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CASTIGLIONI'S VOCABULARY OF CHEROKEE

by

Luigi Castiglioni

Evolution Publishing Bristol, Pennsylvania Extracted from:

Luigi Castiglioni. 1790. Viaggio negli Stati Uniti dell' America Settentrionale, fatto neglianni, 1785, 1786, e 1787 da Luigi Castiglioni ... con alcune osservazione sui vegetabili piu utili di quel paese. Milano, Stamperia di G. Marelli.

> The editor gratefully thanks his parents Antonio and Adriana Salvucci for their assistance in translation.

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CONTENTS

Preface to the 2004 edition	1
Excerpt from Viaggio negli Stati Uniti	11
Cherokee—English	15
English—Cherokee	25
Excerpts from Bartram's Travels	33
Classification Table	39

Preface to the 2004 edition

Perhaps the most well-known of all the eastern tribes, the Cherokee are first mentioned in 1540 when the conquistador Hernando DeSoto led an armed expedition through the country of the "Chelaque." His chroniclers brought back reports of copper, silver and gold in the mountains, which encouraged Spain to run stealth mining operations in the southern Appalachians over the next century. Ultimately however, it was colonists from English Virginia and the Carolinas, not Spanish Florida, who brought the Cherokee from their inland obscurity into the full light of history in the latter half of the 1600s.

Although archaeologists are understandably wary about connecting excavated remains with historic peoples, there exist several old and apparently independent traditions suggesting that the Cherokee's ancestors lived in the upper Ohio Valley and were involved in the building of mounds there. Cyrus Thomas demonstrated the likelihood that they participated—at least in part—in the "Moundbuilder" civilizations, though probably not within their historic homeland. Some Cherokee believed that the mounds in the Tennessee Valley were built by a previous tribe (Thomas 1884, Mooney 1900, cf. also page 33).

At any rate, the language of the Cherokee betrays a more solid connection with peoples to the north. Cherokee is an Iroquoian language, albeit the most divergent language among them. It is therefore distantly related to Tuscarora, Mohawk, and Wyandot, classed by itself in a Southern Iroquoian subgroup which has no other members (see classification table on page 39). Genetically speaking, this means that while all the Iroquoian tribes were still speaking a single parent language, Cherokee was already distinct and had been evolving on its own for some time. Since we have no written evidence of Cherokee's earlier manifestations, we cannot date its branching from the rest of the Iroquoian family with any certainty; based on currently accepted rates of change, around 1800–1500 B.C. is a likely estimate. Notwithstanding the traditions mentioned earlier, linguists and archaeologists are not certain where the original proto-Iroquoian speakers might have resided: both northern and southern migration theories have had their proponents (Foster 1997).

Three dialects of Cherokee are known. Elati (also called Eastern or Lower) Cherokee was spoken along the northernmost South Carolina-Georgia border along the upper courses of the Chattahoochee, Tugalo, Chatooga and Keowee Rivers. The Kituhwa or Middle dialect was spoken along the upper Tuckaseegee and Little Tennessee Rivers in western North Carolina. Otali (also called Western or Upper) Cherokee was the dialect of the Hiwasee River, as well as the Overhill towns of the Lower Tennessee border. We also have indications of other dialects which went extinct before or during the colonial period (Mooney 1975:196-197, Schroedl 2000:204-205).

Luigi Castiglioni (1757–1832) was a wealthy Milanese gentleman and botanist. He visited Paris in

1784 and made the acquaintance of a number of wellknown scientists and scholars there such as Benjamin Franklin, who came away from the meeting with admiration for this "gentleman so intelligent and so amiable." Castiglioni's meeting with Franklin began a remarkable series of encounters with some of the greatest luminaries in American history: Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, John Adams, James Madison, Patrick Henry and others. It is odd that history has not better remembered this eager young man who was received by so many illustrious men of the age, yet Castiglioni did not want for honors in his own time both scientific and political (Pace 1983).

In April of 1785, Castiglioni boarded the ship *Neptune* in England, and arrived in Boston harbor about a month later, thus beginning a long-awaited tour which he would later recount in his 1790 publication *Viaggio Negli Stati Uniti*, or *Travels in the United States*. The *Viaggio* is a remarkable state-by-state account of the new nation that was just then coming into being. While criticized for being rather general and adding little to our understanding of the dawn of the American Republic, it is undeniably a solid overview of the American landscape during that fascinating era. As time passes the *Viaggio* will doubtless become more and more important to historians.

