ENGLISH — MOHAWK

- Above**, *enegea*.
Alive, *yonhe*.
All, *agwegen*.
Ankle, *osinegota*.
Arm, *onontsa*.
Arrow, *kayonkwere*.
Ash, *eghsa*.
Autumn, *kanonage*.
Axe, *atokea*.
- Back**, *oghnagea*.
Bad, *wahetkea*.
Bark, *owajiste*.
Bass, *ojikakwara*.
Basswood, *ohosera*.
Be, to, *eghnoyotea*.
Beak, *ojikeweyeanta*.
Bear, *oghkwari*.
Beard, *okeasteara*.
Beaver, *jonitough*.
Bird, *jiteaha*.
Bitter, *yotskara*.
Black, *kahonji*.
Bladder, *oninheaghata*.
Blood, *onegweasa*.
Blue, *oronya*.
Boat, *kahoweya*.
Body, *oyeronta*.

Bog, *yonanawea*.
Bone, *ostiea*.
Bow, *aeana*.
Boy, *raxaa*.
Bread, *kanatarok*.
Breast, *aonskwena*.
Breechcloth, *kakare*.
Brother, my, *akyatatekeaha*.
Burn, to, *eawatsha*.
By and by, *owagehaseaha*.

Carry, to, *eayehhawe*.
Chief, *rakowana*.
Child, *exaa*.
Claw, *otjiera*.
Club, war, *yeanteriyohtha kanyoh*.
Coat, *atyatawit*.
Cold, *yotore*.
Copper, *oginigwar karistaji*.
Cow, *canonta*.
Crow, *jokawe*.
Cry, to, *teayoseanthough*.
Cry, retreat, *ton tatsyatonek*.
Cry, war, *waontskwararonyea*.
Crying, *teyakononyakwea*.

Dance, to, *teayenonyakwe*.
Dancing, *teyakononyakwea*.

Darkness, *Tyokaras*.
Daughter, my, *keyeaha*.
Day, *eghnisera*.
Dead, *yaweaheyeha*.
Death, *keahyea*.
Deer, *oskoneantea*.
Devil, *onesohrono*.
Die, to, *eayaighheye*.
Dog, *ehrhar*.
Door, *kanhoha*.
Drink, to, *eayehnekira*.
Duck, *sora*.

Eagle, *oteanyea*.
Ear, *ohonta*.
Earth, *owhensia*.
Eat, to, *teayontskahou*.
Egg, *onhonsa*.
Eight, *satego*.
Eighteen, *sategoyawear*.
Eighty, *sategoniwaghsea*.
Eleven, *easkyawear*.
Elm, *akaraji*.
Enemy, *shagoswease*.
Evening, *yokoraskha*.
Exist, to, *eghnoyotea*.
Eye, *okara*.

- Face**, *okonsa*.
Far off, *ino*.
Fat, *yoresea*.
Father, my, *rakeniha*.
Feather, *ostosera*.
Fifteen, *wiskyawear*.
Fifty, *wiskniwaghsea*.
Fin, *odare*.
Finger, *osnosa*.
Fire, *yotekha*.
Fish, *keantsiea*.
Five, *wisk*.
Flesh, *owarough*.
Flint, *kahnbia*.
Flour, *othesera*.
Flower, *ojijia*.
Fly, to, *teankatea*.
Foot, *oghsita*.
Forest, *karhago*.
Forty, *kaieriniwaghsea*.
Four, *kieri*.
Fourteen, *kaiyeriyawear*.
Fox, *jitscho*.
Friend, *atearosera*.
- Girl**, *kaxaa*.
Give, to, *eayontatea*.
Go, to, *eayonteanti*.

God, *niyoh*.
Good, *yoyawere*.
Goose, *onasakeara*.
Grass, *ohonte*.
Great, *kowanea*.
Green, *ohonte*.
Gun, *kaghore*.