A manuscript of the *Viaggio* in Castiglioni's handwriting still exists in a private library in Genoa; it is perhaps an early draft copy. A microfilm of this manuscript is housed in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Expectedly, the manuscript differs somewhat from the version as later printed, the two of which can most easily be compared in Antonio Pace's 1983 English translation, the most authoritative edition for textual analysis (Pace 1975, Pace 1983).

While the occasional Indian word is found throughout the *Viaggio*, the only major linguistic data is found in Chapter 8 "Georgia", which contains a parallel vocabulary in Italian, Choctaw and Cherokee. What little background information Castiglioni provides on this list is reproduced in the introduction (see page 11). We learn there that the Choctaw words came from an unnamed American who spent time with the tribe. It is not explicitly stated that the same author was also responsible for the Cherokee vocabulary, but that is the implication, and there are not such dramatic differences between the two lists that would immediately suggest different authors.

We do have one name that stands out as a probable source. In a phrase left out of the published *Viaggio*, the manuscript mentions an interpreter named William Stanley who translated the speech of the Choctaw ambassador Spokohummah to Governor William Moultrie of South Carolina (Pace 1983:132; 292 n. 19). The vocabulary immediately follows Spokohummah's speech in the published version; both chronology and narrative context suggesting it was obtained at around the same time.

Other than William Stanley, Castiglioni does not offer any other plausible Choctaw-speaking candidates, making it sensible for the time being to assign credit to him. That Stanley would have known Cherokee as well is quite probable as an interpreter for South Carolina. The Cherokee had been signatories to the Hopewell treaty on November 28, 1785. Governor Moultrie himself had been in the Cherokee country with less pacific motives in 1761, taking part in an invasion led by Colonel James Grant, in which all 15 of the Middle Cherokee towns were destroyed.

A cursory linguistic comparison against Mooney's dialect table (Mooney 1975:196) shows that the Castiglioni vocabulary is of the Western or Upper dialect of Cherokee, even though the traveler's intinerary along the Savannah River would have actually brought him nearest the Lower Towns. There is no further hint of which town the Cherokee vocabulary pertained to; the one geographic clue that the Cherokee were "bordering on" the Choctaw is hard to reconcile with another statement that the Choctaws were residing on the Mobile River far to the south.

The headwords of this vocabulary are taken from Castiglioni's published *Viaggio* of 1790, and the original Italian definitions I have translated into English. In order to provide a more complete linguistic record I have also noted where the manuscript words differ from the published ones. These variations have been cataloged by Pace in endnotes (1983, p. 294-296); they are listed here in the Cherokee–English section after the headword with the abbreviation MS. It is difficult to ascertain, however, which version is closer to the original vocabulary— detailed textual and linguistic analysis will be needed to help solve the problem. The manuscript "appears to rep-

resent a stage between the original notes that survived the rushing streams and other perils of the New World and the final *Viaggio* printed in two volumes in Milan in 1790" (Pace 1975). It may not then, be the most original copy—and the version prepared for publication might have been corrected and proofed to an extent this apparently intermediate manuscript might not have.

By way of comparison, I have also included in this volume another source for the Cherokee of the same time period: the American botanist William Bartram (1739–1823), excerpts of whose Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida... are given beginning on page 33. Bartram's Travels were published a year after Castiglioni's though his actual traveling predated the Italian's by a decade. Although Bartram spent time in Cherokee towns and documented more of their culture than Castiglioni did, he did not record much linguistic material beyond a few impressionistic observations at the end of his book. His interests were more stimulated by the mounds; his comments from an earlier section of the Travels on some of the Cherokee traditions surrounding them are given after the linguistic chapter. The excerpts close with his valuable listing of the 43 Cherokee towns during the 1770s.

Whatever the intentions of the Hopewell Treaty between the Cherokee and South Carolina, it did not settle any boundary disputes, coming as it did during a period when weak state and national governments were feebly trying to get a handle on the near anarchy of the frontier. Settlers called "Franklinites," who wanted to establish an independent state west of North Carolina, streamed over the mountains seizing land that the treaty had reserved for the Cherokee. President Washington's Secretary of War called this violation of Hopewell "disgraceful" and criticized its "direct and manifest contempt" of federal authority: "The Indian tribes can have no faith in such imbecile promises, and the lawless whites will ridicule a government which shall on paper only make Indian treaties and regulate Indian boundaries." Yet little was done to remedy the wrong as the national attention began to focus on the ratification of the Constitution.

Likewise, although the majority of the Cherokee Nation desired peace, a breakaway band of warriors called the Chickamauga under Dragging-Canoe continued to attack and plunder white settlers on the frontier, with covert encouragement and military aid from Spain. The simmering bloodshed came to a head in September 1794 when a 550-man territorial militia defied federal orders and invaded and destroyed the Chickamauga towns of Nickajack and Running Water. This action shattered the power of the hostile party of Cherokee and was the effective end of Cherokee political dominance in the region.

Yet even after such dispiriting defeats, and ones that still threatened in the future such as the infamous Trail of Tears, the Cherokee have weathered their historical storms amazingly well. In the 2000 census 729,533 Americans claimed Cherokee ancestry, more than doubling the 1990 census data and making it by far the most numerous American Indian tribe in the U.S. It is important, though, to stress that this number depends entirely on self-identification; less than a quarter of these are enrolled in federally recognized tribes whose membership requirements are far more genealogically stringent. Nevertheless the recent striking increase in the number of people claiming descent from this ancient and famous tribe, is a testimony to that dramatic historical presence of the Cherokee still celebrated in story and song.

-Claudio R. Salvucci, series ed.

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Excerpt from Castiglioni's Viaggio Negli Stati Uniti

With regard to the *Choctaw* savages, it would not be disagreeable to find here a dictionary of their language, communicated to me from a person who spent much time with them. Together with it I also had one of the *Cherokee*, who even though neighboring the first tribe, have a language completely different. Regarding the pronunciation, it is to be observed that the vocabulary was written by an American, and must therefore be pronounced with an English accent. Thus, for example: *Echnau-té*, must be pronounced in Italian *Ec-no-tí* and *Awbusta-hoo-bó*, *Ou-bosta-u-bó*, and since in English the double *oo* corresponds with the Italian vowel *u*, when it is necessary to indicate two separate *o*'s, these are signified with a line above as in the word $\delta \tilde{o} - k \delta \tilde{o} - too-she$

It is noted that in the savage languages, words are composed of various syllables, each of which has for the most part its own meaning, which can easily be observed also in these two languages. In *Choctaw* for example *Hattuch* means man, *Ehoo-you* woman, *Ehoo-tuch* husband, or rather "the man of a woman", and *Ehoo-luch*, to love. Thus in the same language the sun is called *Hash-thee*, the night *Nen-uck*, and the moon *Hash-nen-uck-iah*, that is, "sun of the night." Then in the language of the *Cherokee Oo-talléh* means husband, *Ak-aieh* woman, *Akoo-talleh* wife, *Ak-oo-talleech* to love, *Ai-cheh* mother, and *Ai-oo-talleh* child. The sun alike is called *Neuto*, the night *Sanoy*, and the compound *Sanoy-neuto* (as in the language of the Choctaws) is the name of the moon. Also to be observed are some singular expressions born of the poverty of the language. In that of the Cherokees, *Cunne*, a word which equally serves to denote arrow and lead, indicates generally a deadly instrument; in fact, not only does it come into *Cunne-cune-stiket*, musket ball, in *Ailstee-cunne-heetah* sword, and in *Cunne-un-noah* pipe or axe, but also in *Cunne-kowe*, and *Cunne-yeonah*, that is, deer skin and bear skin, as if to say "deer of the arrow" and "bear of the arrow". Other various observations on the roots of terms could be made which for brevity are omitted....

The *Creeks* mentioned above, which are very numerous, and brave warriors, dwell even today in the western region. To the East near the banks of the *Missisipi* are the *Choctaws*, and to the northwest the *Cherokees*, the villages of which are the closest to the present confines of *Carolina*. Between the *Cherokees*, and the *Choctaws* is the nation of the *Chickasaws*, which extends its territory until almost the *Missisipi*, and finally in the northern extremities there live mixed with Europeans the few individuals descended from the once powerful nation of the Catawba.

-Luigi Castiglioni, 1790.