Hail, *yoisontie*.
Hair, *ononkwis*.
Hand, *osnosa*.
Handsome, *yorase*.
Hare, *tahontanegea*.
Hawk, *karhakoha*.
He, *raonha*.
Head dress, *onowarori*.
Head, *onontsi*.
Hear, to, *Eayoronkhe*.
Heart, *aweri*.
Heaven, *karonghyage*.
Heel, *orata*.
Hill, *yononte*.
Hog, *kwiskwis*.
Horse, *yagosateas*.
Hot, *yotarihea*.
House, *kanosa*.
Husband, my, *teyakenitero*.

I, *iih.*

I am, *iighse.*

Ice, *oise.*

Indian, *an*, *ongwehowe.*

Indian meal, *oneasti othesera.*

Infant, *owira.*

Insect, *otsenown.*

Iron, *karistaji.*

Is, he, *raonhase.*

Island, *kawenote.*

Kettle, *onta.*

Kill, to, *eayontateriyo.*

Knee, *okwitsa.*

Knife, *asare.*

Lake, *kanyatare.*

Land, *owhensia.*

Laugh, to, *eayakoyeshough.*

Lead, *kawistanawis.*

Leaf, *oneraghte.*

Leg, *oghsina.*

Legging, *karis.*

Life, *yonhe.*

Light, *teyoswathe.*

Lightning, *tewanerekarawas.*

Liver, *otweahsa.*

Lodge, *teyetasta.*

Love, to, *eayontatenororonkwe.*

Maize, *oneasti*.
Man, *rongwe*.
Meadow, *yeheantyakta*.
Meat, *owarough*.
Moon, *eghnita*.
Morning, *ohrhonkene*.
Mother, my, *isteaha*.
Mountain, *yonontekowa*.
Mouth, *jirasakaronte*.
Muskrat, *anokyea*.

Nail, *ojiera*.
Navel, *oneritsta*.
Near, *niyorea*.
Neck, *onyara*.
Nettle, *ohrhes*.
Night, *aghseanteane*.
Nine, *tiyohto*.
Nineteen, *tiyohtoyawaware*.
Ninety, *tiyohtoniwaghsea*.
No, *yahtea*.
Nose, *onyohsa*.
Nothing, *yaghotheno*.

Oak, *tokeaha*.
Oats, *yonohonte*.
Old, *oksteaha*.
On, *ethogh*.
One, *easka*.

One thousand, *oyeriteweanyawe*.

One hundred, *easkateweanyawe*.

Otter, *tawine*.

Owl, *ohowa*.

Part, *otyake*.

Partridge, *oghkwesea*.

Perhaps, *tokul*.

Pigeon, *orite*.

Pike, *jikonsis*.

Pine, *oghnehta*.

Pipe, *kanonawea*.

Plain, *kaheanta*.

Polecat, *takoskowa*.

Potato, *oghneanata*.

Rain, *yokeanorough*.

Red, *onegweantara*.

River, *kaihoghha*.

Robin, *jiskoko*.

Rock, *otsteara*.

Run, to, *teayoraghtate*.

Sash, *atyatanha*.

Scale, *otsta*.

Scalp, *onora*.

Sea, *kanyaterakekowa*.

Seat, *onitskwara*.

- See, to**, *eayontkaghtho*.
- Seven**, *jatak*.
- Seventeen**, *jatakyawear*.
- Seventy**, *jatakniwaghsea*.
- She**, *aonha*.
- Sheep**, *teyotinakarontoha*.
- Ship**, *kahoweyakowa*.
- Shirt**, *onyataraa atyatawit*.
- Shoe**, *aghta*.
- Shoulder**, *oghneahsa*.
- Shrub**, *nikakwerasa*.
- Silver**, *karistanoro*.
- Sinew**, *oginohyaghtough*.
- Sing, to**, *eayontereanotea*.
- Singing**, *yereanote*.
- Sister, my**, *akyatatoseaha*.
- Six**, *yayak*.
- Sixteen**, *yayakyawear*.
- Sixty**, *yayakniwaghsea*.
- Skin**, *oghna*.
- Sky**, *otshata*.
- Sleep, to**, *eayakotawe*.
- Small**, *niwaa*.
- Snake**, *onyare*.
- Snipe**, *tawistawis*.
- Snow**, *oniyehte*.
- Something**, *onheno*.
- Son, my**, *iyeaha*.