CHEROKEE—ENGLISH

A-cha-ie, vase for boiling water. A-checa-tena-chelah, eyelids. MS. akekattenakehah. A-hanah, come. Ai-cheh. mother. Ail-stee, knife. MS. ail-stee. Ail-stee-cunne-heetah, sword. MS. yailstecunneheetah. Aino-cheh. snow. Ai-oo-talleh, child. MS. aioteleh. Ak-aieh, woman. Ak-aieh-chetseh, girl. Ak-ee-nelea, brother. Ak-oo-talleech, to love. MS. aquatooleach. Ak-oo-talleh, wife. MS. agotalleeh. Akota-entote, belly button. MS. akoteentotte. Akota-sute-koo-ane, fingers. MS. akotasotekooane. A-lo-cheh, aunt. MS. alokeh. An-cato, sister. MS. anketo. Aquoh-jane, hand. MS. akayama. Aquoh-kitaje, face. Aquoh-suskeh, toenail. MS. aquasuskeh. Aquon-hee, river. MS. aquonee. Asu-loch, stockings. Asu-noh, little skirt. At-hutto-chaine, where do you live? A-too-cheh, uncle. A-too-teh, father. MS. atoteh. Aw-leke-kuh, very badly. MS. auklekekuh.

Cana-sos-kek, hail. Cano-lia-hanah, boiled corn. MS. canolianah. Cato-kane, heel. MS. catekane. Caw-cato. thigh. Caw-es-kek, rain. Caw-oste-keta-nale, to work. Caw-tah, earth. Caw-to-etole-chaine-say, in what region? MS. kawtohetotechainsaye. Caw-too, bread. Cay-say-etch, undergarment. Chano-lachee, to think. Che-aley, body. Che-aneh, chin. Chea-tee, sides. Checa-anta-kana, forehead. Checa-shane, lower abdomen. Checa-tes-kana, eyebrow. Checa-tolah, eyes. Chechu-guala, anklebone. Cheet-sanee, neck. Chela-sotta, groin. Che-le, fire. Chena-gane, knee. MS. chene-gane. Chena-ken, arm. MS. chenoken. Chena-shane, leg. MS. chenescane. Chena-solah, nose. Chena-sute-hõõ-tanoe, toe. MS. chenassetahootanoh.

Chena-tesce, chest. Chena-tuli-he, tooth. MS. chenutulich. Chena-we, shoulders. MS. chonawe. Cheo-leh. mouth. Chequee-shane, elbow. Chera-quee, Cherokee. Che-scolah, head. Chew, canoe. Chew-aquoh, ship. Che-yock, otter skin. Cho-lah, tobacco. Chou-stona-nee, wool blanket. Chu-cho-cheh, boy. MS. chuchoch. Chu-suskeh, fingernails. Cicka-saw, Chickasaw. Coo-cay, Spring. MS. kokay. Coo-hee, just now. Coola-sute-noe, foot. MS. coolasetaine. Coo-lateu. Winter. Coosoh. Creek. Coo-yee, Summer. Cosa-lanah. suit or dress. Cowe-tah, Creek. Cullo-quah, gun. Cullo-stee, axe, or club. Cunne, arrow, lead; deadly instrument. **Cunne-cune-stiket**, [musket] *balls*. MS. cunnechunestikeh.

Cunne-kay-kowe, *deer skin*. MS. cunnecuh. Cunne-kay-yeonah, *bear skin*. MS. cunnekajyonah. Cunne-un-noah, *pipe*. MS. cunnunnoah.

Ecah, day. Ech-nau-te, God. Echu-luch, bow. Ehuh-kul-sti-nah, dinner. Ekah-tay-oie, east. MS. ekuttayoie. Ek-hee, they. MS. ekeh. Ena-kay, blue. Enetno-halee, to speak. En-whooh, shirt. En-whooh-hõõ-tanoe, blanket.

Hanah, go. Haw-eneh, to walk. Howe, deer. Howe-yeh, meat.

It-say, green. MS. itsayee.

Junck, I. MS. yunch.

Kala-lata, sky. Kalunt-chech, Frenchman. Kana-cut-lah, lip. MS. kana-cut-lah. Kana-kek, tongue. MS. canuhkek. Ke-cleh, hair. Kee-tee, dog. Keko-kay, red. MS. kekokaye. Kia-sute-hoo-tanoe, thumb. Kul-stinah, to eat. MS. kalistaieneh. Kut-och, what. Kut-on-stek, how. MS. kuttonstek.

Lake-you, when. Law-quoy-enteh, how far?

Ne-hato-hee, we. MS. nehatoe. Ne-hee, you (pl.), you (sing.). Neilta-hee, stream. Neuto, sun. No-kusah, stars. MS. noikusah. Nung-kelesh, Englishman. Nunno-hee, reed.

Ocho-weyoh-hee, king, or chief. Ona-kay, black. Oo-cana-ich, south. Oo-nol-seh, air. Oo-saha-ich, west. Oo-talleh, husband. MS. ootalleeh. O-see-cyouh, good. O-see-you, very well. Ot-al-hee, mountain. MS. otalleh. Ow-ah, I want; yes.

Sai-loo, corn.
Sanoy, night. MS. sanoch.
Sanoy-neuto, moon. MS. saynoineuto.
Shun-alah-kulsti-nah, breakfast.
Ski-agu-sta, warrior.
Skinch, man.
Slekay-yock, branch of a river.
So-quile, horse.
Squa-nah, Spaniard.
Squla-cay-octoé, women's short skirt. MS. squlakaiouctoé.
Suneah-kul-sti-nah, supper.

Tachista ohah-o-see-you, *pellets*. MS. tachistaohahas-esyou.

Te-caw-teta-hé, to drink.

Tellon-kay, yellow.

Tiloo-fula-skeh, socks. MS. tiloofulaokeh.

Tiloo-shulo-tusta-tleh, shoes. MS. tileshulotustatleh.

Tinta-yole-kuh, how are you?

Toel-kis-kee, gunpowder.

Too-checa-tles-kelc-keh, eyelash. MS. toochekotleskelckeh.

Too-chousa-tela-sak, nostrils. MS. tucheusatelasak.

Toto-che so-quile taneh, to run. MS. totochesquiletaneh. Towes-cola, flint. To-yee, beaver skin. Tu-chela-ne, to sleep.

Um-mah, water. Una-kel, white. Un-tlah, no. Un-tlah-kela, I don't want. Ut-luch, where.

Veent-clee, north.

Wan-kee, cow. MS. wankey.
Waws-hee, he. MS. wawsheh.
Weya-weyouh, bad.
Wooh-tut-lay, America. MS. Wohtutlay.
Wye-kee, I cannot. MS. wyekih.

Yeo-nah, bear. You-weyoh, savage.

ENGLISH—CHEROKEE

Abdomen, lower, checa-shane. Air, oo-nol-seh. America, wooh-tut-lay. Anklebone, chechu-guala. Arm, chena-ken. Arrow, cunne. Aunt, a-lo-cheh. Axe, cullo-stee.

Bad, weya-weyouh. Badly, very, aw-leke-kuh. Bear, yeo-nah. Bear skin, cunne-kay-yeonah. Beaver skin, to-yee. Belly button, akota-entote. Black, ona-kay. Blanket, en-whooh-hõõ-tanoe. Wool blanket, choustona-nee. Blue, ena-kay. Body, che-aley. Bow, echu-luch. Boy, chu-cho-cheh. Branch of a river, slekay-yock. Bread, caw-too. Breakfast, shun-alah-kulsti-nah. Brother, ak-ee-nelea.

Cannot, I, wye-kee.

Canoe, chew. Cherokee, chera-quee. Chest, chena-tesce. Chickasaw, cicka-saw. Chief, ocho-weyoh-hee. Child, ai-oo-talleh. Chin, che-aneh. Club, cullo-stee. Come, a-hanah. Corn, sai-loo. Boiled corn, cano-lia-hanah. Cow, wan-kee. Creek, Cowe-tah or Coo-soh.

Day, ecah. Deer skin, cunne-kay-kowe. Deer, howe. Dinner, ehuh-kul-sti-nah. Dog, kee-tee. Dress, cosa-lanah. Drink, to, te-caw-teta-hé.

Earth, caw-tah. East, ekah-tay-oie. Eat, to, kul-stinah. Elbow, chequee-shane. Englishman, nung-kelesh. Eyebrow, checa-tes-kana. Eyelash, too-checa-tles-kelc-keh. **Eyelids**, *a-checa-tena-chelah*. **Eyes**, *checa-tolah*.

Face, aquoh-kitaje.
Father, a-too-teh.
Fingers, akota-sute-koo-ane.
Fingernails, chu-suskeh.
Fire, che-le.
Flint, towes-cola.
Foot, coola-sute-noe.
Forehead, checa-anta-kana.
Frenchman, kalunt-chech.