Sour, *teyohyojis*.
Speak, to, *eayontati*.
Spear, *aghsikwe*.
Spring, *yohnaweronte*.
Spring, *keankwetene*.
Squirrel, *arosea*.
Star, *ogistok*.
Stomach, *onekereanta*.
Stone, *oneaya*.
Stream, *yohyohonto*.
Strike, to, *eayeyeanti*.
Strong, *kashatste*.
Sturgeon, *nikeanjiakowa*.
Summer, *akeanhage*.
Sun, *karaghkwa*.
Sunfish, *karaghkwakeanjiea*.
Sweet, *yaweko*.

Ten, *oyeri*.
That, *toikea*.
They, *rononha*.
Thigh, *ognitsa*.
Think, to, *eayonontonyeawe*.
Thirteen, *aghseayaweweare*.
Thirty, *aghseaniwaghsea*.
This, *keaikea*.
Thou, *ise*.
Three, *aghsea*.

Thunder, kaweras.
Tie, to, eayenereanke.
Toad, jighnanatak.
Tobacco, oyeangwa.
Today, keaweante.
Toe, oghyakwe.
Tomorrow, eayhorheane.
Tongue, aweanaghsa.
Tooth, onawi.
Town, kanata.
Tree, kherhite.
Trout, tyotyaktea.
Turkey, skawerowane.
Turnip, ojikwa.
Turtle, anowara.
Twelve, tekniyaweara.
Twenty, tewasea.
Two, tekeni.
Two hundred, tekeniteweanyawe.
Two thousand, teweayawe eghtseraghsea.

Ugly, wahetkea.

Under, onagon.

Valley, teyohrowe.

Vein, oginohyaghtough.

Walk, to, eayonteanti.

Walking, yagohteantyohatyea.

Wampum, *onegorha*.
Warrior, *roskeahragehte*.
Water, *oghnekanos*.
We, *onkyoha*.
Weak, *yoyatakeaheyea*.
Weed, *kahontaxa*.
Wheat, *eanekeri*.
White, *kearakea*.
Who, *onka*.
Wife, my, *teyakenitero*.
Wind, *owera*.
Windpipe, *ratoryehta*.
Wing, *oweya*.
Winter, *koghserage*.
Within, *onagounonga*.
Without, *atstenongati*.
Wolf, *okwaho*.
Woman, *yongwe*.
Wood, *oyeante*.
Woodpecker, *kwarare*.

Ye, *jiyoha*.
Yellow, *oginigwur*.
Yes, *ea*.
Yesterday, *teteare*.
You, *jiyoha*.
Young, *nityoyeaha*.

Numerical Table

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Easka | 17. Jatakyawear |
| 2. Tekeni | 18. Sategoyawear |
| 3. Aghsea | 19. Tiyohtoyawear |
| 4. Kieri | 20. Tewasea |
| 5. Wisk | 30. Aghseaniwaghsea |
| 6. Yayak | 40. Kaieriniwaghsea |
| 7. Jatak | 50. Wiskniwaghsea |
| 8. Satego | 60. Yayakniwaghsea |
| 9. Tiyohto | 70. Jatakniwaghsea |
| 10. Oyeri | 80. Sategoniwaghsea |
| 11. Easkayawear | 90. Tyohtoniwaghsea |
| 12. Tekniyawear | 100. Easkateweanyawe |
| 13. Aghseyawear | 200. Tekeniteweanyawe |
| 14. Kaiyawear | 1,000. Oyeriteweanyawe |
| 15. Wiskyawear | 2,000. Teweayaw eghseraghsea |
| 16. Yayakyawear | |

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.