Girl, ak-aieh-chetseh. Go, hanah. God, ech-nau-te. Good, o-see-cyouh. Green, it-say. Groin, chela-sotta. Gun, cullo-quah. Gunpowder, toel-kis-kee.

Hail, cana-sos-kek. Hair, ke-cleh. Hand, aquoh-jane. He, waws-hee. Head, che-scolah. Heel, cato-kane. Horse, so-quile. How are you?, tinta-yole-kuh. How far?, law-quoy-enteh. How, kut-on-stek. Husband, oo-talleh.

I, junck. In what region?, caw-to-etole-chaine-say.

King, ocho-weyoh-hee. Knee, chena-gane. Knife, ail-stee.

Lead, cunne. Leg, chena-shane. Lip, kana-cut-lah. Love, to, ak-oo-talleech.

Man, skinch. Meat, howe-yeh. Moon, sanoy-neuto. Mother, ai-cheh. Mountain, ot-al-hee. Mouth, cheo-leh. Musket balls, cunne-cune-stiket.

Neck, cheet-sanee. Night, sanoy. No, un-tlah. North, veent-clee. Nose, chena-solah. Nostrils, too-chousa-tela-sak. Now, just, coo-hee.

Otter skin, che-yock.

Pellets, tachista ohah-o-see-you. Pipe, cunne-un-noah.

Rain, caw-es-kek. Red, keko-kay. Reed, nunno-hee. River, aquon-hee. Run, to, toto-che so-quile taneh.

Savage, you-weyoh.
Ship, chew-aquoh.
Shirt, en-whooh.
Shoes, tiloo-shulo-tusta-tleh.
Shoulders, chena-we.
Sides, chea-tee.
Sister, an-cato.
Skirt, little, asu-noh. Women's short skirt, squla-cay-octoé.
Sky, kala-lata.
Sleep, to, tu-chela-ne.

Snow, aino-cheh. Socks, tiloo-fula-skeh. South, oo-cana-ich. Spaniard, squa-nah. Speak, to, enetno-halee. Spring, coo-cay. Stars, no-kusah. Stockings, asu-loch. Stream, neilta-hee. Suit, cosa-lanah. Summer, coo-yee. Sun, neuto. Supper, suneah-kul-sti-nah. Sword, ail-stee-cunne-heetah.

They, ek-hee. Thigh, caw-cato. Think, to, chano-lachee. Thumb, kia-sute-hoo-tanoe. Tobacco, cho-lah. Toe, chena-sute-hõõ-tanoe. Toenail, aquoh-suskeh. Tongue, kana-kek. Tooth, chena-tuli-he.

Uncle, *a-too-cheh*. Undergarment, *cay-say-eteh*. Vase for boiling water, a-cha-ie.

Walk, to, haw-eneh. Want, I, ow-ah. I don't want, un-tlah-kela. Warrior, ski-agu-sta. Water, um-mah. We, ne-hato-hee. Well, verv, o-see-vou. West, oo-saha-ich. What, kut-och. When, lake-you. Where, ut-luch. Where do you live?, at-hutto-chaine. White, una-kel. Wife, ak-oo-talleh. Winter, coo-lateu. Woman, ak-aieh. Work, to, caw-oste-keta-nale.

Yellow, tellon-kay. Yes, ow-ah. You (pl.), ne-hee. You (sing.), ne-hee.

Excerpts from Bartram's Travels

CHAP. VI. Language and Manners.

The Muscogulge language is spoken throughout the confederacy, (although consisting of many nations, who have a speech peculiar to themselves) as also by their friends and allies, the Natches. The Chicasaw and Chactaw the Muscogulges say is a dialect of theirs.

This language is very agreeable to the ear, courteous, gentle and musical: the letter R is not sounded in one word of their language: the women in particular speak so fine and musical, as to represent the singing of birds; and when heard and not seen, one might imagine it to be the prattling of young children: the men's speech is indeed more strong and sonorous, but not harsh, and in no instance guttural, and I believe the letter R is not used to express any word, in any language of the confederacy.

The Cherokee tongue on the contrary, is very loud, somewhat rough and very sonorous, sounding the letter R frequently, yet very agreeable and pleasant to the ear. All the Indian languages, are truly rhetorical, or figurative, assisting their speech by tropes, their hands, flexure of the head, the brow, in short, every member, naturally associate, and give their assistance to render their harrangues eloquent, persuasive and effectual.

The pyramidal hills or artificial mounts and highways, or avenues, leading from them to artificial lakes or ponds,

vast tetragon terraces, chunk vards* and obelisks or pillars of wood, are the only monuments of labour, ingenuity and magnificence, that I have seen worthy of notice, or remark. The region lying between Savanna river and Oakmulge, East and West, and from the sea coast to the Cherokee or Apalachean mountains, North and South, is the most remarkable for their high conical hills, tetragon terraces and chunk yards; this region was last possessed by the Cherokees, since the arrival of the Europeans, but they were afterwards dispossessed by the Muscogulges, and all that country was probably many ages preceding the Cherokee invasion, inhabited by one nation or confederacy, who were ruled by the same system of laws, customs and language; but so ancient, that the Cherokees, Creeks, or the nation they conquered, could render no account for what purpose these monuments were raised. The mounts and cubical yards adjoining them, seemed to have been raised in part for ornament and recreation, and likewise to serve some other public purpose, since they are always so situated as to command the most extensive prospect over the town and country adjacent. ...

^{*} Chunk yard, a term given by the white traders, to the oblong four square yards, adjoining the high mounts and rotunda of the modern Indians.—In the center of these stands the obelisk, and at each corner of the farther end stands a slave post or strong stake, where the captives that are burnt alive are bound.

CHAP. IV.

... The council or town-house is a large rotunda, capable of accomodating several hundred people; it stands on the top of an ancient artificial mount of earth, of about twenty feet perpendicular, and the rotunda on the top of it being above thirty feet more, gives the whole fabric an elevation of about sixty feet from the common surface of the ground. But it may be proper to observe, that this mount on which the rotunda stands, is of a much ancienter date than the building, and perhaps was raised for another purpose. The Cherokees themselves are as ignorant as we are, by what people or for what purpose these artificial hills were raised; they have various stories concerning them, the best of which amounts to no more than mere conjecture, and leave us entirely in the dark; but they have a tradition common with the other nations of Indians, that they found them in much the same condition as they now appear, when their forefathers arrived from the West and possessed themselves of the country, after vanguishing the nations of red men who then inhabited it, who themselves found these mounts when they took possession of the country, the former possessors delivering the same story concerning them: perhaps they were designed and apropriated by the people who constructed them, to some religious purpose...

-William Bartram, 1791.

List of the towns and villages in the Cherokee nation inhabited at this day, viz.

- No. 1 Echoe
 - 2 Nucasse
 - 3 Whatoga
 - 4 Cowe
 - 5 Ticoloosa
 - 6 Jore
 - 7 Conisca
 - 8 Nowe
 - 9 Tomothle
 - 10 Noewe
 - 11 Tellico
 - 12 Clennuse
 - 13 Ocunnolufte
 - 14 Chewe
 - 15 Quanuse
 - 16 Tellowe
 - 17 Tellico
 - 18 Chatuga
 - 19 Hiwasse
 - 20 Chewase
 - 21 Nuanha

On the Tanase East of the Jore mountains. 4 towns.

Inland on the branches of the Tanase. 4 towns.

On the Tanase over the Jore mountains.

Inland towns on the branches of the Tanase and other waters over the Jore mountains.

22 Tallase
23 Chelowe
24 Sette
25 Chote great
26 Joco
27 Tahasse
28 Tamahle
29 Tuskege
30 ------. Big Island
31 Nilaque
32 Niowe
23 Chelowe
24 Overhill towns on the Tanase or Cherokee river.
5 towns.

Lower towns East of the mountains, viz.

No.	 Sinica Keowe Kulsage 	On the Savanna or Keowe river.
	4 Tugilo5 Estotowe	On Tugilo river.
	6 Qualatche 7 Chote	} On Flint river.

Towns on the waters of other rivers.

Estotowe great. Allagae. Jore. Nae oche

In all forty-three towns.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE IROQUOIAN LANGUAGES

NORTHERN IROQUOIAN

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

Sources: Lounsbury 1978, Mithun 1979, Goddard 1996.

Also available:

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- 12 Denny's Vocabulary of Delaware
- 13 A Vocabulary of Roanoke
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- 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
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